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LUTHER'S CORRESPONDENCE

AND OTHER

CONTEMPORARY LETTERS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

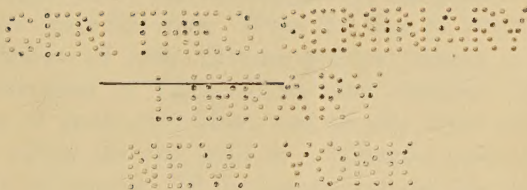
PRESERVED SMITH, PH. D.

AND

CHARLES M. JACOBS, D. D.

VOLUME II

1521-1530



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PREFACE

That much talked of literary ideal, the "slice of life," is, perhaps, better realized in a book of letters than elsewhere. In a more formal treatise the multi-colored threads of which history is woven are neatly assorted into bundles, and each bundle dealt with separately. But in a collection of letters, as in life, all the various interests develop synchronously. The whole effect is that of a rope twisted of many strands, in which now one strand and now another comes to view, and all are inextricably intertwined. By way of preface it may not be amiss to point out some of the major interests represented in the period here treated, to pick out, if I may vary the metaphor, the principal *leitmotifs* of the whole symphony.

The first of these is the definite formation of a Protestant party, and its attainment of a position of recognized, even constitutional, equality with the Catholic party. Prior to the Diet of Worms there was no coherent political body to represent the interests of the Reformers, but only a vast mass of progressive and fermenting public opinion. All the elements of Protestantism were there, but they were void and without form until Luther finally established a position of leadership. The Edict of Worms was a barren triumph for the conservatives, a dead letter from the start. From the Diet of Worms to the Diet of Spire, of 1529, German political history is a record of one conquest of Lutheranism after another; the definite adhesion of state after state, and of city after city, and the growth within the diet itself of a powerful party to represent the new movement. In the present volume this side of the Reformation is well reflected in the official acts of popes and princes before the diets, and in the accounts written by foreign ambassadors to their governments. These last are particularly valuable to the modern reader because they give just those large facts needed by a foreigner and by posterity,

but passed over lightly by those present as being too familiar to need full description.

It is probable that Luther had behind him a more unanimous public opinion in 1521 than at any later date. All the progressive forces, whether of social renovation or of religious reform or of intellectual liberalism tended in his first years to rally to his banner. But in the subsequent years his party not only became more powerful and cohesive, but also, in its constituency, though not in its territorial sovereignty, more limited. The first element to separate from the Lutherans was that of the ultra-radicals, at that time known as Anabaptists. The least important thing about them was their rejection of infant baptism. Their character was far more determined by the fact that they were, from first to last, the representatives of the disinherited classes, the proletariat, the oppressed and the uneducated. In many ways their programs of social reform, sometimes including communism and sometimes violence, strikingly resemble those put forward by the socialists to-day. In their extreme variety they also resemble the socialists, for no two of their communities were alike. In those days of theological politics, it must be remembered that each religious body was in addition a political party. The situation of Germany in those days, with Catholics, Lutherans and Anabaptists, was somewhat analogous to that in many countries to-day, in which there are Conservative, Liberal or progressive, and Socialist or labor parties. Luther himself was decidedly repelled by the radicals from the first. He disliked their religious subjectivism, their social radicalism, the illiterate crudity of much of their work, and, above all, their propaganda of revolutionary violence. He returned from the Wartburg to suppress them, but only succeeded in expelling their leaders from Wittenberg and scattering them throughout Germany. In 1524-5 the radical movement culminated in the tragic catastrophe of the Peasants' War, in some ways the most melancholy event in German history. The proletariat, goaded by intolerable oppression and lured on by vast and vague promises of a golden age, rose with blind, almost animal fury, against their tyrants, only to be cut down by the swords of a pitiless aristocracy. But while our hearts

go out to the suffering people, it is possible to see, with the wisdom that comes after the event, that little could have been hoped from their complete triumph in arms. Their programs, such as the Twelve Articles, were moderate and altogether reasonable, but they neither could nor would have stopped at the realization of these demands. Nor, on the other hand, could they have established a democracy, as the Swiss had done before them and as the French were to do after them. Had this been possible our sympathies would have been wholly with them. But, as it turned out, the peasants lost all that they had striven for. From the time that Luther turned against them, the greater part of them lost faith in the Lutheran Reformation. From this time, more than ever, the Anabaptists became the religious leaders of the lower classes, while the Lutheran Church became more and more an Established, National Church, like that of England, tending to conservatism and aristocratic or middle-class privilege.

Next to the loss of the support of the poorer classes, the Reformation suffered by the secession from its ranks of the intellectuals, or many of them. Repelled by the dogmatism and intolerance of the new Church, in which they had hoped for better things, many of the leading writers and professional men withdrew, some, like Erasmus and Pirckheimer, to return to the bosom of the old Church; some, like the Nuremberg painters, George Penz and the brothers John Sebald and Bartholomew Beham, to a complete and avowed skepticism. In the letters here translated the alienation of Erasmus from the Reformation is fully portrayed. It seems that by a more liberal policy Erasmus might have been completely won. The failure of Protestantism to adopt then a policy of hospitality to science and philosophy, was a terrible blow both to the new Church and to the cause of world progress.

It was also in the years now under review that there arose within the bosom of the Protestant Church that terribly bitter schism over the Real Presence in the Eucharist which effected a breach between the two main branches of Protestantism that has not even yet been entirely healed. This cannot be counted as a part of the struggle of Lutheranism with radicalism, for both Saxon and Swiss Reformers were at one on

many points, nor can the dispute be reckoned, as it often is, as an alignment between tradition on the one side and rationalism on the other, for an examination of the arguments on both sides shows that each appealed chiefly to the same sort of Biblical argument. Luther's view of the Real Presence was conditioned very largely by the mystical character of his religion, while the Swiss Reformers approached the problem from a more positive, empirical and legalistic standpoint. Thus the controversy really focused a more fundamental difference between two types of Protestantism. Like all civil wars, it became bitter, and immediately after the futile attempt at agreement at Marburg in 1529, the Lutherans were ready to make common cause with the Catholics to crush their fellow-Protestants.

Within the Lutheran Church itself these letters show an active work of organization and edification. In the translation of the Bible, in hymns and Catechisms and in many other works, as well as by arrangements for church discipline and for education, Luther successfully labored to build deep and strong the foundations of his Church. By his repudiation of monastic vows he took his last and not least important step away from medievalism.

Lastly, as is natural, the course of Luther's private life figures largely in this correspondence. Both his inward life, with its struggles, temptations and growth, and his outward circumstances, including his marriage, the birth of his first children and his various illnesses, are vividly portrayed.

The labor of this edition is no longer in the hands of one man. More than half of the present volume is the work of the Rev. Professor Charles M. Jacobs, already well known as a translator of Luther. In selecting for this period we have had to take a much smaller proportion of the available letters. The scale we have adopted has been narrower at the same time that the material becomes vastly larger. For this period there are extant 1150 letters in Luther's correspondence, about an equal number in those of Melanchthon and Erasmus, not to mention a score of other personages whose letters have been published in stout volumes. It is probable that more

than ten thousand letters might be found bearing on the German Reformation during this period. But while our selection is necessarily small, we trust it is sufficient and representative.

We are glad to offer some hitherto unpublished material in this volume, and expect to be able to offer more in future.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge our obligations to the Rev. Professor Henry Eyster Jacobs for a valuable contribution. Mr. Smith desires also to express his warm thanks to his friends, Professor Herbert P. Gallinger, for the transcription of the epistles taken from the *Calendars of State Papers*, and for other help, and to the Rev. Professor W. W. Rockwell and Walter Longstreth, Esq., for important assistance. Mr. Jacobs wishes to extend thanks to the Libraries of Harvard and Princeton Universities, the University of Pennsylvania, and Union Theological Seminary, for the loan of a number of volumes, and to his father, Henry Eyster Jacobs, for innumerable helps. Our thanks are also due to the Pennsylvania Historical Society for permission to publish one of the manuscripts contained in Appendix I.

P. S.

C. M. J.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB.—Allgemeine deutsche Biographie. 56 vols. Leipsic, 1875-1912.

Allen—P. S. Allen: *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*. 3 vols. Oxford. 1906ff.

ARG.—Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.

Barge—Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, von H. Barge. 2 vols. 1904.

Bergenroth—Calendar of letters, dispatches and state papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. . . . edited by G. A. Bergenroth, P. de Gayangos and M. A. S. Hume. London. 1862ff.

BU.—Biographie Générale Universelle.

Buchwald, Wittenberger Briefe—Zur Wittenberger Stadt- und Universitäts-geschichte in der Reformationszeit; Briefe aus Wittenberg an M. Stephan Roth in Zwickau; hg. von G. Buchwald. Leipsic, 1893.

Brown—Calendar of state papers preserved in the archives of Venice, ed. R. Brown, G. C. Bentinck, H. F. Brown and A. B. Hinds. London. 1864ff.

CR.—Corpus Reformatorum, Vols. 1-10 contain P. Melanthonis Epistolae, ed. C. G. Bretschneider, Halis, 1834-42. Vols. 94ff. contain Zwingli's Briefwechsel, ed. E. Egli, G. Finsler and W. Köhler. Leipsic. 1911ff.

DNB.—Dictionary of National Biography, ed. S. Lee. London. 1885-1901.

De Wette—Luthers Briefe, hg. von W. M. L. de Wette. Berlin. 1825-8. 5 vols.

De Wette-Seidemann—Luthers Briefe, Band vi, hg. von W. L. M. de Wette und J. K. Seidemann. Berlin. 1856.

Enders—Luthers Briefwechsel, bearbeitet von E. L. Enders. Vols. 1-15. 1884ff. (Vols. 12ff. fortgesetzt von G. Kawerau.)

ERE.—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings.

LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS

The name of Martin Luther is omitted. All other writers and receivers of letters are listed, with the number of the letters opposite their names. Numbers given in bold face indicate that the persons named are the writers, numbers in ordinary type that the persons named are the recipients of the letters. Biographical notes are listed in the Index.

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LUTHER'S CORRESPONDENCE

AND

OTHER CONTEMPORARY LETTERS

478. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON.

Enders, iii, 146.

(WARTBURG, before May 12, 1521.)

Luther left Worms on April 26, traveling by way of Frankfurt and Hersfeld to Eisenach, where he arrived May 2. On the 4th he left Eisenach, but while passing through the Thuringian Forest he was seized by a band of armed men and carried away to the Wartburg, a castle of the Elector of Saxony, close by Eisenach, where he was kept in hiding until the spring of 1522. Cf. Smith, pp. 26ff.

This letter is only a fragment. De Wette (ii, 12) dates it "May or June"; Enders, "before May 12," assuming that it is a part of one of the letters referred to *infra* no. 480. The name of the person addressed is not given, but it was probably Melanchthon. Cf. Enders, n. 1.

I have had much ado to get this letter off, so great is the fear that my whereabouts may somehow be revealed. Wherefore do you, too, have a care—if you think it can be done to the glory of Christ—that it may remain or become uncertain whether it is friends or enemies who are detaining me; and be silent. It is not necessary for anyone but you and Amsdorf to know anything save that I am still alive. Who knows but that God may use this silence to work upon those in high station? The priests and monks who raved against me when I was at liberty are so afraid of me, now that I am a captive, that they are beginning to soften the harsh things they have been saying about me. They cannot endure the weight of the people's threats and know of no way to evade them. Behold the hand of the Mighty One of Jacob, what He does for us when we are silent and patient and pray. A certain Romanist has written to the Cardinal of Mayence, "We have lost Luther,

as we wished; but the people are so stirred up that I hardly think we shall save our own lives unless we light our candles and seek him everywhere and bring him back." He was jesting; but what if the jest should turn to earnest? "Speak upon your couch, and be still."¹

479. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON.

Enders, iii, 148.

LAND-OF-THE-BIRDS (WARTBURG), May 12, 1521.

Greeting. What are you doing these days, my dear Philip? Are you not praying that this retirement, to which I unwillingly consented, may work some great things for the glory of God? I was afraid that I might seem to be deserting the battle, and yet I saw no way of resisting those who wished and advised this course. I desire nothing more than to oppose my bare throat to the rage of my adversaries.

Sitting here all day long, I picture to myself the state of the Church, and see fulfilled that word of the 89th Psalm, "Wherefore hast Thou made all the children of men in vain?"² God, what a horrible spectacle of the wrath of God is that kingdom of the Roman Antichrist! I loathe my own hardness of heart because I am not melted to tears, so that I, too, might weep fountains of tears for the slain sons of my people.³ But there is none to arise and lay hold on God and oppose himself as a wall for the house of Israel⁴ in this last day of His wrath. O kingdom of the Pope, worthy of the end and the dregs of time! God have mercy on us!

Wherefore, minister of the Word, be steadfast and strengthen the walls and towers of Jerusalem against the day when they attack you too. Be mindful of your calling and of your gifts. I pray for you as for no other, if my prayer can do anything, which I doubt not. Do you render me like service, and let us bear this burden together. So far, we stand alone in the battle; they seek you after me.

Spalatin writes me that an edict⁵ is being printed of such cruel tenor that they are going to search the world for my books, and thus quickly compass their own destruction. Re-

¹ Psalm iv, 4.

² Psalm lxxxix, 47.

³ Jeremiah ix, 1.

⁴ Ezekiel xiii, 5.

⁵ The Edict of Worms. Cf. Vol. I, p. 564, Smith, 120. P. Kalkoff: *Die Entstehung des Wormser Edikts*, 1913. Text in Kidd, no. 45.

hoboam of Dresden¹ rejoices, fairly panting to execute such a decree; the Emperor has been petitioned also to write to the King of Denmark,² asking him not to receive the remnants of the Lutheran heresy, and they are singing that Psalm-verse, "When shall he die and his name perish?"³ Hartmuth von Cronberg⁴ has given up the imperial stipend of two hundred gulden, unwilling to serve one who listens to these impious people. I verily believe that the edict will not rage anywhere except under Rehoboam and that other neighbor of yours,⁵ who is troubled with vainglory.

The Lord has smitten me with a grievous affliction.⁶ . . . I did not sleep all night, and still have no peace. Please pray for me, for this malady will become unbearable, if it goes on as it has begun. The Cardinal of Salzburg⁷ went with Ferdinand⁸ to meet his bride at Innsbruck on the vigil of St. Philip and St. James, i.e., the fourth day after our departure [April 30]. It is said that his company displeased Ferdinand, and the Emperor, too, as Spalatin writes. But read his letter for yourself. Be sure to write all that is going on there and how everything is. Farewell to you and yours.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Duke George of Saxony. Cf. Vol. I, *passim*. His life by H. Freiherr v. Welck: *Georg der Bärtige*, Brunswick, 1900.

² Christian II. Cf. Vol. I, p. 547, and *Acta pontificum Danica*, VI (1513-1536), Kjobenhavn, 1915.

³ Psalm xli, 5.

⁴ Hartmuth von Cronberg was born 1488, of a noble family in the Rhinelands, and was head of the family after 1506. He was a member of the intimate circle of knights that gathered around Francis von Sickingen and was involved in the catastrophe which overtook Sickingen in 1522, losing all his property in the war with Treves, the Count Palatine and Philip of Hesse. It was not until 1541 that he received it back from the Landgrave. His last years were a time of comparative inactivity, and he remained neutral in the Schmalkaldic War. He died in 1549. He was one of the first of the German knights to espouse the cause of Luther, and his devotion to the Reformation, which is shown by a series of publications between 1521 and 1525, seems to have been from purely religious motives. His biography, by W. Bogler (Halle, 1897). His writings edited by E. Kück (*Flugschriften*, XIV, Halle, 1899). H. Werner tries to show that Cronberg wrote the well-known revolutionary pamphlet, "The Reformation of the Emperor Frederic III," at the Sandorn Ritterstag of 1522. See *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 28 and 29. This has been doubted by W. Köhler.

⁵ The Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, brother of Albert of Mayence. Cf. Smith, 104.

⁶ An acute form of the constipation from which Luther was a chronic sufferer.

⁷ Matthew Lang.

⁸ Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles V, married Anne of Hungary in 1521.

480. LUTHER TO AMSDORF.

Enders, iii, 150.

LAND-OF-THE-BIRDS (WARTBURG), May 12, 1521.

Greeting. I had written to all of you lately, my dear Amsdorf, but listened to good advice and tore the letters up, because it was not yet safe to send letters away. Now I have written to Dr. Jerome¹ about the books² and the proofsheets,³ and with this letter I am writing to the Prior⁴ on the same subject. You will look after the things that need to be looked after. The Lord afflicts me, but pray for me, for I am always praying for you that God may strengthen your heart. Be faithful, therefore, and when occasion offers, speak the Word of God with boldness. Write me, too, how everything went with you on the journey⁵ and what you heard or saw at Erfurt. You will find with Philip what Spalatin has written me.⁶

On the day when I was snatched from you, after a long ride, when I, a green rider, was weary, at almost eleven o'clock, I reached the castle under cover of the night. Now I am here with nothing to do, like a free man among captives. Beware of Rehoboam of Dresden, and Benhadad of Damascus,⁷ your neighbor, for a cruel edict has been issued against us. But the Lord will have them in derision. In Him farewell, and greet all to whom greetings are due.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

481. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 209.

WORMS, May 12, 1521.

Last evening, about 6 P.M., the Cardinal of Mayence sent for the Apostolic Nuncio [Marino Caracciolo], and told him that on the day of the Invention of the Cross [the 3d of May] Friar Martin Luther had been captured by one Hector,⁸ a

¹ Schurff. Cf. Vol. I, p. 543, n. 1.

² Apparently the books that he needed for his literary work.

³ The *Exposition of the Magnificat* was going through the press at this time. Cf. Philadelphia Ed., iii, 119f. A "quaternio" was what printers call a "signature," or bundle of pages printed together.

⁴ Conrad Helt. Cf. Vol. I, p. 136, n. 4.

⁵ Amsdorf was traveling with Luther from Worms to Wittenberg and was present when Luther was "captured."

⁶ *Vide supra*, no. 479.

⁷ Duke George of Saxony and the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

⁸ Hector of Mörlau, called the Bohemian, was a robber knight, an enemy of

Bohemian, the enemy of the Duke of Saxony, who had followed Luther to Worms, and on the road after his departure.

The mode of capture is narrated as follows: Luther on the day of the Invention of the Cross, having preached at a village in the province of Saxony, dismissed the herald who had accompanied him, and in the afternoon, having got into a wagon with one or two persons, for the purpose of visiting some of his relations in that neighborhood, he was attacked *in itinere* by this Hector, the Bohemian, who made Luther change his apparel, and carried him off, whither it is not known.

The Dean of Mayence¹ has written this same account to the Nuncio. This morning the intelligence was in general circulation, though it is not credited by the Nuncio and persons of judgment, who consider it a feint, artfully devised by Luther, to enable him to go more freely into Denmark, or elsewhere, as shall seem fit to him.

482. ANTONIO SURIAN TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown iii, no. 210.

LONDON, May 13, 1521.

Brown heads this "The Same to the Same," an error, as the last letter was written by Contarini. The true writer is given by referring to Sanuto's *Diarii*, ed. G. M. Thomas, 1883, p. 43.

Surian was Venetian Ambassador in England.

On this Sunday morning (*sic*) the condemnation of Friar Martin Luther as an heretic was proclaimed.

King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey, with the ambassadors and others, went to the Royal Palace at St. Paul's; the ambassadors were the Pope's, the Emperor's, and himself (Surian). The French ambassador was not present on account of disputes about precedence.

Cardinal Wolsey, with many bishops in canonicals and the ambassadors, all on horseback, proceeded to the door of St. Paul's Church with a great multitude of people. On dismount-

the Elector of Saxony and of the exiled Abbot of Fulda, Burgrave Hartmann von Kirchberg. Friedberg, the place where Luther dismissed the herald, belonged to Hector, and it was doubtless this fact that gave rise to the rumor. Kalkoff, *Briefe*, p. 87, note 128.

¹ Lawrence Truchsess of Pommersfelden, 1473-1543. On him see J. B. Kissling in *Der Katholik*, 1906, pp. 1-27, 93-124 and 167-201.

ing, the canopy was brought to the Cardinal with the cross and censer, not as usual for a mere Legate, but as if the Pope in person had arrived.

On reaching the high altar the Cardinal kissed the cross, and the ambassadors having seated themselves on a stage placed for them, the Archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] made a laudatory oration, praising the Cardinal vastly. Then [Fisher] the Bishop of Rochester made a speech, in which he commended the Cardinal for what he had done against Friar Martin Luther, and said the King would act in like manner. He reprobated the Friar's sayings, and upheld the authority of the pope, and finally published the Papal brief, saying King Henry had written a work¹ against Luther which Cardinal Wolsey held in his hand, but it was not yet completed. After this the condemnation was published, together with its approval by the King. The ceremony lasted until after 2 P.M.

483. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT WORMS.

Enders, iii, 152.

THE MOUNTAIN (WARTBURG), May 14, 1521.

Greeting. I received your letter, dear Spalatin, and those of Gerbel² and Sapidus,³ last Sunday, but have purposely not written before for fear that the report of my recent capture should cause someone to intercept the letter. Various opinions of my disappearance are held in this region, the most popular being that I was captured by friends from Franconia.

To-morrow the Emperor's safe-conduct expires. I regret what you write about their savage edict for trying consciences, not so much for my own sake as because they are inviting evil

¹ *The Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*. See *English Historical Review*, October, 1912.

² Nicholas Gerbel (c. 1485-1560), a native of Pforzheim, studied at Cologne (1506), Vienna (1507), and Bologna (LL.D., 1513). In 1521 he was practicing law at Strassburg; in 1523 was made secretary of the Cathedral chapter, and in 1525 professor of history at the University. He exercised a considerable influence on the course of the Reformation at Strassburg, remaining a friend of Luther and supporting him in the sacramental controversy, even against Bucer and Capito. See Allen, ii, 120. In March, 1521, he edited a Greek New Testament.

³ John Witz (1490-1561), a native of Schlettstadt. He studied under Lefèvre d'Étaples in Paris, 1506-9, and was rector of the school at Schlettstadt, 1510-25, from which position he was removed because of his outspoken adherence to the Reformation. In 1528 he was entrusted with the task of reorganizing the school at Strassburg, remaining a teacher there the rest of his life. He was well known as a writer of Latin poems. ADB and Allen, ii, 47.

on their own heads and will only succeed in making themselves odious. Such indecent violence will only arouse deep hatred. But let it pass, perhaps the time of their visitation is at hand. So far I have had no word from our friends at Wittenberg or elsewhere. At Erfurt the students made a night attack on some of the priests' houses;¹ it was at the time we came to Eisenach. They were indignant because the Dean of St. Severus',² a great papist, seized Master Draco,³ who is well-disposed to us, by the robe and publicly dragged him out of the choir, alleging that he was under excommunication because he, along with others, had come to meet me when I entered Erfurt. Meanwhile worse is feared; the city council is winking at the disorder; the priests there have a bad reputation, and it is said that the young artisans are conspiring with the students. A little more and they will make the prophetic proverb true, "Erfurt, a second Prague."

Yesterday I heard that a certain priest at Gotha had been ill-used, because they had sold some property or other to increase the revenue of the Church, and then under pretext of ecclesiastical liberty, refused to pay the so-called "burdens" or taxes. We see that the people are neither able nor willing—as Erasmus also wrote in his Advice⁴—to bear the yoke of the Pope and the papists; therefore let us not cease to press upon it and to pull it down, especially as we have already lost name and fame by so doing. Now the light reveals all things and their show of piety is no longer valuable and cannot rule as hitherto. We have grown by violence and driven them back by violence; we must see if they can be driven back any more.

I sit here idle and drunken⁵ the whole day. I am reading the

¹ A contemporary account of this student-riot was printed under the title, *Ain new Gedicht wie die Gaystlichkeit. . . . Gesturmbt ist worden (Flugschriften aus d. ersten Jahren d. Ref. I, 361ff)*. Cf. Kampschulte, *Die Univ. Erfurt*, II, p. 117. The date was April 9, when Luther was on his way to Worms. See also Jansen-Pastor²⁰ (1915), ii, 206f.

² James Schroeder, known as Doliator.

³ Vide Vol. I, p. 343, n. 1.

⁴ This *bule* probably refers to the "Axioms" handed by Erasmus to Fred-eric at Cologne on November 5, 1520, reprinted in *Lutheri opera latina varii argumenti*, v. 241f. See Smith, 100, 103; *supra*, Vol. I, 460, 473. Luther puts it rather strongly, but the first Axiom reads: "The source of the [anti-Lutheran] affair is evil: the hatred of sound learning and the love of tyranny."

⁵ *Crapulosus* properly has this meaning, and is so used by Luther himself,

Bible in Greek and Hebrew. I shall write a German tract on the Liberty of Auricular Confession;¹ I shall also continue work on the Psalter and the Postils,² when I get from Wittenberg the things I need, among which I am looking for the unfinished Magnificat. You would not believe how kindly the abbot of Hersfeld³ received us. . . . On the fifth day⁴ they compelled me to preach a sermon, despite my plea that they might lose their regalian rights if the imperialists were to interpret this as a breach of my promise, since they had forbidden me to preach by the way. Nevertheless I said that I had not consented that the Word of God should be bound, and that is the truth. I preached at Eisenach, too, but the parish priest was timid, and made a protest in the presence of a notary and witnesses, though he humbly excused his action on the ground of necessity, because they are afraid of their tyrants. Thus you will hear at Worms, perhaps, that I have broken my promise; but I have not broken it, for it was not in my power to observe the condition that the Word of God should be bound, nor did I ever agree to it, and even though I had agreed to it, my agreement could not be kept, because it is against God's will. . . .

We were received by the people of Eisenach, who came out on foot to meet us, and entered Eisenach in the evening. The next morning my companions went away with Jerome⁵ and I went across the forest⁶ to my relatives (who occupy almost the whole of that region), and leaving them where we turned off for Waltershausen, I was soon afterwards taken prisoner near the castle of Altenstein. Amsdorf knew, of course, that

Weimar, iii, 559, 596. On the other hand, he also uses it of gluttony: "Sicut ebrietas nimium bibendo, ita crapula nimium comedendo gravat corda," Weimar, ii, 591. Perhaps "surfeited" comes nearer Luther's meaning in this letter.

¹ *Von der Beicht, ob der Papst Macht habe zu gebieten*, Weimar, viii, 129ff.

² Luther had already begun a series of Latin "postils" or homilies on the Scripture lessons appointed for the Church Year. They are published in Weimar, x, part I.

³ Kraft Myle of Hungen, abbot of the Benedictine cloister, 1516-56. He delivered the cloister from its allegiance to Fulda, and made a close alliance with Hesse. From the time he saw Luther he was favorable to the Reformation, allowing his monks to leave the cloister. See W. Dersch, in *Festschrift zum Gedächtnis Philipps des Grossmütigen*. Kassel, 1904, pp. 88-98.

⁴ I.e., the fifth day out of Worms (May 1).

⁵ Schurff.

⁶ To Möhra, the old home of his father.

I was to be captured by somebody, but does not know the place of my captivity. My brother,¹ seeing the horsemen in time, crept out of the wagon and is said to have reached Waltershausen in the evening, unheralded and on foot.

Now I have put off my old garments and dress like a knight, letting hair and beard grow, so that you would not know me—indeed I have hardly become acquainted with myself. Now I am in Christian liberty, free from all tyrannical laws, though I should have preferred that the Dresden hog² had killed me publicly while preaching, had God pleased that I should suffer for His Word. The Lord's will be done! Farewell and pray for me. Salute all the court.

MARTIN LUTHER.

484. WOLSEY TO BOOTH,³ BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1279.

WESTMINSTER, May 14, 1521.

Commanding him to search for all books, pamphlets, and papers composed or edited by Martin Luther, and transmit them to Wolsey within fifteen days after the date of this admonition. My house at Westminster, 14 May, 1521.

To this mandate is appended a list of the errors of Martin Luther to the number of forty-two.⁴

485. LEWIS SPINELLI, SECRETARY OF THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, TO HIS BROTHER, GASPAR SPINELLI, SECRETARY OF THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 213.

LONDON, May 14-17, 1521.

On Sunday last, the 12th, the ambassadors, Papal, Imperial, and Venetian, were taken to a palace of the Queen's, and there during two hours awaited the Cardinal of York, the Legate [Wolsey] who came on horseback with a great train of nobility. On his arrival all went processionally to the

¹ The Augustinian, John Petzensteiner. Cf. Vol. I, p. 521, n. 3.

² Duke George of Saxony.

³ Charles Booth was Bishop of Hereford, 1516-35.

⁴ Taken from the bull *Exsurge Domine*, of June 15, 1520. Polydore Virgil, *Angliae Historiae*, xxvii, fol. 664, speaks of the large number of books by Luther burned in England. The above is given in full in Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae* (1737), iii, 690. This forbids all to have or to print Luther's books.

cathedral church of St. Paul's, where on dismounting they were met by the dean and canons in their copes, and proceeded thus to the high altar.

The Cardinal was under a canopy, an unusual thing, and after the oration gave the blessing, whereupon all went out of the church processionally, into the churchyard, where there was a lofty platform, which we ascended in great confusion. On this stage was a high chair with its canopy of cloth of gold. In this chair Cardinal Wolsey seated himself, having on his right hand the Papal Nuncio [Ghinucci] and part of the English bishops, and on his left the Imperial and Venetian ambassadors, with the rest of the bishops. In the center were prelates and lay lords and plebeians. The Cardinal and others having seated themselves, the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher] ascended a pulpit and delivered an English oration,¹ two hours in length, against Friar Martin Luther, which, being ended, was much commended by Cardinal Wolsey. Then the Cardinal made a speech also in English, excommunicating and cursing Martin and his followers. During the delivery of these speeches, the Lutheran works were burnt.

These ceremonies being concluded, the Cardinal gave the blessing to all present, and everybody returned home. Thus Luther's festival terminated, upwards of 30,000 persons attending the celebration. The ambassadors accompanied the Cardinal to his dwelling, and dined with him. . . .

Above the two placards at the doors of the church excommunicating Luther and his works in the name of the Cardinal, the following words were added in some unknown hand; namely, over one,

"Bulla Bullae ambae amicullae;"

and over the other,

"Araine² ante tubam."

This has greatly displeased the Cardinal, and from what I understand, he has determined to excommunicate the writer, although he knows not who the author is.

¹ This sermon was printed. The title, with extracts from it, in Ames and Herbert: *Typographical Antiquities*, 1875, i, 459.

² *Araine* meant a copper trumpet; what the exact sense of either of these inscriptions is, I cannot fathom.

486. NICHOLAS GERBEL TO LUTHER.

Enders, iii, 159.

STRASSBURG, May 18, 1521.

Greeting in Christ Jesus the Crucified. About you everything here is so uncertain that you never saw or heard of anything more uncertain. A persistent rumor is going the rounds that you have been taken by treachery, and even that you were afterwards killed, stabbed in the neck with a sword. There are some who say that you have returned safe to Wittenberg. Between the two reports it is not known which is true. Certainly there is not a single learned or good man who does not hope it is the latter. You would not believe how the adherents of the other party rejoice in the first report and how they thank their gods. The men are altogether crazy, and do not know how much ill, nay, how much human blood your death would cost. But we who have aspired to salvation and freedom and have recognized in you a champion of the Gospel and of true faith, are variously affected, and you would not believe how anxious we are for your life. Not that we grudge you the glory of living with the heavenly spirits and dying to the world, for which you have conquered these earthly vicissitudes by the exaltation of your soul and by your incredible constancy; but because you seemed one of the few who treat the Gospel as it should be treated, and we cherished the hope that in you we had a leader who would not fail us, by whom all that had been lost by the wrong-doing and the negligence of our fathers could be restored.

Wherefore, my most learned Luther, if you love me and the rest of those who, with me, care for you and for the Gospel of God, which you have preached with so great labor, so great care, so many struggles, so many perils, let us know whether you are alive, whether you are captive, whether you have been deprived of freedom to write to us or teach us, or in what state things are with you. If reports are true, the interdict of fire and water will be laid on all who read your books or believe that the things you have taught are true. You see now what they have to expect in the future who have enrolled themselves under the Gospel of the Son of God. God grant that in pure and true faith we may bear all the treach-

eries, wiles and deceptions of all our enemies as though they were altogether vain.

I beseech you by our friendship, my dear Luther, that if by any chance you can do so, you will send us secretly all your books that have been issued since your departure from Worms. We are especially anxious that the Commentary on Matthew, which you have begun, may be finished as soon as possible, for in this work you can most readily give us a complete form of Christian doctrine.

Greet for me my dear Philip,¹ and commend me to him all you can. My wife sends greetings. The family of Caspar Uringer, the librarian of our city-council, sends greetings, as do Otto Brunfels² the Carthusian, and Lucas³ the priest. Greet Carlstadt for me, and Thomas Blaurer,⁴ a splendid young man. Farewell.

P.S.—Some days ago I wrote you a letter. I was laboring under some excitement and wrote hastily and somewhat carelessly, and because my friends, who were so anxious to see you, that they could not endure delay, were hurrying me, I made the silliest mistake, which I beg you, by all that is holy and by our friendship, to correct before it goes into any other hands. The passage of which I speak reads *Aliis alia placentibus*. In place of the word *placentibus*, which I much dislike, put *probantibus*. I cannot imagine by what negligence or carelessness that word slipped in; I do not know whether it was because of the eagerness of my mind, or of overanxiety to please you, or because I am too much occupied with things that conflict with letters. Do you, with your great kindness, put the best interpretation on it.

487. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 216.

WORMS, May 18, 1521.

The Pope had received the declaration made by the Emperor

¹ Melanchthon.

² A member of the Carthusian Order, who distinguished himself in medicine and botany. He was a friend of Hutten's and left the monastery on his advice, practicing medicine afterwards at Basle and Berne, where he died, 1534. He was the first German to publish an illustrated work on botany. ADB.

³ Lucas Hackfurt.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, p. 438.

against Luther, the copy of which the Signory will have already received.

This declaration the Pope caused to be read in full consistory, and it gave universal satisfaction, the Emperor having shown himself Catholic and the good son of the Apostolic See.

On the morning before last (he, Contarini, being present) in the Emperor's chamber, the contents of these letters were notified to his Majesty by the Nuncio¹ in the company of Dom. Jerome Aleander. In the opinion of intelligent persons, the reported capture of Martin Luther by Hector, the Bohemian,² was a fiction, and Luther is safe and sound in Saxony, and as popular as ever.

488. HENRY VIII TO LEO X.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1297.

GREENWICH, May 21, 1521.

As nothing is more the duty of a Christian prince than to preserve the Christian religion against its enemies, ever since he knew of Luther's heresy in Germany, has made it his study how to extirpate it. The poison has now spread so far that it will not readily yield to one attack. Thought it best to call the learned of his kingdom to consider these errors and denounce them, and exhort others to do the same. Has urged the Emperor and Electors, since this pestilent fellow will not return to God, to extirpate him and his heretical books. Has thought it right still further to testify his zeal for the faith by his writings, that all might see he was ready to defend the Church, not only with his arms, but with the resources of his mind. Dedicates, therefore, to the Pope, the first offsprings of his intellect and his little erudition.³

489. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON.

Enders, iii. 162.

(WARTBURG), May 26, 1521

Greeting. What I may have written in the letter I have already sealed,⁴ I have forgotten; but I wish to give a fresh an-

¹ Caracciolo.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 481.

³ The *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, London, 1521. The last edition with introduction and translation, by L. O'Donovan, New York, 1908.

⁴ Evidently an enclosure, which we are not able to identify.

swer to your letter. I am answering James Latomus¹ unwillingly, for I have settled down to quiet study, but I see that it is necessary for me to answer him myself, and now I shall have the added weariness of reading his longwinded and badly written stuff. I had decided to put the explanations of the Epistles and Gospels into German, but you have not sent me the Postils² that have been printed. I am sending you the Psalm sung at this season of the year;³ if you wish, and the printers are not busy, you may have it printed, and dedicate it to whom you please; I have done it as a pastime and had no books; if you prefer not to do this, let our friends have it, and give it to Christian Aurifaber⁴ or to Amsdorf to read.

I wish Dr. Lupinus⁵ a happy exit from this life, in which I would that we, too, were not living. So great is God's wrath, which I contemplate more and more every day now that I have nothing to do, that I doubt whether he will keep even the little children out of that kingdom of Satan; so far has our God cast us off. Nevertheless his death moved me not a little, remembering that word of Isaiah, "The righteous perisheth and no man taketh it to heart, and merciful men are taken away and no one considereth."⁶

I should like to know who is that Francis Faber of Silesia,⁷ that heroic spirit. *The Joke on the Emser Goat*⁸ gives sufficient indication of its authors. *The Passionale*⁹ pleases me greatly; I see that you have enlisted the aid of John Schwertfäger.¹⁰ Œcolampadius has anticipated the tract *On Con-*

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 270, n. 1. Latomus had just published a defence of the condemnation of Luther's doctrines by the Louvain theologians. Luther's reply in Weimar, viii, 36ff.

² Vide supra, no. 483, p. 28, n. 2.

³ Psalm lxviii. This exposition of it in Weimar, viii, 1ff.

⁴ Christian Doering. Cf. Vol. I, p. 56, n. 2. He died November, or December, 1533. He kept an inn, in addition to his printing business. At one time he had a monopoly (copyright) of printing German Bibles. ARG, vi, 321, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 155f. He died May 1.

⁶ Isaiah lvii, 1.

⁷ Francis Faber (1497-1565), one of the most important literary representatives of the Renaissance in Silesia. His chief work was done in Breslau between 1542 and his death. From 1520-26 he was in Leipsic, where he wrote his *Sylva de incendiis Lutherianorum librorum*, a poem in defence of Luther. It was this work which called forth the reference here. ADB.

⁸ *Ludus in Caprum Emserianum*.

⁹ *The Passionale Christi et Antichristi* (Weimar, ix, App.). Cf. Vol. I, p. 485.

¹⁰ Cf. Vol. I, p. 131, n. 4.

fession¹ by the publication of his bold book on easiness of confession;² he will be a new vexation for Antichrist and his army. If I had not hoped that Spalatin had sent or would send you a copy, I should have sent it myself along with Hutten's letter to the capped and hatted hoopoes at Worms.³ Still I shall try to add something to it in German. I marvel at the new bridegroom of Kemberg;⁴ he fears nothing and is in something of a hurry in these troubled times; may the Lord be over him and mingle delights with his bitter herbs; He will do it even without my prayers. I am displeased that not a single copy of your Method,⁵ so far as it is printed, has come. I should like to know who is filling my chair; is Amsdorf still snoring and loafing? May the Lord preserve and increase the well-being of the university, of which you write. Amen.

I do not wish you to worry about me at all. As regards my person, everything is well, except that my mental trouble has not ceased and my former infirmity of spirit and of faith continues. As for my retirement, it is nothing at all; my employment in the exposition of the Word was never my own choice, and therefore my exclusion from that work brings me great peace of heart. That is the state of affairs so far as I personally am concerned. But for the glory of the Word and for the strengthening of myself and others, I would rather burn in live coals than rot here alone, half-alive and yet not dead. But who knows whether Christ does not will to accomplish more this way, not only in this case but in all others? We have spoken so often of faith and hope in things not seen; now let us for once make trial of some small part of this doctrine, especially since the trial comes at the call of God and not on our own motion. Even though I should perish, the Gospel will lose nothing, for in the Gospel you are now greater than I, and are the Elisha, who succeeds Elijah with a double

¹ *Vide supra*, no. 483, p. 28, n. 1.

² The *Paradoxon*, published at Augsburg, April, 1521.

³ This is Luther's paraphrase of the title. The letter was addressed to "The Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots and the Whole Council of Priests." Text in Böcking, ii, 21ff.

⁴ Bernhardt (*cf.* Vol. I, p. 41, n. 5). He had just married. *Vide infra*.

⁵ The *Loci Communes*, published 1521. On their origin and history see O. Clemen in *Supplementa Melancthoniana*, i, 1910, pp. xliiff.

portion of his spirit, which may the Lord Jesus graciously grant you. Amen.

Do not be downcast, therefore, but sing the song which the Lord has commanded in the night;¹ I will join in the song, and let us be anxious only for the Word. He that is ignorant, let him be ignorant; he that perishes, let him perish; only so they cannot complain that we did not do our duty by them. Let the Leipzigers² boast, for this is their hour; we must go out from our own land, from our kindred and from our father's house, and be scattered for a time in a land we know not.³ Meanwhile let them adore and brag about their N. N.⁴ For James the Fleming⁵ the mere sight of you is enough; do you grudge him his happiness in seeing all he wishes?

I have not given up hope of returning to you, but may the Lord do what is good in His eyes. If the Pope shall take steps against all those who think with me, Germany will be in a tumult; and the sooner he tries it, the sooner he and his will perish and I shall return. The Lord is arousing the spirits of many, and especially the hearts of the common people, and it seems to me unlikely that this matter can be put down by force; if they start to put it down, it will become ten times greater. Germany has many Karsthanses.⁶ Murnar is silent; what the goat⁷ will do, I do not know, perhaps he will be a second Ortwin.⁸ One thing you write I do not believe,—that you are wandering without a shepherd. That would be the saddest and bitterest of news. While you and Amsdorf and the rest are there, you are not without a shepherd. Do not talk that way, or God may be angered and we be found guilty

¹ Cf. Psalm xlii, 8.

² The theologians of Leipsic were among the bitterest opponents of Luther's doctrines.

³ Cf. Genesis xii, 1.

⁴ Duke George of Saxony.

⁵ Probst. Cf. Vol. I, p. 351, n. 3; also, O. Clemen, *Breitrüge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, 1900, i, 37ff, and J. Reitsma: *Geschiedenis van de Hervorming en de Hervormde Kerk der Nederlanden*³, 1913, i, 149ff.

⁶ *Karsthans* ("the man with the hoe," a common name for the German peasant), the title of an anonymous satire on Thomas Murnar, (cf. Vol. I, p. 407, n. 1), published in 1520. Reprinted by Burckhardt in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Ref.*, iv, Pt. 1.

⁷ Emser.

⁸ The butt of the *Letters of Obscure Men*. Cf. Smith, p. 29.

of ingratitude. Would that all the churches, and especially the collegiate churches, had a fourth as many men in the ministry of the Word! Thank the Lord, who has shown you the light.

See how wordy I am getting. It is reported that the Cardinal of Mayence has 1800 sworn enemies, and that Chièvres is suffering with a dangerous fever—some say he is dead.¹ A certain bishop, especially hostile to Luther, died at Worms.² I have not much news, for I am a hermit, an anchorite, a real monk, though neither shaven nor cowed; if you saw me you would see a knight and would hardly recognize me.

Tell Amsdorf that the pastor of Hersfeld³ too, a good man, so they say, has taken a wife, so that you are not the only ones to have a newly married prior. Tell him, too, it is reported that this man has been preferred to him for Peter Lupinus' place. O sons of Adam! But it is well that his upright and liberal spirit should have caused him such a loss, and the other's different spirit have brought him such gain. Our merits are hidden and distributed, but the rewards make manifest the counsels of our hearts. I fear that the pastor of Kemberg⁴ may be driven out, and thus two lives will suffer want and as many more as come from them; but let us have faith; the Lord lives and does not suffer even the birds to starve. Give him greetings and encouragement. I wish you, too, and all the rest, to rejoice and be glad; by so doing you will not only gratify me, but will also please God and scorch Satan's scales.⁵ Your sadness is my greatest sorrow and your joy is mine.

And so farewell in the Lord. I hope you will commend me to Him, and I in turn will remember you as much as I can. Keep the Church of the Lord, over which the Holy Spirit has made you bishops,⁶ not mere imitations of bishops. Greet

¹ He died May 27.

² Aloisius Marlian, bishop of Tuy, died on the night of May 10-11. Kalkoff: *Aleander*, 228, n. 1. My note in Vol. I, p. 421, should be corrected accordingly.

³ Henry Fuchs, who preached the gospel of justification by faith in the winter 1520-1. Apparently he married at this time, and, after the death of his wife, a second time in 1523, both times with the consent of the Abbot of Hersfeld, Kraft Myle. *Festschrift zum Gedächtnis Philipps von Hessen*, 1904, p. 90.

⁴ Bernhardt. *Vide supra*.

⁵ One of Luther's favorite epithets for the papists.

⁶ Cf. Acts xx, 28.

everybody for me, for you are many,—John Schwertfäger, Peter Swaven¹ and the whole church that is in his house, Henry of Zütphen,² Master Lucas³ and Christian,⁴ Dr. Eschaus,⁵ and as many others as occur to you. You need not greet Master Eisleben⁶ or the fat Fleming,⁷ for I am writing to them as I have written to the prior.⁸ See what shameful paper I have had to use for you. Again farewell.

Among the birds singing sweetly in the branches and praising God with all their powers night and day.

Yours,

MARTIN.

490. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 223.

WORMS, May 26, 1521.

A brief had arrived from the Pope in praise of the declaration made against Martin Luther, exhorting the Emperor to continue persecuting him, and to issue his imperial mandates for the burning of his works and books. Orders given for committing to the flames all the works of Martin Luther; he himself to be outlawed and forbidden to reside in these parts.

491. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 224.

WORMS, May 28, 1521.

The imperial mandates against Martin Luther had been issued; and it was said that on the morrow (the 29th of May)

¹ A Danish noble studying at Wittenberg. He had been with Luther at Worms. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 521, 523.

² Henry Moller of Zütphen (1489(?)–1524), an Augustinian monk, matriculated at Wittenberg 1508 (B.A., 1509; M.A., 1511). Leaving Wittenberg in 1514, he became subprior in Cologne, then (1516) prior in Dordrecht. Persecuted because of his Lutheran views, he left Dordrecht in 1520 and returned to Wittenberg, where he remained till 1522, going to Antwerp as prior of the Augustinian House. He was imprisoned there, but released by an uprising of the people, and went to Bremen, where he preached until November, 1524, removing to Meldorf. On the 9th of November he was seized by a mob, gathered from neighboring towns and villages, and put to death, December 10, 1524. His life, by Iken (Halle, 1886; *Verein für Ref.*, no. 12). *Realencyk.*

³ Cranach.

⁴ Döring.

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, p. 300, n. 4.

⁶ John Agricola, on whom see Vol. I, p. 189. Further information about him is to be found in Vol. XXIII of the *Realencyklopädie*. He first met Luther January 6, 1516; studied medicine 1521-3, from which career he was turned to theology by Luther almost forcibly at Easter, 1523.

⁷ James Probst.

⁸ Helt.

such of his printed works as could be found, whether in German or Latin, would be burnt in the market place of Worms.

492. DUKE JOHN OF ELECTORAL SAXONY TO THE
ELECTOR FREDERIC.

Kolde, *Friedrich d. Weise*, 47.

COBURG, May 29, 1521.

. . . Concerning the whereabouts of Dr. Martin I can give your Highness no reliable information, for it was told me yesterday that he is said to be not far from France, hidden away in a castle of Francis von Sickingen's; but if this is true, I know nothing of it. . . .

493. LUTHER TO FRANCIS VON SICKINGEN.¹

Weimar, vii, 138. German.

PATMOS (WARTBURG), June 1, 1521.

God's grace and peace in Christ our Lord. Honored Sir, we read in the Book of Joshua that when God led the people of Israel into the promised land of Canaan and smote all the people of that land, namely, thirty-one kings and all their cities, there was no city humble enough to ask for peace save only Gibeon, though Israel has command from God to offer and accept terms of peace. In their presumption they were all hardened, and fought against Israel, so that it is written in the 11th chapter: "There was no city that made peace with the people of Israel save Gibeon; but they were all taken with battle"; for it was determined of the Lord that they should be bold to fight against the people of Israel, and thereby be destroyed and find no favor."²

It seems to me that this history ought to be an example for our papists, bishops, scholars and other spiritual tyrants, who clearly see and understand that people know them and have had enough of them, and that the bright light is everywhere revealing their deceitful and seducing ways, so that all the covers have become too short and too narrow. Yet they neither humble themselves nor sue for peace; nay, when peace is offered them it is refused; they screw up their courage and undertake to quench the light by force, thinking they are so

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 275, n. 2. This letter is the dedication of the tract, *Von der Beicht, ob die Papst Macht habe zu gebieten*. Cf. *supra*, no. 483, p. 28, n. 1.

² Joshua xi, 19f.

securely in the saddle that no one can unhorse them. I am afraid it is God's doing that they are hardened in their hearts, give no thought to humility and do not consider peace, so that at last they must perish without any mercy.

They blame me for it all, but they know full well how proudly they have hitherto despised the poor man. I have often offered peace, have cried out for it and run to meet it. I have declared my readiness to answer charges, have held disputations, and have now appeared at two diets. It has helped me not at all. I have not met with justice but with the arbitrary show of force; have been commanded simply to recant, and threatened with all sorts of misfortune. Ah, well, if the hour comes when they, too, shall cry in vain for peace I hope they will remember the desserts that they are earning now! I can do nothing more; I have been pushed off the field; they now have time to change what people neither can nor ought to nor will endure from them. If they do not change it, someone else will change it without their consent; he will not teach them as Luther has, with letters and words, but with deeds. Thank God there now is less fear and dread of the bugaboo at Rome, and the chapter *Si quis suadente*¹ will no longer bewitch the people; the whole world can now break the spell.²

In order to show that I am not idle in this wilderness, my Patmos, I, too, have written an Apocalypse to give to all who wish it. I am herewith sending it to your Honor, to show my goodwill and gratitude for the many encouragements you have given to unworthy me. It is a sermon on confession, composed for this reason. This last Lent I issued a mild instruction to penitents,³ along with a petition to our spiritual tyrants, asking them not to disturb simple consciences about my books, and showing, besides, how their tyranny over the confessional was without sufficient ground. But they are so obstinate that they will neither hear nor consider. Ah, well, I have seen bubbles on the water before now, and once I saw an ambitious smoke-cloud set itself to quench the sun; but the

¹ The chapter of the Canon Law (c. 1, in Clem. v. 8).

² *Den Segen Sprechen*, the word that breaks a spell.

³ *Unterricht der Beichtkinder über die verbotenen Bücher* (Erlangen², xxiv, 202ff).

smoke is gone and the sun still shines. I will keep on polishing up the truth and putting it forth, and will fear my ungracious lords as little as they despise me much. Neither of us is over the mountain, but I have one advantage, I travel empty-handed. God grant victory to the truth. God have you in His keeping. I commend Sir Ulrich von Hutten and Martin Bucer to your Grace.

494. SIR RICHARD WINGFIELD TO WOLSEY.

Letters and papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1328. English.

MAYENCE, June 3, 1521.

Sir Richard Wingfield (c. 1469-1525) was educated at Cambridge and Ferrara, and began his diplomatic career with a mission to the Emperor in 1512. He discharged many confidential embassies. Allen, ii, 174.

. . . As to the matter of Luther, he [the Emperor] sayde to be ryght glad to know that the Kynge hys broder [Henry VIII] had wele takyn the manner of his proceedings in that behalf, sayenge that wher the sayde Luther had as well prechyd as also wrytten moche false doctryne to the abusion of the grosse and unlernyd people, that it was the parte and office of all princes, and specially his, to do their best for the reformation of his said false doctrine; which thing he trusted to do in such wise as should stand with the pleasure of God, and that the said people might be reduced fro suche errour as the said Luther may have set them in, and thanked the king most highly for his exhortation and his offered aid.

495. CARDINAL DE'MEDICI TO GHINUCCI, BISHOP OF ASCOLI.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1333.

(ROME, circa, June 7, 1521.)

The Pope is well pleased at the King and Wolsey's resolution touching the Lutheran heresy. The bull is [not] yet published for burning their books. The Pope sends a brief to the King and another to Wolsey, thanking them for their zeal against the common enemy of Christendom, and is rejoiced to hear that the former will defend it with his pen as well as with his sword. He does not speak of the King's work

in the briefs, as his correspondent has written from Wolsey to say that the King's book is at present a secret. Is to send it as soon as he gets it by an express courier. The Pope is glad to find that the King has induced the scholars of his realm to draw their pens against the heretics. The King is so active in this matter, that he will leave nothing to be done or even desired, unless it were God's good pleasure that Martin were there (in England). The Pope wishes the King should make it known that he had been notified by the Pope of the Emperor's good resolution. In accordance with Wolsey's prudent advice, the Pope has written a second time to all Christian princes against Luther. Sends two briefs about the collectorship; also certain works against Luther, for Wolsey to read at his leisure, and pass his judgment on.

496. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT COBURG.

Enders, iii, 170.

ISLE-OF-PATMOS (WARTBURG), June 10, 1521.

Greeting. I received your last letter, my dear Spalatin, with Oecolampadius' book¹ and all the other things, and now, because it is thought you can best attend to it, I am sending you, as you see, the complete Magnificat, and the tract that has grown out of my sermon on confession and is dedicated to Sickingen. Have them printed as soon as possible. The Twenty-second Psalm I have already sent to the printers. See to it, therefore, that these things, too, are taken to them, unless you think that something ought to be changed. I have not yet decided whether I prefer to include the One hundred and nineteenth Psalm with the others or publish it as a separate booklet. I will send the rest of it when I hear what you advise, for it is now under way, but not yet finished, and so the messenger has had to leave it behind.

I have not yet received the Postils; they have been mislaid by him to whom I gave them; meanwhile I have written that if they cannot be found you will see that I get a copy of the shorter Postil, if you have it, together with a list of the Epistles and Gospels. I have finished a full explanation in German of the Epistle for the Sunday after Christmas. I

¹ *Vide supra*, no. 489, p. 35, n. 2.

must also answer Latomus, who glories in the Lord, the Pope. I marvel at the spirit of Oecolampadius, not because he has hit upon the same line of argument with me, but because he is so outspoken, so confident, so Christian. May the Lord preserve him and make him great. Amen. I am both very idle and very busy here. I am studying Hebrew and Greek and writing without cessation. The warden¹ treats me far better than I deserve. The trouble with which I suffered at Worms has not left me, but increased, for I am more constipated than ever in my life, and despair of a remedy. The Lord thus visits me that I may not be without a relic of the cross. Blessed be He. Amen.

I wonder that the imperial edict is so delayed. On my way from Worms I read the printed copy of my letter to the estates of the Empire,² but it is full of mistakes. It is said here that Chièvres³ has died, and left Charles a million gulden. Brave Christ, not to fear these mountains of gold! If only they would learn once for all that He is our Lord God. I have not yet answered the young prince's⁴ last letter, for the place from which it was written was not given; nor do I think it necessary to do so, lest in multiplying letters the secret of my hiding place may somehow get out. Pray for me diligently. This is the one thing I need; all things else abound. Now that I am at rest, I care not what they do with me in public. Farewell in the Lord, and greet all those you think it safe to greet. HENRICUS NESICUS.⁵

497. HENRY GLAREAN TO ZWINGLI AT ZURICH.

Corpus Reformatorum, xciv, 460.

PARIS, July 4, 1521.

On Glarean (Henry Loriti of Glarus), *cf.* Vol. I, p. 383. On Zwingli, Vol. I, p. 248, and *The Latin Works and Correspondence of Zwingli*, ed. S. M. Jackson, 1912.

On Luther it did not seem worth while to write much, for

¹ Hans von Berlepsch, to whom Luther dedicated his book, *Von Menschenlehre zu meiden*, 1522, Weimar x, part ii, pp. 72-92.

² *Supra*, Vol. I, no. 465, is meant.

³ *Cf. supra*, no. 489. Contarini wrote the same to the Signory of Venice, May 28. Brown, iii, no. 224.

⁴ John Frederic of Electoral Saxony (*cf.* Vol. I, p. 443, n. 1).

⁵ An unexplained bit of humor.

you can easily learn everything from Tschudi.¹ He is a great man. Our vain talkers² are playing their proper rôle, so that our age, too, may not be without its Pharisees. Our triumvirs have condemned him,³ Bede⁴ (not the Venerable), Quercus⁵ and a certain Christopher.⁶ The names of these prodigies are now popularly known as Belua, Stercus and Christotomus.⁷ It is truly extraordinary how the monks are now running hither and thither with all their conspiracies,⁸ as they are called. I have almost none of Luther's works except the *Babylonian Captivity*, which pleased me so greatly that I have read it through three times from beginning to end. God is my witness, I cannot tell whether its great learning surpasses its boldness or its freedom of speech its judgment. The two things seem to me to be fighting an even battle. I do not wish to write at greater length because Tschudi can tell you everything better and more briefly. Lefèvre d'Étaples⁹ has gone twenty miles out of the city because he cannot bear to listen to the abuse of Luther, though the oaken theologian¹⁰ spares neither d'Étaples nor Erasmus. Farewell, and hold your course toward the stars.

498. ERASMUS TO PACE.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1392. BRUSSELS, July 5, 1521.

The full text is printed in Jostin's *Life of Erasmus* and *Opera*, iii, no. 583.

¹ Peter Tschudi, a member of a well-known Swiss family (1503(?)–1532). In 1516 he was at Glarean's school at Basle, followed him to Paris in 1517, where he graduated (B.A. 1518, M.A. 1519). In 1522 he was made parish priest at Glarus, where he continued to support the Reformation. ADB. and Allen, ii, 184.

² *Mataeologi* (Titus, i, 10).

³ The formal condemnation, far more complete than the previous condemnations by Louvain and Cologne, was dated April 15, 1521, and was at once printed. On this see Smith, 453, with references, and Imbart de la Tour: *Origines de la Réforme*, iii (1914), 213ff.

⁴ Natalis Beda (or Noel Bédier) a Syndic of the University of Paris, violently opposed to the New Learning as well as to the Reformation. He attacked in turn Erasmus, Lefèvre d'Étaples and Louis Berquin. The date of his death is variously given as 1536 and 1537. *Biographie Générale*. P. Feret: *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris. Époque Moderne*, 7 vols. 1900–1910, ii, 5ff.

⁵ William a Quercu (Du Chesne), a Parisian priest, who took part in the Council of Pisa-Milan, and was later Inquisitor. Feret, 62ff.

⁶ Cannot be identified. Is it possible that Glarean was thinking of P. Couturier (Sutor), a violent anti-Lutheran?

⁷ "Monster," "Dung," and "Christ-killer."

⁸ *Practica*.

⁹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 44, n. 1.

¹⁰ Quercus, cf. n. 5

Wishes that some *Deus ex machina* would bring to a happy conclusion the tragedy which Luther has so inauspiciously begun. He has put a sword into the hands of his foes, and seems bent on his own destruction, though often advised by Erasmus and other friends to moderate the sharpness of his style. His bitterness is such that even if all he writes were true, it would not turn to good account. Fears that the Jacobites and the theologians will use their victory immoderately, especially those of Louvain, who have had a private hatred against Erasmus, and have found a most convenient instrument for that purpose in Aleander. He is furious enough by nature, and requires no additional prompting. The most abusive pamphlets fly about on all sides; all of which Aleander attributes to Erasmus, though of many he had never heard except from Aleander. Luther acknowledges his own books, and attributes the *Captivity of Babylon* to Erasmus. Must be very prolific to produce so many books while so hard at work in revising the New Testament and correcting St. Augustine, besides other studies. There is not a syllable of his in all Luther's books, and he has never published anything abusive.

They are now showing that Luther has taken a great deal from his books, as if he had not taken still more from Paul's Epistles. Sees now that the Germans¹ wish to drag him into Luther's affairs against his will. It is a foolish plan, more likely to alienate him. What help could he give Luther, if he shared his danger, except that two would perish for one? Cannot sufficiently admire the spirit in which he writes. He has taught many things, but spoilt them by intolerable evils. Everyone has not strength for martyrdom. Fears that if any tumult were to arise he would imitate St. Peter; and, therefore, follows Popes and Emperors when they make good laws, and bears with them when they pass bad ones. They are again attacking him for the dialogue upon *Julius*, and leave nothing untried to hinder, not so much him as learning, which they do not like to see so flourishing. Christ will protect him, whose cause all his writings will serve when Luther has

¹ Especially Albert Dürer, who saw Erasmus at Brussels about this time. Cf. Kalkoff: *Die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden*, 1904, i, 51f.

departed in ashes. Everywhere preachers and theologians are sounding their own praises. Wise princes should take care that laws be not relaxed, and this rage let loose against men who are harmless and deserve well of the Christian religion. Refers him to the letter to More. Asked to be commended to the Cardinal.

499. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 201. THE WILDERNESS (WARTBURG, after July 15), 1521.

Greeting. I think my letter ¹ reached you, my dear Spalatin, and now I am sending another and some other things. Listen to my ruse. When the report of my whereabouts becomes so strong that men cannot be persuaded I am not here, even though they do not dare to say so, I want you to lose the enclosed letter,² which I have written you. It should be done with studied carelessness, either by you or by your friends, and in such a way that it will come into the hands of our opponents stealthily, and as though concealing some great mystery. Would that my writing might come into the hands of the Dresden hog;³ he would so gladly make it public.

The bearer will tell you that I am well. I am hoping for better things. Farewell in the Lord.

500. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 202. WHERE-I-AM (WARTBURG, after July 15), 1521.

Greetings. I hear that there is a report abroad, my dear Spalatin, that Luther is living at the castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach. This suspicion has been aroused because I was captured in the forest there. While people are thinking thus, I am hidden here, safe so long as the brethren who are around me keep the secret. If the books I am publishing betray me, I shall move my quarters. I wonder that nobody now thinks of Bohemia.

St. George, Duke of Saxony, is still wroth, I hear; I hope it will be good for him; may he continue wroth so long as he is a papist. I have the same answer for him that the

¹ No. 496.

² No. 500.

³ Duke George of Saxony.

Landgravine of Hesse¹ had, who is now wife of the Count of Solm. She knew the right answer for this great man when she bade his legates remind him of his grandfather, Podiebrad, and his mother, Prodiebrad's daughter. Do you know what that clever woman told his legates at the Diet of Worms?

At Erfurt Satan has been plotting against us to give our friends a bad name,² but he will accomplish nothing. It is not our friends who are doing these things. He is unable to resist the truth and seeks to bring it into ill-repute by inflaming against us the foolish jealousy of fools. I wonder that the city council puts up with it. I am well, thank God, and enjoying a holiday from the papists. Pray for me and farewell. Our illustrious prince does not wish my whereabouts known as yet, and for this reason I am not writing to him.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

501. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON.

Enders, iii, 205.

(WARTBURG), August 1, 1521.

During Luther's absence the leader of the Wittenberg theologians was Andrew Carlstadt (*cf.* Vol. I, p. 41, n. 9). Very early in this period he began to show evidences of the radical tendencies that ultimately caused a complete break between him and Luther. In the following letter, which is only a fragment, the opening part having been lost, Luther gives Melanchthon his opinion of Carlstadt's views on celibacy and the Lord's Supper, expressed in his seven Theses on Celibacy of June 20, and his twenty-four theses of July 19, nine of which deal with the reception of the eucharist. It is also probable that Luther had received the sixty-six Theses on Celibacy which Carlstadt issued about this time. *Cf.* Barge, i, 265, 289ff, 475ff.

You have not yet convinced me that the same rules must be made for the vows of priests and monks. The thing that especially moves me is that the order of priests was instituted by God as a free order; with the monks that is not the case. They have chosen their estate and made it an offering to God of their own accord. To be sure, I am almost ready to decide that those who entered this abyss before or during the

¹ Anne of Hesse, mother of the Landgrave Philip, married Otto of Solms-Laubach, July, 1509.

² *Cf. supra*, no. 483, p. 27, n. 1, and Kampschulte, ii, p. 127.

age of puberty can leave it with a clear conscience, but about those who have grown old and lingered a long while in this estate, I have not yet made up my mind. Concerning the priests, Paul speaks with entire freedom. He says that the demons have forbidden them to marry.¹ I have no doubt that the voice of Paul is the voice of the Divine Majesty, and must be trusted in this as in other things. Therefore, even if they have consented to the devil's prohibition at the time of their initiation, nevertheless, now that they know the true state of the case and with whom they have made the compact, that compact ought to be broken with boldness.

This prohibition by the devil, so clearly proved by the words of God, strongly urges and compels me to approve the deed of the Bishop of Kemberg.² For God is not a deceiver or a liar when He says that this prohibition is of the devil. But if the compact has been made with the devil it cannot be binding, since it was made in impious error, against God and with God's disapproval and condemnation. For he expressly calls those who are the authors of the prohibition "spirits of error." Why, then, do you hesitate to concur in this divine sentence, even against the gates of hell? . . . Moreover, celibacy is merely of human institution, and a man who has instituted it can also abolish it; therefore, any Christian can do the same. I would say this even though it had been instituted not by demons but by a good man. I have no such declaration of God concerning the monks, and, therefore, it is not safe to make the same assertions about them. I myself would not venture to act on such an assertion; therefore I will not venture to advise another to do so. I wish we could bring it to pass that no one would henceforth become a monk, or would withdraw, in the years of physical desire. We must avoid offence, even in things that are permissible, unless we have a clear word of Scripture on our side.

That excellent man, Carlstadt, quotes³ the saying of St. Paul, that the younger widows are to be refused and the widows of sixty to be chosen.⁴ I only wish that that settled

¹ 1 Timothy iv, 3.

² Bernhardt. *Vide supra*, no. 489.

³ In his seven Theses on Celibacy (June 20, 1521), cf. Barge, I, 475, Jäger, Carlstadt, p. 176.

⁴ 1 Timothy, v, 9, 11.

the matter. It would be easy for someone to say that that was a commandment for the future, while for the past he says they are condemned because they have cast off their first faith.¹ Thus his authority will get away from him and will not be a rock on which men's consciences can faithfully rest; and that is what we are seeking. As for the argument that it is better to marry than to burn,² or better to enter the estate of matrimony in the sin of a broken promise than to commit the sin of fornication,—what is this except reason? We are looking for a word of Scripture and a testimony of the divine will. Who knows if he who burns to-day will burn to-morrow? For I would not allow priests to marry merely because of the “burning,” if Paul did not call the prohibition of marriage erroneous and demoniacal and hypocritical and condemned of God. Thus even without the “burning,” he compels us to give up celibacy for the sake of the fear of God. But it will be a good thing to argue these matters at somewhat greater length. I, too, desire above all things to come to the aid of the monks and nuns, so greatly do I pity these wretched men and these boys and girls who are vexed with pollutions and burnings.

As regards both kinds in the eucharist,³ I draw my proof not from the example, but from the word of Christ. He⁴ does not prove that those who receive only the one kind either sin or do not sin. What decides me is that Christ does not require either kind, just as He does not absolutely require baptism, if the world or a tyrant forbid it. Thus the violence of persecution puts asunder a man and a woman whom God has forbidden to be put asunder, and yet they do not consent to the separation; so pious hearts do not consent to be deprived of the one kind, but who will deny that they who do consent to it and approve of it—I mean the papists—are not Christians and are guilty of sin?

Since, then, He does not absolutely require it, and the tyrant prevents it, I do not see how those who receive only

¹ I Timothy v, 12.

² I Corinthians x, 7.

³ Another question agitated by Carlstadt, in his theses of July 19. Luther is here especially concerned with Thesis 10. Barge, i, 291, n, 118.

⁴ *I.e.*, Carlstadt.

the one kind commit sin. For who can take this [the wine] by force, against a tyrant's will? Therefore there is no compulsion here save that of reason, which declares that Christ's institution is not observed; but the Scripture gives no decision, and without a word of Scripture we cannot pronounce it sin. It is Christ's institution, but freely granted, and it cannot be imprisoned, neither the whole of it nor any part of it. . . . It pleases me greatly that you are restoring the whole institution of Christ. This was the thing I had intended to work for before anything else, if I had returned to you; for now we know this tyranny and can resist it and are not forced to receive only the one kind.

I, too, will never say another private mass. Let us pray the Lord, I beseech you, that He will hasten to give us a larger portion of His Spirit, for I suspect that the Lord will soon visit Germany as its unbelief, impiety and hatred of the Gospel deserve. But then this plague will be charged to us, on the ground that we heretics have provoked the Lord, and we will be "a reproach of men and despised of the people,"¹ while they find excuses for their sins and justify themselves, that He may prove that the wicked cannot be made good either by kindness or by wrath, and many will be offended. The Lord's will be done. Amen.

If you are a preacher of grace, then preach a true, not a pretended grace; if grace is true you must bear a true, not a pretended, sin. God does not save pretended sinners. Be a sinner and sin mightily, but believe more mightily, and rejoice in Christ, who is victor over sin, death and world.² We must sin so long as we are what we are; this life is not the dwelling-place of righteousness, but we look, says Peter,³ for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells. It is enough that by the riches of God's glory we

¹ Psalm xxii, 6.

² This passage is frequently quoted against Luther, and interpreted as an encouragement to sin. As it stands here it is merely a rebuke to Melancthon's characteristic timidity. The sense of it is,—“Be a man and a Christian. As a man, you will sin, but when you have committed a sin, do not be paralyzed with fear of consequences, but be bold in faith, for Christ died for sinners.” Cf. Luther to Cronberg, *infra*, no. 534, and P. Smith, in *Lutheran Survey*, March 14, 1917, p. 653.

³ II Peter iii, 13.

have come to know the Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world. From Him no sin will tear us, even though we commit fornication and murder a thousand times a day. Is it so small a purchase-price, think you, that was paid for our sins with so great a Lamb? Pray mightily, for you are a mighty sinner.

502. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 215.

(WARTBURG), August 6, 1521.

Greeting. From my host¹ I have received the dialogues and the two signatures of Carlstadt's² work. Good God, will our Wittenbergers give wives even to the monks? But they will not thrust a wife on me. The author of the dialogues is lacking in talent and in learning. I wish that Carlstadt's writings, too, were more lucid, for they contain a great power of learning and talent. It is not my intention that everything I am sending shall be printed. I should wish that Philip's Apology³ be deferred until the presses are idle, unless you think otherwise. The same should be done with the Psalm *Exsurgat*, for there are plenty of things that are necessary and urgent.

Pray tell me if my Magnificat is not yet finished. I am surprised that the One hundred and nineteenth Psalm has been lost, for I am certain that I put it at the end of the *Sermon on Confession*, so that part of it was written on the same sheet with the last part of that tract, and now the *Sermon on Confession* also must be incomplete. The rest of it I sent with the other package. . . . My constipation will be permanent, I see, and must always be relieved by remedies. . . . Wonderful stomach! Farewell, and pray for me; beware, also, lest you too take a wife and incur tribulation of the flesh.⁴

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Hans von Berlepsch, the warden of the Wartburg.

² His Latin treatise on celibacy. Cf. Enders, iii, 210; Barge, i, 276ff. Even now the Germans often send out the pages of a work before all is printed, in bundles of, say, 80 pages each.

³ I.e., Luther's translation of Melancthon's *Apology Against the Theologians of Paris*. Vide Enders, iii, 190.

⁴ The Archbishop of Mayence had summoned Bernhardi (*vide supra*, no. 489) to appear before him to answer for his marriage.

503. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 217.

(WARTBURG), August 15, 1521.

Greeting. Dear Spalatin, I have received the second and third parts of my *Sermon on Confession* from you and the first part from Melanchthon. I cannot say how sorry and disgusted I am with the printing. I wish I had sent nothing in German, because they print it so poorly, carelessly and confusedly, to say nothing of bad types and paper. John,¹ the printer, is always the same old Johnny. Please do not let him print any of my German Postils, but return them for me to send elsewhere. What is the use of my working so hard if the errors in the printed books give occasion to other publishers to make them still worse? I would not sin so against the Gospels and Epistles; better let them remain hidden than bring them out in such form. Therefore I send you nothing now, although I have almost ten large sheets of the same matter. I shall forward no more until I find that these sordid mercenaries care less for the profits of printing than for the benefit of the readers. Such printers seem to think: "It is enough for me to get the money; let the readers look out for the matter." Philip has sent me three signatures of the Latomus,² which I like very much.

I wish that Carlstadt had relied on more appropriate passages of Scripture in writing against celibacy. . . . He has taken up a great cause, and he has made a good attempt; I only wish it were great and skillful and successful too. You see what clearness our adversaries require of us, since they slander the clearest and the cleverest things we say. We are a spectacle to the world, and therefore we need to use the greater care that our word may be without reproach, as Paul bids us. Perhaps I am minding other people's business, but it is not other people's business if his attempt shall succeed. For what is more dangerous than to invite a great crowd of celibates to matrimony, with passages of Scripture so unreliable and so uncertain that those who marry will afterwards be harassed with continual anguish of conscience worse than

¹ John Grünenberg, a prominent Wittenberg printer.

² The reply to Latomus (Weimar, viii, 36ff.), cf. *supra*, no. 489, p. 34, n. 1.

that they now suffer? I, too, wish to see celibacy made a matter of liberty, as the Gospel requires, but I do not quite know, as yet, how to bring it about.¹ But this advice of mine is useless. He probably does not wish to be held back, and so must be let alone. . . .

Do not be anxious about my exile. It makes no difference to me where I am, if only I am not a burden and a nuisance to the men here. I wish to cause expense to no one. I think I am living at the bounty of the Elector, and could not stay another hour if I thought I was consuming the substance of the warden, who serves me in all things cheerfully and freely. You know that if anyone's wealth must be wasted it should be that of a prince, for to be a prince and not a robber is hardly possible, and the greater the prince the harder it is. Please inform me on this point. I cannot understand this man's liberality unless he supports me from the Elector's purse. It is my nature to be afraid of burdening people when perchance I do not, but such a scruple becomes an honorable man.

Last week I hunted two days to see what that *bitter-sweet*² pleasure of heroes was like. We took two hares and a few poor partridges—a worthy occupation indeed for men with nothing to do. I even moralized among the snares and dogs, and the superficial pleasure I may have derived from the hunt was equalled by the pity and the pain which are a necessary part of it. It is an image of the devil hunting innocent little creatures with his gins and his hounds, the impious magistrates, bishops and theologians. I deeply felt this parable of the simple and faithful soul. A still more cruel parable followed. With great pains I saved a little live rabbit, and rolled it up in the sleeve of my cloak, but when I left it and went a little way off the dogs found the poor rabbit and killed it by biting its right leg and throat through the cloth. Thus do the Pope and Satan rage to kill souls and are not stopped

¹ On Luther's earlier attitude towards sacerdotal celibacy, cf. W. Reindell: *Luther, Crotus und Hutten*, p. 86ff. (1890).

² Greek. This humane dislike of hunting was shared by Thomas More. Cf. *life of More*, by W. H. Hutton, p. 47. The Utopians, says More, see no pleasure in the "seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder." *Utopia*, Book II, Bohn's edition, p. 129.

by my labor. I am sick of this kind of hunting, and prefer to chase bears, wolves, foxes, and that sort of wicked magistrate with spear and arrow. It consoles me to think that the mystery of salvation is near, when hares and innocent creatures will be captured rather by men than by bears, wolves and hawks, *i.e.*, the bishops and theologians. I mean that now they are snared into hell, then they will be captured for heaven, Thus I joke with you. You know that your nobles would be beasts of prey even in paradise. Even Christ the greatest hunter could hardly capture and keep them. I jest with you because I know you like hunting.

I have changed my mind and have decided to send the rest of the Postils, thinking that as they have begun to print what I sent before it cannot be postponed or stopped. But I want it printed in large quarto¹ and from Lotther's types,² for it will be a large book. I shall divide it into the four parts of the year, from quarter to quarter, that it may not be too cumbrous and expensive. But these wishes of mine are vain, for what can be done is not what I wish, but what is decided there. Whatever happens or does not happen please see that the manuscripts are either well guarded or else returned to me. I know the Satan who plots against them. I wonder if my Magnificat will ever be finished. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

504. WOLSEY TO JOHN CLERK* AT ROME.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1510. English.

BRUGES, August 25, 1521.

Clerk knows by his sundry letters the King's catholic mind for extinguishing the heresies of Luther, and the pains he has taken in devising a book for their confutation. It is now completed, and dedicated to the Pope, and Clerk is to present it in the following form, declaring the King's resolution to support the Church, and extinguish heresy by the sword and

¹ *In cubitalis papyri modum.*

² *Cf.* Vol. I, p. 217, n. 3.

³ John Clerk (†1541) had been a chaplain to Wolsey. After this mission to Rome in 1521 he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1523, and employed as envoy on subsequent occasions. DNB.

pen. He is then to deliver the book privately, covered with cloth of gold,¹ subscribed by the king's hand; "wherein the King's grace hath devised and made two verses, inserted in the said book by the King's own hand"; and, if on perusal it be approved by the Pope, he is to have it sent forth with the Pope's authority, and request leave to present it publicly in full consistory, there to receive the papal sanction. Sends him twenty-seven copies for private perusal first. On leave being granted, is to present himself with a solemn oration, "conforming your words and manners to the King's epistle and proem put in the beginning of the same book," with such additions as he thinks proper, stating that the King has therein styled himself the very Defender of the Catholic Faith [of] Christ's Church, which he has truly deserved of the See Apostolic.

505. ALBERT OF MAYENCE TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Kalkoff, *Capito*, 140.

(HALLE, end of August, 1521.)

Most gracious Lord, etc. I recently received, with all due reverence, your Imperial Majesty's edict² and prohibition against the rebellious heretic named Martin Luther, of the Augustinian Order, and against those who adhere to his contumacious views. It is my desire to do my duty and publish it as speedily as possible and to enforce and obey it to the best of my ability, but several reasons lead me to inquire further concerning your Majesty's will and intention before making it public. Very few of the other princes, so far as I know, have published the mandate, and fewer still have undertaken to put it into effect. Thus disobedience, outrages, libels, open rebellion and seditious gatherings of the opposition are increasing, and so far are they from concealing their criminal views that they shamelessly allow themselves to be known as adherents of the doctrines and the writings that have been condemned. Indeed they pretend that these doctrines are Christian and correct, and venture to defend them. Besides, it has been found that they have hitherto grown all the stronger when they were opposed, especially where they are not steadily

¹ This book is still in the Vatican Library, Codex Vat., 3731. The gold binding was stolen in the sack of Rome, 1527. Pastor-Kerr, viii, 442f, n.

² The Edict of Worms.

suppressed. I am fearful, therefore, that if I cause your Majesty's edict to be published, but am not able to enforce it fully (and indeed this seems impossible in all the circumstances), your Majesty's high name and imperial dignity will be lessened and our enemies be strengthened, and this I, as an obedient Elector, would greatly regret. I perceive, also, that this dissension cannot be put down in this way by force without a terrible uprising, which, I think, we ought to avoid above all things in these perilous times. I have decided, therefore, to do nothing in the matter until your Majesty's further commands, which I await and am ready in all submissiveness to obey. But I humbly request that if your Majesty intends to enforce the mandate, its publication may be ordered in the neighboring territories also, so that all of us may take common measures for the common end.

506. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 229. THE WILDERNESS (WARTBURG), September 19, 1521.

Greeting. Neither Capito's nor Erasmus's opinion¹ moves me in the least. They are only doing what I have expected. Indeed, I have been afraid that some day I should have trouble with one or the other of them, for I saw that Erasmus was far from the knowledge of grace. In everything he writes he is thinking of peace, not of the cross. Thus he thinks that everything must be discussed civilly and with a certain kindli-

¹ We do not know precisely to what Luther alludes, but the general situation is clear. Even after the publication of the Edict of Worms Erasmus hoped to reconcile the two parties, and he used Capito as his chief agent. It was, perhaps, due to Capito that Albert of Mayence took the equivocal stand reported *supra*, no. 505. About this time Erasmus started his *De finiendo negotio Lutherano*, which was not finished, but the scheme of which he gives in his *Catalogue of Lucubrations* (1522), Allen, i, p. 34f. In this Thrasymachus was to represent Luther, Eubulus the Catholic, and Philaethes the arbiter, *sc.* Erasmus himself. At the same time Capito had evidently written Spalatin to urge Luther to be more moderate. Luther's rebuff to this advance is reflected in Capito's letter to Erasmus of October 14, 1521, unfortunately much mutilated. *Erasmi epistolae*, London, 1642, xxx, 79. In this he calls the Lutherans furious and insolent. Erasmus saw Capito at Mayence about the middle of November on his journey from the Netherlands to Basle. *Epistolae*, xvii, 9; *cf.* *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, ii, no. 292. In the meantime, September 30, Capito visited Wittenberg to consult with Jonas and Melanchthon on making a treaty or compromise between Luther and Albert of Mayence. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, vi, 172 (1910). The Erasmian influence is shown in Capito's telling Melanchthon, at this time, that Luther overemphasized grace and free will. *Corpus Reformatorum*, i, 462; Baum: *Capito und Butzer*, p. 64.

ness and courtesy; but Behemoth¹ cares nothing for that, and it will never bring him to reform.

I remember that when he said of himself in the Preface to his New Testament, "A Christian readily despises glory,"² I thought in my heart, "O Erasmus, you deceive yourself, I fear." It is a great thing to despise glory, but his way of despising it was to think lightly of it, not to bear contempt that others put upon him. But the despising of glory is nothing, if it is only in words; it is less than nothing, if it is only in thoughts; for Paul says,³ "The kingdom of God is in power." Therefore I have never dared, nor can I now boast of anything except the word of truth, which the Lord has given me.

Their books do no good because they refrain from chiding and biting and giving offence. When the Popes are civilly admonished, they think it flattery, and keep right on as before, as though they possessed a sort of right to be uncorrected and incorrigible (*jus incorrigibilitatis*), content that they are feared and that no man dares reproach them. They are the sort of people that your Plutarch paints in his book on flattery; but Jeremiah speaks more gravely and terribly of them: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully,"⁴ for he is speaking of the work of the sword against the enemies of God. I, too, am afraid and my conscience troubles me, because I listened to you and to my friends at Worms, and held my spirit in check and did not show myself a second Elijah to those idols. They would hear another story if I stood before them again. But enough of this.

Duke John⁵ the elder knows at last where I am; so far he has not known; my host⁶ has told him in confidence, but he will be silent. I am well here, but I am growing sluggish and languid and cold in spirit, and am miserable. Until to-day I have been constipated for six days. . . . Christ be thanked! He has not left me without some relics of the holy cross. . . . I write this not for sympathy, but for congratulation, praying

¹ L  ther follows Jerome in making Behemoth mean the devil. See his comment on Job xl, in *Deutsche Bibel*, Weimar, iii, 513.

² Allen, ii, 168.

³ I Corinthians iv, 20.

⁴ Jeremiah xlviii, 10.

⁵ Brother of the Elector.

⁶ Hans von Berlepsch.

that I may be worthy to be fervent in spirit. For it is time to pray against Satan with all our might; he is threatening Germany with a fatal tragedy, and I fear the Lord will allow him to bring it about. I am sleepy and lazy both in prayer and in striving, so that I am displeased with myself and have become a burden to myself; perhaps it is because I am alone and you are not here to help me. I beg you, let us pray and watch, that we enter not into temptation. I have nothing else to write just now; you know everything about everybody.

I am glad that Wittenberg is flourishing, and especially that it is flourishing when I am away, that the wicked may see it and be grieved, and his desire may perish.¹ May Christ perfect that which He has begun! I greatly wish that Philip, too, would preach to the people somewhere in the city on festival days after dinner. His preaching would take the place of the drinking and the gambling, and people would grow used to the introduction of liberty and the restoration of the customs and manners of the early Church. If we have broken all the laws of men and cast off their yokes from us, what difference ought it to make if he is not anointed or shorn and is a married man? He is, nevertheless, a true priest and is actually doing the work of a priest, unless it is not the office of a priest to teach the Word; but in that case Christ Himself would not be a priest, for He taught now in the synagogues, now in ships, now on the shore, now in the mountains; in a word, He was always and everywhere all things to all men. Since, therefore, Melancthon is called of God and performs the ministry of the Word, as nobody can deny, what difference does it make if he is not called by those tyrannical bishops, not of churches, but of horses and courtiers? But I know what he thinks about it; he will not yield to my persuasion. Let him be called, therefore, and driven to it by the urgent command of the whole Church. For if the Church demands and requires it of him, he ought not and cannot say no. If I were there I should do my best with the city council and the people to have them ask him to lecture to them privately on the Gospel in German, as he has already begun to do in

¹ Psalm cxii, 10.

Latin, and thus, little by little, he would become a German bishop, as he is already a Latin bishop. I wish you would do what you can to bring this about, for the thing the people need above all things is the Word of God; and since he is rich in the Word above others, you can see that it is our duty to call him, that the Word may not be cheated of its fruit.

You will be able to get this through the city council very easily by the help of Lucas¹ and Christian.² In this way, too, Christ will make up for my absence and silence by his preaching, to the confusion of Satan and his apostles. Origen taught women privately; why should not he, too, undertake something of this sort, since he can do it and ought to, and especially since the people are famishing and in want? I hope you will not listen too readily to his excuses, for he will get behind the most beautiful trifles; and it is right that he should, for he ought not to seek such a duty, but the Church ought to urge him and call him, and even beseech him serve it, and to do not what is useful for himself, but what is profitable for many. I beg you to use every effort to accomplish this one thing and get your friends to help you. Farewell, and remember me in your prayers.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

507. SEBASTIAN HELMANN TO JOHN HESS AT Breslau.
ARG., vi, (1909), 175. WITTENBERG, October 8, 1521.

Helmann, also called Heinemann and Hennemann and Raysig, was a native of Breslau, where he occupied the position of judge in 1528, 1531, 1533 and 1536, and of Member of the Town Council, 1529, 1530, 1532, 1534, 1535, 1537-49. He died October 15, 1549. He did not matriculate at Wittenberg.

. . . Behold, God has raised up unto us another prophet,³ of the same order, who preaches the Gospel so sincerely and candidly that he is dubbed the Second Luther by all. Melanch-

¹ Cranach.

² Doering.

³ Gabriel Zwilling, an Augustinian (*circa* 1487-1558), born at Bamberg, studied at Prague and Wittenberg. He was the leader of the radical movement at Wittenberg at this time, preaching here and at Eilenberg against the abuses of the mass, and against images. When Luther returned in 1522, Zwilling submitted to him, and soon after went as pastor to Torgau. On account of opposition to the Interim, he was removed in 1549. RGG. s. v.

thon neglects no sermon; he [Zwilling] is such a man that, save for the testimony of certain men, I should not believe that Luther himself could beat him. Directed, as I have heard, by letters from Luther, he has preached that no man ought to attend any mass, and says that he himself will never in future officiate at one for this reason alone, that the abuse of the mass is so atrocious a sin against the divine majesty that nothing could make God angrier. For, in the first place, they make of the mass a sacrifice. Secondly, we adore and make an idol of this sacrament, or sign, given for strengthening our faith. For this sign is nowise more excellent than the signs in the Old Testament. But the Jews were not allowed to adore the ark of the covenant,¹ nor the rainbow,² nor circumcision, by which signs they were assured that God would not desert them. Likewise, in this sign of the New Covenant, when we take the body and blood of Christ, nothing is given us save certainty of our salvation. For we take the flesh as a reminder that it has been offered as a sacrifice for the sins of all men, and the blood to make certain that this was shed for our sins. . . . Accordingly we Wittenbergers do not hear masses. We hear the Word of God diligently; also we do not communicate in one kind, but in both, and we do it often. Philip Melanchthon with all his pupils communicated in both kinds in the parish church on Michaelmas [September 29], and now this is done in all the churches.

508. MELANCHTHON TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

ARG., vi, (1909), 181.

WITTENBERG, October 9 (1521).

. . . You know what has been the course of the Gospel here, and especially what Luther thinks of the mass, what of its institution, its form and its use. While these things were being discussed here, it seems good to your brothers³ to restore the mass to its primitive customs, that is, that one should consecrate and bless the bread and distribute it to all who desire and are able to partake of it. At this communion the same man recites the Gospel. This can easily be done with-

¹ Hebrews ix, 1-4.

² Genesis ix, 12f.

³ *I.e.*, the Augustinians at Wittenberg.

out public scandal; indeed with public applause in this city, which for so many years has heard the Gospel. Even if there were scandal, we should not regard it in divine matters. . . .

You know that I think private masses are a mere mockery, mere comedies, and that those who say such masses are those who have Christ for a show.¹ . . . Here we are accustomed everywhere and without objection from anyone, to communicate under both kinds; care is taken in the churches that the priests shall offer both bread and wine to all. This is no reason, as you think, why we should be called Hussites. Do not let the Nurembergers do it. . . .

509. JOHN CLERK TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1654. English.

ROME, Oct. 10, 1521.

Had informed the Pope that his oration was ready, and asked for a public consistory for presenting the King's book. The Pope declined a public consistory, as men's minds are so much infested with Lutheranism, and the people "so frowardly disposed," he was afraid of stirring a controversy. He promised, however, to do all that was necessary to declare his approbation of the book, and asked Clerk for the substance of his oration, that his Holiness might be ready with an answer. On Wednesday, October 2, the Pope having summoned the consistory, the master of the ceremonies ordered that Clerk should kneel all the time of his oration. "Whereat I was somewhat abashed, for methought I should not have my heart nor my spirits so much at my liberty. I feared greatly lest they should not serve me so well kneeling as they would standing." "The Pope's Holiness sat in his majesty upon a [throne] three steps from the ground underneath a cloth of [state]; afore him in a large quadrant upon stools sate the [cardinals] in their consistorial habits, to the number of xx. . . ." After kissing the Pope's foot, when he would have returned to his place, his Holiness took him by the shoulders and caused him to kiss first one cheek and then the other; then, having a stool before him, and kneeling, he delivered his oration, which he incloses. This done, he pre-

¹ Cf. Philippians i, 18.

sented the book, and received the Pope's thanks in Latin. On Saturday, the 5th, the Pope complimented him on his oration. Then Clerk moved, in the name of Cardinal Wolsey, that the book should be approved by a formal decree of the consistory. The Pope said that the Gallican Church, in condemning the errors of Luther, had sanctioned as many errors against the Roman Church. In the next consistory the King will have his titles given him and his bulls sped.

510. JUAN MANUEL, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR IN ROME, TO
THE EMPEROR.

Bergenroth, 1509-25, no. 363.

ROME, October 17, 1521.

. . . The King of England has sent a book against Martin Luther to the Pope. It is said that all the learned men of England have taken part in its composition. Hears that it is a good book. The Pope has given to the King of England the title of "Defender of the Christian Faith." This title prejudices no one, as all Christian princes are, or ought to be, defenders of the faith.

511. ALBERT BURER TO BEATUS RHENANUS.

ARG., vi (1909), 192.

WITTENBERG, October 19, 1521.

Burer of Brugg (Pontanus), was a famulus of Beatus Rhenanus in 1517. He went from Schlettstadt to Basle in 1519, and to Wittenberg early in 1521, studying there several semesters. In 1537 he became schoolmaster in Niedersieenthal. Many of his letters, 1519-22, in *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*. (See Smith, pp. 120 and 147.)

. . . On October 13, which is the Sunday after St. Denis's Day, masses ceased to be celebrated in the Augustinian friary at Wittenberg, and instead of mass a friar,¹ who is certainly learned, as are many of the friars in that cloister, preached to the people for two hours together on Christian faith. He did the same after dinner, but only for the space of one hour, and thus spoke of the abuse of the mass that all who have heard him—and the chapel was brim full—were astonished.

On October 17 that sermon was followed up by a learned

¹ Zwilling.

and serious debate under the presidency of Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt, a man who, as far as one can judge from that debate, has much theological erudition. In the debate there were earnest and serious proposals made for the abolition of masses. . . .

It is certain that we shall soon communicate in both kinds, even if the Pope and his whole rascally following burst, unless Melanchthon lied, who said in public, "I believe we desire to institute the communion under both kinds." . . .

As a gift I send you the picture of the Roman Antichrist.¹ I also send Luther's judgment on monastic vows,² which he sent here to be debated. I also send the German work on *Confession and whether the Pope have power to command it*,³ which you desired to see.

Capito was here for two days.⁴ He once went to the university to hear Melanchthon lecture.

At Halle, in Saxony, indulgences are sold by the Cardinal of Mayence.

512. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 246.

(WARTBURG), November 11, 1521.

Greeting. I have scarcely ever read a letter that displeased me more than your last. I not only put off my reply, but I had determined not to answer you at all. For one thing, I will not suffer what you say, that the Elector will not allow me to write against Mayence⁵ nor anything that can disturb the public peace. I will see you and the Elector and the whole world to perdition first. If I have resisted his [Albert of Mayence's] creator, the Pope, why should I give ground before the creature?

Your idea about not disturbing the public peace is beautiful, but will you allow the eternal peace of God to be dis-

¹ *Passional Christi et Antichristi*, Weimar, ix, 677ff.

² Luther's *Themata de Votis*, Weimar, viii, 313ff.

³ *Von der Beicht, etc.*, Weimar, viii, 138ff. Cf. *supra*, no. 493.

⁴ Capito and H. Auerbach came to Wittenberg September 30, in order to treat with Melanchthon and Jonas, and prevent Luther's attack on Albert of Mayence for selling indulgences.

⁵ The tract which the Elector had suppressed was *Wider den neuen Abgott zu Halle*, an attack on the Archbishop of Mayence, who had reopened the sale of indulgences. Cf. Smith, pp. 127ff., and Kalkoff, *Capito im Dienste des Erzbischofs A.*, pp. 75ff.

turbed by the wicked and sacrilegious doings of that son of perdition? Not so, Spalatin! Not so, Elector! For the sake of the sheep of Christ we must resist that grievous wolf with all our might as an example to others, and so I am sending you the tract against him, which was all ready when your letter came. The letter has not moved me to change anything in it, though I had left it to Philip's judgment to change it as he pleased. Be sure to give the book to Philip, therefore, and do not try to dissuade me from publishing it. The question is settled and I will not listen to you.

The fact that we and our friends are in bad repute with our opponents and with those who are too worldly-wise in divine things ought not to move you, for you know that Christ and the apostles were not men-pleasers, and I have not yet heard our party accused of any crime, but only of despising impiety and false doctrine, though I do not like the conduct of the students who gave the legate of St. Anthony such a warm reception,¹ but who can hold everybody in check everywhere and all the time? Are they to do no wrong at all? Even the disciples had to bear the reproach of Judas Iscariot, and evil-doers are tolerated all the time in all communities. Of us alone it is required that no dog growl. I hope you will not expect me to apologize to everybody who is displeased with Wittenberg, for that would be impossible.

The Gospel will not go to destruction because a few of our people sin against the proprieties. As for those who are alienated from the Word because of it, they have not been adherents of the Word, but of the glory of the Word. Those who are adherents of the Word for the Word's sake will not be torn from it, even by the gates of hell. He that is alienated, let him be alienated. Why does he not consider the good things and the strong things in us? Why does he look only on our faults and weaknesses? Does anybody accuse Philip and his friends of this offence? Then why condemn all because of a part? It is a smaller sin to hiss a wicked preacher than to accept his doctrine; but the latter sin is

¹ The Brothers of St. Anthony were a society of ecclesiastical beggars whose representatives went the rounds of the German cities. One of these representatives was mobbed in Wittenberg in October, 1521. Cf. Duke George to Duke John, November 21 (Gess i, 209).

praised, the former is called irremissible. And do you fear these judges and their judgments and think the Gospel will be destroyed because of these empty fellows?

In the book¹ that I am forwarding with this, I approve the abolition of the masses. I have not been able to prepare a Consolation,² nor do I see the necessity of it since I have already dealt with that subject in the *Tesseradecas*.³ Why not give him that to read? Better yet, why not refer him to the Gospel and the Passion of Christ, for there is no better consolation than that? Must I write a new consolation for every case that arises? What will our opponents say? At the same time I hope that Philip's Consolation will suffice, and I suspect that his spiritual infirmity will abate meanwhile, and my consolation would come too late and so be useless. Nor is there any danger that he will fall into impiety, for if that were the case it would not be safe to put the matter off or neglect it. But the matter on which I am now working concerns the present danger of men's souls. For I have decided to attack the subject of monastic vows⁴ and to free our young people from that hell of unclean and damnable celibacy. I am writing partly because of my own experiences and partly because I am indignant. I hope you will be satisfied with it, for I have more than one Satan with me, or rather against me, and I am alone; and yet I am not alone. Farewell, then, and greet all our friends. I had written to Gerbel before I got your last letter and it was all closed up and sealed.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

513. LUTHER TO HANS LUTHER.

Weimar, viii, 573. German.

THE WILDERNESS (WARTBURG), November 21, 1521.

This letter is the dedication of the *Treatise on Monastic Vows*

¹ *De abroganda missa privata* (Weimar, viii, 398ff.).

² Spalatin had evidently asked Luther to write another devotional tract for the spiritual consolation of the Elector. A similar request had been made of Melanchthon in September, and he had suggested application to Luther. (*Corpus Reformatorum*, i, 455.)

³ *The Fourteen of Consolation* (Weimar, vi, 99ff.; trans. in Philadelphia, i, 108ff.).

⁴ *The Treatise on Monastic Vows* (Weimar, viii, 573ff.; Philadelphia, iv, 11ff.), was published in February, 1522.

which Luther composed during the month of November, but which was not published until February, 1522. It is included here because of the personal allusions which it contains, though it is not properly a letter, except in form.

This book, dear father, I wish to dedicate to you, not to make your name famous in the world, for fame puffeth up the flesh, according to the teaching of St. Paul, but that I might seize the occasion that has arisen between you and me to indicate to pious readers in a short preface the argument and the contents of this book, together with an example.

To begin at the beginning, I wish you to know that your son has got so far as to be altogether persuaded that there is nothing holier, nothing more important, nothing more scrupulously to be observed, than God's commandment. But here you will say, Have you been so unfortunate as ever to doubt this, and have you only now learned that this is so? Most unfortunately indeed I not only doubted it, but did not even know at all that it was so, and if you will permit me, I am ready to show you that this ignorance was common to both of us.

It is now sixteen years since I became a monk, taking the vow without your knowledge and against your will. In your paternal love you were fearful about my weakness because I was a youth, just entering my twenty-second year; that is, to use St. Augustine's words,¹ I was still "clothed in hot youth," and you had learned from numerous examples that this way of life turned out sadly for many. You were determined to tie me down with an honorable and wealthy marriage. This fear of yours, this care, this indignation against me was, for a time, implacable, and your friends tried in vain to persuade you that if you wished to offer something to God, you ought to give your dearest and your best. The Lord, meanwhile, was dinning in your ears that Psalm-verse,² "God knoweth the thoughts of men that they are vanity," but you were deaf. At last you desisted and bowed to the will of God, but your fears for me were never laid aside. For you remember very well that after we were reconciled and you were talking with

¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, ii, 3.

² Psalm xciv, 11.

me, I told you that I had been called by terrors from heaven and that I did not become a monk of my own free will and accord, still less to gain any gratification of the flesh, but that I was walled in by the terror and the agony of sudden death, and took a forced and necessary vow. Then you said, "Let us hope it was not an illusion and a deception." That word penetrated to the depths of my soul and stayed there, as if God had spoken by your lips, though I hardened my heart so far as I could, against you and your word. You said something else too. When in filial confidence I upbraided you for your wrath, you suddenly retorted with a reply so fitting and so much to the point that I have hardly ever in all my life heard any man say anything which struck me so forcibly and stuck to me so long. "Have you not also heard," you said, "that parents are to be obeyed?" But I was so sure of my own righteousness that in you I heard only a man, and boldly despised you; though in my heart I could not despise that word.

See, now, whether you, too, were not unaware that the commands of God are to be put before all things. If you had known that I was then in your power, would you not have used your paternal authority to take me out of the cowl? On the other hand, if I had known it, I would never have attempted to become a monk without your knowledge and consent, even though I had had to die many deaths. For my vow was not worth a fig since by taking it I withdrew myself from the authority and direction of the parent to whom I was subject by God's commandment; nay, it was a wicked vow and proved that it was not of God, not only because it was a sin against your authority, but because it was not spontaneous and voluntary. In short, it was taken in accordance with the doctrines of men and the superstition of hypocrites, which God has not commanded. But behold how much good God (whose mercies are without number and whose wisdom is without end) has made to come out of all these errors and sins! Would you not rather now have lost a hundred sons than not have seen this good?

I think that from my childhood Satan must have foreseen in me some of his present sufferings, and has, therefore, raged

against me with incredible contrivings in order to destroy or hinder me, so that I have often wondered whether I was the only man in the world whom he sought. But it was the Lord's will, as I now see, that I should learn the wisdom of the schools and the sanctity of the monasteries in my own certain experience, that is, through many sins and impieties, in order that wicked men might not have a chance, when I became their adversary, to boast that I condemned things I knew nothing about. Therefore I lived as a monk, not, indeed, without sin, but without reproach. For in the kingdom of the Pope impiety and sacrilege pass for supreme piety, still less are they considered matters for reproach.

What do you think now? Will you still take me out of the cloister? You are still my father and I am still your son and all my vows are worthless. On your side is the authority of God, on my side there is nothing but human presumption. For that continence of which they boast with puffed up cheeks is valueless without obedience to God's commands. Continence is not commanded, but obedience is, though the mad and silly papists will not allow that any virtue is equal to continence and virginity, extolling both these virtues with such prodigious lies that their very craze for lying and the greatness of their ignorance, singly or together, ought to cast suspicion on everything they do or think.

What kind of intelligence do they show when they distort the words,¹ "A continent mind cannot be valued," to mean that virginity and continence are to be preferred to everything else, and that vows of virginity cannot be commuted or dispensed from? It was a Jew who wrote these words to Jews, among whom virginity and continence were condemned, and he was writing besides about a chaste wife. Thus, too, they apply to virgins that eulogy of a modest wife,² "This is she which hath not known the sinful bed." In a word, although the Scriptures do not laud virginity, but only give it approval, these men, who are so ready to inflame men's souls for a life that endangers their salvation, dress it out in borrowed feathers, so to speak, by applying to it the praises which the

¹ Ecclesiasticus xxvi, 15.

² Wisdom of Solomon iii, 13.

Scriptures bestow on the chastity of married life.

But is there nothing that can bear comparison with an obedient soul? Indeed there is nothing that can bear comparison with a continent soul (that is with a chaste wife), not only because it is commanded by God, but also because, as the well-known proverb has it, there is nothing in the world more desirable than a chaste wife. But these faithful interpreters of Scripture apply everything that is said about the continence which is commanded to the continence which is not commanded, and make a mere human comparison the measure of God's judgment. Thus they grant dispensations from everything, even from the obedience we owe to God, but they grant no dispensations from continence, even from that forbidden continence which is assumed against the authority of one's parents. Oh, worthy and truly papistical doctorlings and teacherlings! Virginité and chastity are to be praised, but in such wise that by their very greatness men are frightened off from them rather than led into them. This was Christ's way. When the disciples lauded continence and said,¹ "If the case of a man be so with his wife, it is expedient not to marry," He at once disabused their minds of that idea, and said, "All men cannot receive this saying." The saying must be received, but it was His will that only a few should understand it.

But to come back to you, my dear father; will you still take me out of the cloister? If so, do not boast of it, for God has anticipated you, and taken me out Himself. What difference does it make whether I retain or lay aside the cowl and the tonsure? Do they make the monk? "All things are yours, but ye are Christ's," says Paul;² and shall I belong to the cowl, or shall not the cowl rather belong to me? My conscience is freed, and that is the most complete liberty. Therefore I am still a monk, but not a monk, and a new creature, not of the Pope, but of Christ, for the Pope also has creatures and is a creator of puppets and idols and masks and straw men, of which I formerly was one, seduced by the various usages of words, by which even the Wise Man confesses³ that he was brought into dan-

¹ Matthew xix, 10f.

² I Corinthians iii, 22.

³ Ecclesiasticus xxxiv, 12.

ger of death, but was delivered by God's grace. But am I not robbing you again of your right and authority? Nay, for your authority over me still remains, so far as monkery is concerned, but monkery is nothing to me, as I have said. Nevertheless He who has taken me out of the cloister has an authority over me that is greater than yours, and you see that He has placed me not in the pretended service of the monasteries, but in the true service of God; for who can doubt that I am in the ministry of the Word? It is plain that the authority of parents must yield to this service, for Christ says,¹ "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." This saying does not destroy the authority of parents, for the apostle often insists that children obey their parents, but if the authority of parents conflicts with the authority and calling of Christ, then Christ's authority must reign alone.

Therefore—so I am now persuaded—I could not refuse to obey you without peril to my conscience unless the ministry of the Word had been joined to my monastic profession. That is what I meant when I said that neither you nor I realized that the commands of God must be put before everything else. But very nearly the whole world is now laboring in this same ignorance, for under the papal abomination error rules, as Paul also predicted when he said² that men would be disobedient to parents. This exactly fits the monks and priests, especially those who under the appearance of piety and the guise of serving God withdraw themselves from the authority of their parents, as though there were any other service of God except the keeping of His commandments, which include obedience to parents.

I send you this book, then, that you may see by what signs and wonders Christ has absolved me from the monastic vow and granted me such liberty that although He has made me the servant of all men, I am, nevertheless, subject to no one save to Him alone. He is Himself my immediate bishop, abbot, prior, lord, father and master; I know no other. Thus I hope that He has taken from you one son in order

¹ Matthew x, 37.

² II Timothy iii, 2.

that through me He may help the sons of many others. You ought not only to endure this willingly, but you ought to rejoice with exceeding joy, and this I am sure is what you will do. What if the Pope slay me or condemn me to the depths of hell! After he has slain me he will not raise me up again to slay me a second and a third time, and now that I have been condemned I have no desire to be absolved. I trust that the day is at hand when that kingdom of abomination and perdition will be destroyed. Would that we were worthy to be burned or slain by him before that time, so that our blood might cry out against him all the more and hasten the day of his judgment! But if we are not worthy to bear testimony with our blood, then let us at least pray and implore mercy that we may testify with our life and with our voice that Jesus Christ alone is the Lord our God, who is blessed forever. Amen.

The Lord bless you, my dear father, with my mother, your Margaret, and our whole family. Farewell in Christ.

514. FELIX ULSCENIUS¹ TO WOLFGANG CAPITO AT
MAYENCE.

ARG., vi (1909), 266ff.

WITTENBERG, November 30, 1521.

Greeting. I have received your letters, revered teacher. When I had read them to Melanchthon he said that he had once begged you to confer with him in case any of Luther's writings were repugnant to the Gospel. He had recently expected that you would do this, but you had written him that it was superfluous. He will soon write you on the same matter. for he is persuaded that you dissent from some of Luther's doctrines. I replied that you, like several others, missed moderation in Luther. He said that he failed to see wherein Luther was immoderate, since he calls the adversaries of Christ by their right name, and that now for a long time he had been hot against no one, but had rather taught, as in his German Church Postil. . . .

¹Ulsenius was known to Capito since his stay at Basle, 1513-20. He matriculated at Wittenberg, April 29, 1521, as "Felix Beyer Tigurinus Constan. dioc." ARG., vi, 172. One of his letters is translated *supra*, Vol. I, p. 439f. He came from Zurich, as indicated by his matriculation.

Alas, I hear no word of Luther's coming. . . .

Here you would see a treasury for poor relief founded by the magistrates at Luther's advice. It daily grows in riches, for what was formerly spent for altars and for instituting vigils is now turned into it. O apostolic deed! To-day in the hearts of the Wittenbergers a warm love of God and neighbors is burning, so that they rejoice to suffer anything for Christ's truth. . . .

515. LUTHER TO ALBERT OF MAYENCE.

De Wette, ii, 112. German.

THE WILDERNESS (WARTBURG), December 1, 1521.

Your Grace doubtless remembers vividly that I have written you twice before, the first time at the beginning of the indulgence fraud¹ protected by your Grace's name. In that letter I faithfully warned your Grace, and from Christian love set myself against the deceitful, seducing, greedy preachers thereof, and against their heretical, infidel books. Had I not preferred to act with moderation I might have driven the whole storm on your Grace as the one who aided and abetted the traders, and I might have written expressly against their heretical books, but, instead, I spared your Grace and the house of Brandenburg, thinking that your Grace might have acted through ignorance, led astray by false whisperers, so I only attacked them, and with how much trouble and danger your Grace knows.

But as this my true admonition was mocked by your Grace, obtaining ingratitude instead of thanks, I wrote you a second time,² humbly asking for information. To this I got a hard, improper, unepiscopal, unchristian answer,³ referring me to higher powers for information. As these two letters did no good, I am now sending your Grace a third warning, according to the Gospel, this time in German, hoping that such admonition and prayer, which ought to be superfluous and unnecessary, may help.

¹ October 31, 1517. Translated entire in Phila., i, 25ff.; excerpts in Smith, pp. 42f.

² February 4, 1520 (Vol. I, p. 281).

³ February 26, 1520 (Vol. I, p. 292).

Your Grace has again erected at Halle that idol¹ which robs poor simple Christians of their money and their souls. You have thus shown that the criminal blunder for which Tetzels was blamed was not due to him alone, but also to the Archbishop of Mayence, who, not regarding my gentleness to him, insists on taking all the blame on himself. Perhaps your Grace thinks I am no more to be reckoned with, but am looking out for my own safety, and that his Imperial Majesty has extinguished the poor monk. On the contrary, I wish your Grace to know that I will do what Christian love demands without fearing the gates of hell, much less unlearned popes, bishops and cardinals. I will not suffer it nor keep silence when the Archbishop of Mayence gives out that it is none of his business to give information to a poor man who asks for it. The truth is that your ignorance is willful, as long as the thing ignored brings you in money. I am not to blame, but your own conduct.

I humbly pray your Grace, therefore, to leave poor people undeceived and unrobbed, and show yourself a bishop rather than a wolf. It has been made clear enough that indulgences are nothing but knavery and fraud, and that only Christ should be preached to the people, so that your Grace has not the excuse of ignorance. Your Grace will please remember the beginning, and what a terrible fire was kindled from a little despised spark, and how all the world was surely of the opinion that a single poor beggar was immeasurably too weak for the Pope, and was undertaking an impossible task. But God willed to give the Pope and his followers more than enough to do, and to play a game contrary to the expectation of the world and to its despite, so that the Pope will hardly recover, growing daily worse, and one may see God's work therein. Let no one doubt that God still lives and knows how to withstand a Cardinal of Mayence, even if four Emperors support him. He rejoiceth to break the lofty cedars and to humble the proud, stiff-necked Pharaohs. Do not tempt Him nor despise Him, for His knowledge and His power are without measure.

And let not your Grace think Luther is dead. He will

¹ Cf. Smith, p. 127, and *supra* no. 511, p. 63, n. 5.

gladly and joyfully put his trust in God and will start such a game with the Cardinal of Mayence as few people expect. Get together, dear Bishops; you may be fighting-men, but you will not put this Spirit to silence or deafen Him. If you unexpectedly become a laughing-stock, remember that I have warned you.

Wherefore I write to tell your Grace that if the idol is not taken down, my duty to godly doctrine and Christian salvation will absolutely force me to attack your Grace publicly, as I did the Pope, and oppose your undertaking, and lay all the odium which Tetzels once had upon the Archbishop of Mayence, and show all the world the difference between a bishop and a wolf. Your Grace will now know how to act. If I am despised another will come who will despise the despiser, as Isaiah says.¹ I have admonished your Grace enough; henceforth it is time to act on the teaching of St. Paul,² and openly rebuke the open offenders before the whole world, reprove them and laugh them to scorn, so that the cause of offence may be removed from the kingdom of God.

Moreover, I beg your Grace to leave in peace the priests who, to avoid unchastity, have betaken themselves to marriage,³ or desire to do so. Do not deprive them of their God-given rights. Your Grace has no authority, reason nor right to persecute them, and arbitrary crime does not become a bishop. What do you bishops accomplish by resorting so boldly to force and embittering men's hearts against you, when you will not and cannot show either right or reason for your course? Have you all become giants and Nimrods from Babylon? Do you not know, poor things, that arbitrariness and tyranny cannot long endure, because they have an evil appearance and run counter to the common prayer of Christians? Why do you hasten, like madmen, to your destruction? It will come soon enough of its own accord.

Let your Grace beware, lest if you do not stop it the evangelical party will raise an outcry, and point out that it would become the bishops to cast first the beams out of their

¹ Isaiah xxxiii, 1.

² I Corinthians v.

³ The Archbishop had summoned Bernhardt to appear before him. *Vide supra* no. 502, p. 51, n. 4.

own eyes, and put away their harlots before they separate pious wives from their husbands.

I beg your Grace to be on his guard and give me the chance to keep silent. I have no joy or pleasure in your Grace's shame and dishonor; but if this business of putting others to shame and dishonoring God's truth does not stop, it will be my duty, and that of all Christians, to hold fast to God's honor, though the whole world, to say nothing of one poor Cardinal, be put to shame. I will not keep silence, for, though I may not accomplish it, I hope to make the bishops leave off singing their lively little song. You have not yet got rid of everybody that Christ has raised up against your idolatrous tyranny.

I beg and expect a right speedy answer from your Grace within the next fortnight, for at the expiration of that time my pamphlet, *Against the Idol of Halle*, will be published, unless a public answer¹ comes. And if this letter is suppressed by your Grace's secretaries, and does not come into your Grace's hands, I will not hold off for that reason. Secretaries should be true, and a bishop should so order his court that that reaches him which should reach him. God give your Grace His grace unto a right mind and will.

Your Grace's obedient, humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

516. ANONYMOUS LETTER.

Brown, 1520-26, no. 383. (WITTENBERG, about December 4, 1521).

This interesting epistle is registered by Sanuto at Venice, December 31, 1521. It can hardly have been written, therefore, less than two weeks earlier. The riot alluded to took place on December 3; the Franciscan convent was stormed December 4, and it is probable that this is alluded to in the last paragraph. Cf. Smith, 136.

A volume, still more a letter, would be insufficient to give an account of a new order or usage of the Christian faith, commenced at Wittenberg, but I write as follows, translating from the German:

The friar hermits of St. Austin have proved by Holy Writ that to celebrate masses, as now practiced, is a great sin. This

¹ "Public" because Luther was in hiding.

doctrine they have preached daily from Michaelmas Day [September 29], 1521, to the present time. They continue firm in their opinion, and demonstrate it practically, for since Michaelmas Sunday they have not said mass in the church of their monastery. On this account there has been a great contest between the people, the doctors, the canons, spiritual and temporal, and other learned men who were induced to debate with the friars; but the latter would not be convinced by argument, and remain firm in their determination. They will not celebrate masses in the form hitherto observed, and celebrate but one sort of mass.

Subsequently the doctors of divinity assembled and sent a letter¹ to the Duke of Saxony [i.e., Elector Frederic], acquainting him with what the friars are doing, and asserting that it is in accordance with the Christian faith. This took place on the day of All Saints [1st of November]. The letter purported that they intend to abolish the masses said for the dead, and the anniversaries and vigils in commemoration of departed souls; and all the doctors who are of this opinion signed the letter. The Duke's reply is said to be to the following effect,—that they must be well grounded and thoroughly understand Holy Writ with regard to these points of doctrine, so as not to cause disturbance amongst the people in course of debate, and be able to afford fundamental proof, and to present it in writing; requesting them not to set a bad example to the people.

The head of that church is a provost,² who preached in person both on All Saints' eve, and on the day [November 1] itself, when a great number of strangers came into the town for the plenary indulgence, which cost the Elector many thousands of ducats. The preacher impugned the indulgence, and proved by Holy Writ that the custom of masses for the dead and the indulgence likewise were abuses and false. He threw down the money box and scattered its contents. They have abolished the custom of inflicting penance on sinners in public, declaring that these penances and pardons are diabolical inventions; and by specious doctrine, based on Holy

¹ October 10, ARG., vi, 184ff.; also other letters, but none of November 1.

² Jonas.

Writ, the preacher showed that the true Christian penitent should perform satisfactory penance by doing as David says in the Psalms.

The Austin friars have recently made a fresh innovation with regard to their prior,¹ who gives the rules and orders to be observed by them. They replied that they are solely bound to observe the commandments of God; that their salvation is impossible so long as they obey their superiors, because the superior commands them at stated times to sleep, rise, read, eat, drink, speak, and be silent; that by doing so they are unable to obey the commandment of God in the matter of faith, and to serve others for love and charity, by assisting, counselling and teaching; and that the neglect of these precepts is immaterial, whereas to disobey the orders and regulations of the prior subjects them to the loss of everything.

This they proved most ably by Holy Writ, and priests and friars preach publicly from the pulpit, praying and commanding one-half of the friars, for the love of God, if such be their fantasy, to throw off their copes and depart thence, relying on their merit with God.

In consequence of this proceeding another great popular commotion took place, and the friar fell ill, but on the following Sunday he again preached and read the Gospel, though from weakness he could hardly stand; and he besought the people by Christ's Passion, as before, [telling them] that whosoever took a friar or nun out of a monastery would rescue a soul from the devil's claws, as there was no hope of improving the monasteries; that the friars should be freed from the rules of their orders, including such as relate to apparel; that those who tell them otherwise could not substantiate their doctrine; and that should they live to the extremity of human life they would never be good for anybody but the devil, as by external acts and works and by their apparel they make a [false] profession, and cause the loss of so many souls. The preacher's doctrine relative to false faith, obedience, poverty and chastity were so edifying (*bella*) that many persons shed tears from devotion. He declared that if there were no other sin in the world but the hypocritical professions of the

¹ Helt,

friars and nuns, it would be no marvel were God to punish all Christendom. He said plainly that they [the Austin friars] intended to depart this week, and should any of them return, he requested the council and the superior of the town [of Wittenberg] to expel them. To the friars who remain they were to give a thousand florins; the university was to take their dormitory, and found a college. On the following Thursday I went into the monastery to the prior, who complained to me of his distress, and said that on that same day one-half of the friars, in number 25, had departed, as many more remaining; and he had not the courage to give them any commands, but remained among them like a lamb.

On the day of All Saints the vicar announced publicly from the pulpit, that the sacrament is of two kinds, namely, bread and wine, and that such as wished to take it for their salvation and remission of sins would receive it under both forms, because Christ gave it. Many persons went, therefore, and communicated under both species. He said henceforth he purposed celebrating one mass, together with a sermon, and that he would administer the communion in this form.

The masses for the souls of the dead and other ceremonies are abolished.

At this very moment a man-at-arms on horseback has well nigh killed a Franciscan friar with an iron mace, and rode over him. The Franciscans are likewise preparing for departure, some having already gone away this week. One of them came to my house in a doublet and slashed hose with a codpiece in the Swiss fashion.

517. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 252. WITTENBERG (between December 4 and 9), 1521.

The disturbances in Wittenberg during Luther's absence at the Wartburg (*cf.* Smith, p. 134f.) caused him great concern. In order to assure himself of the actual conditions there, he undertook a secret journey to Wittenberg during the first week in December, and was for several days the guest of Amsdorf (*cf.* Koestlin-Kawerau, i, 510). It was during this visit that the following letter was written.

Greeting. I have sent you, along with my letters, the books

on Vows,¹ on the Mass,² and against the tyrant of Mayence,³ and hoped that they had all been given to the proper parties. Now I find that that is not the case, and am forced to think all sorts of things. I fear that they have been intercepted on the way, or that the messenger has somehow lost them. There is nothing that would disturb me more than to know that you had received them and were holding them back, for their contents are such as to require haste above all things.

If you have them, therefore, please curb the moderation and prudence of which I suspect you. You are accomplishing nothing by it, and are only rowing against the stream. What I have written I desire to be published, if not at Wittenberg, then elsewhere. But if the copy has been lost, or you have kept it, I shall be so exasperated that I will write more vigorously than ever against these things. It is one thing to suppress written pages and another to quench the spirit.

I came to Wittenberg, and amid all the delight of being with my friends again, I found this drop of bitterness, that none of them had ever seen or heard of my books and letters. You may judge for yourself whether my disappointment was not justified. Everything that I see and hear pleases me very much. The Lord strengthen the spirits of those who wish to do right! To be sure, I was worried on the way by various rumors about the violent conduct of some of our followers, and have determined to issue a public exhortation on that subject as soon as I get back to my wilderness.⁴ More another time.

Commend me to the Elector. I did not wish him to know of my coming to Wittenberg or my return, for reasons that you will appreciate. Farewell. MARTIN LUTHER.

Philip will send you a Latin Bible to be forwarded to me; I hope you will accept it and look after the matter with your usual trustworthiness.

¹ Weimar, viii, 577ff. Cf. *supra*, no. 513.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 512, p. 65, n. 1.

³ Cf. *supra*, no. 515.

⁴ Luther lived up to this determination. The *Earnest Exhortation to All Christians Warning Them Against Insurrection and Rebellion* (Weimar, viii, 676ff.; trans. Phila., iii, 206ff.), was forwarded with Luther's next letter to Spalatin (Enders, iii, 255).

518. LUTHER TO JOHN LANG AT ERFURT.

Enders, iii, 256. THE WILDERNESS (WARTBURG), December 18, 1521.

I do not approve of that tumultuous exodus from the cloister,¹ for the monks should have separated peaceably and in charity. At the next general chapter² you must defend and cherish the evangelical cause, for I shall lie hidden until Easter. In the meantime I shall continue to write my Postils and shall translate the New Testament into German, a thing which my friends demand and at which I hear that you also are working.³ Would that every town had its interpreter, and that this book alone might be on the tongues and in the hands, the eyes, the ears, and the hearts of all men. Ask for other news at Wittenberg. I am well in body and well cared for, but am buffeted with sin and temptation. Pray for me and farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

519. ALBERT OF MAYENCE TO LUTHER.

Enders, iii, 265. German.

HALLE, December 21, 1521.

My dear doctor. I have received your letter,⁴ and I take it in good part and graciously, and will see to it that the thing that so moves you be done away, and I will act, God willing, as becomes a pious, spiritual and Christian prince, as far as God gives me grace and strength, for which I earnestly pray and have prayers said for me, for I can do nothing of myself and know well that without God's grace there is no good in me, but that I am as much foul mud as any other, if not more. I do not wish to conceal this, for I am more than willing to show you grace and favor for Christ's sake, and I can well bear fraternal and Christian punishment. I hope the mer-

¹ It is uncertain whether this refers to occurrences at Erfurt, or the desertion of the monastery by the Augustinians of Wittenberg. Cf. Smith, 136, and *supra*, no. 516, p. 78.

² This chapter was held at Wittenberg, January 6, 1522, and Lang presided. It was decided to leave the members of the order free to stay in the monasteries or to leave them, as they chose. The text of the resolutions in C. R., i, 456ff., though wrongly dated "October, 1521"; reprinted in Kidd, no. 49 (b), and in German by W. Reindell: *W. Linck*, pp. 273ff. Lang's articles on leaving the monastery, *ibid*, p. 272f.

³ Lang had already published his translation of the Gospel of Matthew.

⁴ Of December 1 (*supra*, no. 515). This reply was a little late, for Luther had given the Archbishop only fourteen days.

ciful, kind God will give me herein more grace, strength and patience to live in this matter and in others according to His will.

ALBERT, with his own hand.

520. MELANCHTHON TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC AT LOCHAU.

ARG., vi (1909), 324.

(WITTENBERG), December 27, 1521.

The confusion caused at Wittenberg by Carlstadt and Zwilling was increased by the arrival, late in December, of the "Zwickau prophets." Zwickau had long been a hotbed of heresy, twenty-seven Waldensians having been tried there in 1462. H. Böhmer in *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, xxxvi, pp. 1-38, 1915. The present agitation in Zwickau dated from the arrival of Münzer early in 1520. Cf. *supra*, Vol. I, p. 324. Himself expelled by the government in April, 1521, his propaganda was continued by the fanatic layman Nicholas Storch, followed by Thomas Drechsel and Mark Thomae (*sic*) Stübner. They claimed to be prophets immediately inspired, and started a chiliastic and revolutionary movement. When Zwickau became too hot for them they went to Wittenberg, where Stübner had once studied. Storch felt out of place in the academic atmosphere, and soon left, to preach in West Thuringia, in 1523, and at Strassburg, 1524. Stübner, however, won many adherents among the students. Cf. Smith, 137ff.; Köstlin-Kawerau, i, 486ff.; Barge, i, 400ff.; P. Wappler, *Thomas Münzer und die Zwickauer Propheten*, 1908; RGG., s.v. "Zwickauer Propheten."

I wish the grace and peace of Christ to your most illustrious Highness. May your Highness take in good part what I dare to write to you. For I am forced to do so at this time by high and perilous matters, which demand your Highness's attention and care. This is the matter which I must now set forth. Your Highness is not ignorant of the many, various and dangerous dissensions about the Word of God excited in your Highness's city of Zwickau. Some,¹ who made I know not what innovations, were there cast into chains. Three of the authors of these commotions have flitted hither; two² of them are illiterate weavers, the third³ is educated. I have heard them; they preach strange things about themselves, saying that they are sent by the clear voice of God to teach, that

¹ Hans von der Freistadt and Leonard Koppinger. Cf. P. Wappler: *Thomas Münzer in Zwickau und die Zwickauer Propheten*, 1908.

² Nicholas Storch and Thomas Drechsel

³ Mark Thomae (*sic*), called Stübner, because his father owned a bath house (*Badestube*) at Elsterberg, i. V.

they have familiar conversations with God, that they see the future; in short, that they are prophetic and apostolic men. I cannot easily say how it is that I am moved by them. I certainly have great reasons not to despise them. For it appears that there are in them certain spirits, concerning which no one save Luther can easily judge. Wherefore, since it is a question of danger to the Gospel and of the glory and peace of the Church, it is highly desirable that these men should have the opportunity to meet Luther, for they appeal to him. I should not write this to your Highness if the importance of the matter did not demand haste. We must take care on the one hand not to quench the Spirit of God, and on the other not to be possessed by Satan. The Lord preserve your Highness long for the safety of His Church.

Your Illustrious Highness's devoted

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

521. MELANCHTHON TO SPALATIN AT LOCHAU.

ARG., vi (1909, 385).

(WITTENBERG), December 27, (1521).

Dear Spalatin. I greatly fear lest something will happen to them,¹ as in the Acts of the Apostles. You will think us drunken,² who either invent or believe such things, when you read the letter I have written to the Elector. I sent it open on purpose for you to read it before you give it to him. Believe me, I write of things by no means contemptible. There is a spirit of some kind or other in these men of whom I write; they are doing things which, unless Luther intervenes, will end I know not where. I am aware that this is an inopportune time to apply to the Elector for a chance to see Luther. But where shall I turn in this difficulty? . . .

Your

PHILIP.

522. FELIX ULSCENIUS TO WOLFGANG CAPITO AT MAYENCE.

ARG., vi (1909), 390.

WITTENBERG, January 1, 1522.

. . . There has come to us a certain man³ with a great deal of the Spirit and so exceedingly well versed in Holy Scripture that even Melanchthon cannot satisfy him. He adduces such

¹ The Zwickau prophets.

² Acts ii, 13, 15.

³ Mark Thomae Stübner.

weighty passages of Scripture that he has got the Wittenbergers badly frightened. Melanchthon has written the Elector to have Luther sent hither, or else to let this man go to Luther. You would find him a man otherwise very simple. Melanchthon continually clings to his side, listens to him, wonders at him and venerates him. He is deeply disturbed at not being able to satisfy that man in any way. He does not cease writing to Luther and the Elector that opportunity should be given for a conference at which the texts alleged by each might be compared. . . .

523. NICHOLAS WILSON TO THE READER.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 1273.

(LONDON), January 1, 1522.

This letter is the preface to the first printed edition of Bishop Fisher's sermon against Luther (*supra*, no. 482), translated into Latin by Richard Pace. Wilson was a well known Catholic divine († 1548), who had been educated at Cambridge. DNB.

Wilson alludes to the rapid diffusion of Lutheranism—the activity and pertinacity of its supporters—the confusion and dissensions occasioned by it. Unequal to the task alone, he says that Luther surrounded himself with shrewd men, who are at the same time excellent scholars, but more studious of popularity than truth. His influence over them is such that when once they have adopted his teachings they despise all others, consider themselves the exclusive possessors of sacred learning, and wrest the Scriptures to their will. “When Luther has once rendered them invincible, he teaches them to simulate constancy, frugality, labor, humility, the greatest order and zeal for propagating the glory of Christ, and equal grief and indignation against any who oppose what they call sound doctrine; in short, every virtue which pertains to probity or holiness of life.” He admits that Luther is a very learned man, and one who would have been the greatest ornament to the Church of Christ, if his innocence had equaled his learning. But he has now become so insanely arrogant as to claim for himself the exclusive interpretation of Scripture; taxing the Fathers of the Church with blindness, inconsistency and error. He alone is on Christ's side, and all who contradict

him are heretics. The letter concludes with the praises of Pace, who is in great favor with princes, not less abroad than at home.

524. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON.

Enders, iii, 272.

(WARTBURG), January 13, 1522.

Greeting. Had the letter of the Archbishop of Mayence¹ come alone it would have satisfied me, but now that Capito's letter is added it is evident that there is some plot. I am greatly disappointed in Capito. I wished to put a stop to that impious trade,² but he pleads for it like an attorney, and by teaching the Archbishop to confess his private sins thinks to impose on Luther beautifully. I shall restrain myself and not treat the man as he deserves, yet I shall show him that I am alive.

Coming now to the "prophets,"³ let me first say that I do not approve your irresolution, especially since you are more richly endowed with the Spirit and with learning than I am. In the first place they bear witness of themselves and are not to be listened to at once, but according to John's advice,⁴ the spirits must be proved. If you are not able to prove them, you have the advice of Gamaliel⁵ to postpone judgment. Hitherto I have heard of nothing said or done by them which Satan could not emulate. Do you, in my place, search out whether they can prove their calling. For God never sent anyone who was not either called by men or attested by miracles, not even His own Son. The ancient prophets had their authority from the law and from the prophetic rank, as we now have ours from the appointment of men. Do not by any means receive them if they assert that they are called by mere revelation, for God would not speak even to Samuel until Eli knew it and gave his consent. This is the first thing and belongs to the public function of teaching.

But now to discover their private spirit, inquire whether they have experienced those spiritual straitenings, that divine birth and death and infernal torture. If you find that their

¹ *Supra*, no. 519. Capito's letter, which accompanied it, in Enders, iii, 259ff.

² In indulgences. *Vide supra*, no. 515.

³ The "Zwickau prophets." *Vide supra*, no. 520.

⁴ John iv, 1.

⁵ Acts v, 38.

experiences have been smooth, bland, devout (as they say) and ceremonious, do not approve them even though they say they have been caught up to the third heaven, because they have not the sign of the Son of man, Who is the touchstone the only prover of Christians and the sure discerner of spirits. Would you know the place, the time, the manner of God's talks with men? Then listen:—"As a lion He hath broken all my bones";¹ "I am cut off from before thine eyes";² "My soul is full of troubles and my life hath drawn near unto hell."³ The Divine Majesty does not speak "immediately" (as they call it), so that men can see Him; nay, "No man shall see me and live."⁴ His words are like the stars: Nature bears no small one.⁵ For this reason He speaks through men, because all of us are not able to endure Him when He speaks. Even the Virgin was terrified by the angel, and so was Daniel, and Jeremiah complains,⁶ "Correct me, but with judgment," and "Be not a terror unto me." Why say more? As if the Divine Majesty could speak familiarly with "the old Adam," and not first slay him and dry him up, so that the evil odor of him might not be a stench in His nostrils; for He is a consuming fire.⁷ Even the dreams and visions of the saints are terrible, at least after they are understood. Therefore do not try to hear the voice even of the glorified Jesus until you have first seen Him crucified.

But you say, what has this to do with the matter in hand? This only refutes others, it does not prove our own case. But what else can I do when I am absent, and do not know what they are trying to do? If they are only quoting the text, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," and alleging that infants cannot believe on their own account, that does not influence me at all. How will they prove that they do not believe? Because they do not speak and declare their faith? Fine! By that reasoning how many hours of the day will

¹ Isaiah xxxviii, 13.

² Psalm xxxi, 22.

³ Psalm lxxxviii, 3.

⁴ Exodus xxxiii, 20.

⁵ *Stellam parvam sermonis ejus.* There was a proverb, "Nature bears no small star."

⁶ Jeremiah x, 24; xvii, 17.

⁷ Deuteronomy iv, 24.

we be Christians, when we are asleep, for instance, or busy at something? Cannot God, then, likewise keep faith in infants during the whole period of infancy, as though it were a continuous sleep? Good, you say; that confutes our opponents on the subject of infused faith. But this is sufficient, too, to show that they are the kind of people who prove nothing and are moved by a false spirit. . . .

To present a child for baptism, then, is nothing else than to offer it to Christ, as though He were present on earth with open hands of grace, and He has showed us by many proofs that He accepts what is offered; why should we doubt it? This one thing at least we have won from the "prophets"; they cannot prove their contention, for they have neither testimonies nor illustrations, but we have both, and their testimony does not contradict us. For who will argue,—“We must believe and be baptized; therefore infants must not be baptized”? They cannot draw that conclusion from that text, for it does not prove that infants do not believe; but I presuppose that; therefore they ought to prove it otherwise, and cannot. For what is not against the Scriptures is for the Scriptures and the Scriptures are for it. . . . More when I see you. I have always expected Satan to touch this sore, but he did not will to do it by the papists. Among ourselves and between our friends he stirs up this grievous schism; but Christ will quickly tread him down under our feet. . . .

Keep my book against the Archbishop of Mayence to come out and rebuke others when they go mad. Prepare me a lodging, because my translation of the Bible will require me to return to you, and pray the Lord that I may do so in accordance with His will. I wish to keep hidden as long as may be; in the meantime I shall proceed with what I have begun.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

525. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO ALL THE OFFICIALS
OF HIS DUCHY.

Gess, i, 269. German.

NUREMBERG, February 10, 1522.

We doubt not that you have for some time heard and known what Doctor Martin Luther and others, followers of his teachings, have been attempting to accomplish by their preaching

and teaching here and there in our lands and elsewhere, whereby they have incurred suspicion of disobedience and contumacy against the holy Christian Church and its ordinances and decrees. Wherefore his late¹ papal Holiness, of blessed memory, and his Imperial Majesty, our gracious lord, the two heads of Christendom, to whom all Christendom is subject, were moved to decree that men should take heed to and be on their guard against the said Martin Luther's doctrines and writings, so that Christian people might not be led thereby into error. Wherefore, also, his papal Holiness and his Imperial Majesty undertook certain negotiations with Doctor Martin, and learned that the said Doctor Martin was not willing to recede from the errors contained in his published writings. Thereupon he was put under the ban both of his papal Holiness and his Imperial Majesty, and his Holiness and his Majesty commanded that everyone should refrain from reading his writings and that they should no longer be put in print.

But the said Martin Luther has so far persisted in his undertaking despite all this, and through his teaching and the teaching of those who are his adherents, it has come to pass that the monks of his order at Wittenberg and elsewhere have left their monasteries, laid off the habit and dress of their order, let their tonsures grow, wander from place to place, preach against the holy mass, saying that it is no longer to be celebrated in accordance with the decrees of the holy Christian Church, and teach the people, contrary to the decrees of the holy councils, to receive the sacrament in both kinds, regardless of the fact that those who have hitherto attempted to introduce such practices have been held to be contumacious heretics. They also preach that it is not necessary to go to confession before receiving the holy sacrament; also that it is not necessary to receive the body of Christ fasting, but that one may eat beforehand.

From this their doctrine and teaching it has further followed that heretofore and now, while we have been here in Nuremberg on matters connected with the Imperial Council, many people (as we are credibly informed) in certain places

¹ Leo X had died December 1, 1521.

contiguous to our lands and duchy,¹ adherents of their doctrine, have received the holy sacrament in both kinds, as follows:—the said renegade monks consecrate the holy sacrament with German words and in worldly dress, and give it into the hands of those who receive it, allowing them to take it themselves and handle it; in like manner they consecrate the wine in a cup, with German words, and give the same into the hands of the laity and allow them to drink of it as they will.

Inasmuch, then, as these and many other unchristian doctrines and works, too numerous to write, are preached, taught and practiced in places that border on our lands, and as we have been commanded² by the Imperial Council to take cognizance of these things, and so far as possible to suppress and prevent them, it is proper that, as a Christian duty, and as an act of obedience to the Holy Empire, we should, as far as possible, prevent our subjects from being poisoned, to the peril of their souls' salvation, by the forbidden and unchristian doctrines of Martin Luther and his followers, as preached by the renegade monks or others. It is, therefore, our desire that you take good heed to this matter, and if there come into your courts, or if you shall discover any such renegade monks in worldly dress, or secular priests or others who are trying to seduce your subjects with the aforesaid forbidden and unchristian doctrine of Martin Luther or his disciples, or any who venture to receive the Holy Sacrament in both kinds, you will place them all in prison and keep them securely until further commands from us, so that we may inflict suitable punishment upon them, and you will in no wise allow them to escape you.

Moreover, if you or yours have anyone in universities, schools or other places where these unchristian works are taught and practiced, you will summon them thence, and hereafter neither send anyone there nor allow anyone to be sent, so that the young people, who are inclined to evil, may not be led into these unchristian works and errors. In this matter you will allow nothing to hinder or divert you, but will render us obedience, as we are confident that you desire

¹ Wittenberg and Eilenburg.

² The text of this "command" in Gess, i, 250ff.

to do your Christian and other duty by us, and in these unchristian matters we will not hesitate, as a Christian prince, to stake our life and our goods for you and our obedient subjects. Know this to be our earnest wish.

526. SITTICH VON BERLEPSCH¹ TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 282. German.

SALZA, February 25, 1522.

. . . On the Sunday after St. Valentine's Day I went to Cassel, as your Grace commanded, with Peter von Schoenberg, to his Grace the Landgrave. . . . I found many Martinians at his Grace's court, but his Grace steadfastly maintains that these heretical doings please him not at all, and says he will remain in the faith in which he was born and raised until his papal Holiness, his Imperial Majesty, the Christian kings, the temporal and spiritual electors and princes and the estates of Christendom establish another or a better. I was pleased to hear this from his Grace. . . .

527. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

DeWette, ii, 136. German.

(WARTBURG, end of February, 1522.)

The Elector was seriously embarrassed by the disturbances in Wittenberg. On the one hand he desired to allow the work of the Reformation to proceed; on the other hand he wished to preserve the appearance of neutrality. When the radical party in Wittenberg resorted to violence for the introduction of reforms, there seemed only two courses open to him. He must either repress the disorders or subject himself to the charge of favoring them. It was in this time of perplexity and indecision that the following letter reached him.

Grace and joy from God the Father on the acquisition of a new relic!² I put this greeting, gracious Lord, in place of my assurances of respect. These many years your Grace has been acquiring relics in every land; but God has now heard your Grace's request and has sent your Grace, without cost or trouble, a whole cross, with nails, spears and scourges. I say again, grace and joy from God on the acquisition of the new

¹ The ducal official at Salza, in which capacity he served from 1509 to 1532. Gess, i, 26, n. 1.

² The Elector was one of the most enthusiastic collectors of relics in Germany. Cf. Vol. I, p. 46, n. 3.

relic! Only do not be terrified, but stretch out your arms boldly and let the nails go deep, and be glad and thankful, for thus it must be with those who desire God's Word. Not only must Annas and Caiaphas rage, but Judas must be among the apostles and Satan among the sons of God. Only be wise and prudent, and do not judge according to reason or outward appearances; do not be downhearted, for things have not yet come to such a pass as Satan wishes. Believe me a little, fool though I am, for I know these and other like tricks of Satan; therefore I do not fear him, and that hurts him. Let the world cry out and pass its judgments; let them fall away who will, even though it were St. Peter and the apostles, they will come back on the third day, when Christ arises. The word¹ must be fulfilled in us, "Approving ourselves in tumults." I hope your Grace will take this well. I am in such haste that the pen has had to run, and I have no time for more. God willing, I shall soon be there; but your Grace must not take my part.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

528. THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY TO JOHN
OSWALD AT EISENACH.

Enders, iii, 292. German.

(LOCHAU, end of February, 1522.)

This letter is undated, but was written after the receipt of no. 527, which makes the date of February 20 (C. R., i, 556) too early; it was read by Luther February 28, immediately before his departure from the Wartburg (*cf. infra*, no. 529). Oswald was the electoral official at Eisenach.

Instruction for our good and faithful John Oswald, to be communicated to Dr. Luther.

First give him our gracious greeting, and say to him as follows:

My gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony has received his last letter.² . . . Now he himself knows that the commands of his Grace have accomplished nothing in this matter, and have done far less, perhaps, than is right and proper in such a

¹ II Corinthians vi, 4, 5.

² *Supra*, no. 527. A résumé of its contents follows.

difficult case. For the people at Wittenberg undertook to do many strange things, and were not agreed among themselves about the matter. The members of the chapter¹ were not agreed in all respects, nor were the men of the university. At Wittenberg and outside of it, in places where the Wittenbergers had followers, one man was saying mass one way, another another way; one with a chasuble and one without; even though both ways were equally good, it was, to say the least, unseemly. Many students left because of it, and some of the princes summoned their subjects away from the University at Wittenberg.²

His Grace, therefore, knew not what the best thing was to do, and since he writes that his Grace shall be wise and prudent and not judge according to reason or outward appearances, his Grace graciously asks that he will tell his Grace what he thinks his Grace ought to do and what he ought not to do in these matters, and that he will give his Grace an answer; for his Grace would not willingly do or attempt anything that might be contrary to God's will and His holy Word. Nor does his Grace wish any improper measures to be taken, which might give rise to rebellion and other difficulties. . . .

And since at the end of his letter he said that he would himself, God willing, soon be there, and his Grace should not take his part, his Grace does not know whether he wishes to say that it is his will and intention to return to Wittenberg. If that is what is in his mind, it is his Grace's opinion that for the present he ought by no means to go there, for his Grace cannot conceive that it would be good for him to show himself publicly under present circumstances. If it were known that he was at Wittenberg and the Pope and his Imperial Majesty were to proceed further against him in pursuance of their published edict, and were also to command and summon his Grace to cause him to make answer, when his Grace had not yet reason to believe that this ought to be done, since he has not yet been convicted; this would cause his Grace the greatest embarrassment, especially if injustice were done him.

¹ *I.e.*, the clergy attached to the Castle Church.

² Duke George of Saxony (*vide supra*, no. 525), Joachim of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick (Spalatin in Mencke, ii, 611).

He knows, too, that his Grace has never taken his part or adopted his cause farther than to request his Imperial Majesty, with all the respect due from a subject, to give him a gracious hearing, and this was done on his own simple and humble petition. Nor does his Grace intend to go into the matter any farther or take his part or adopt his cause, because he is not yet convicted, and he himself writes that his Grace shall not take his part. But if he were to return to Wittenberg and his Grace were to refuse the request of the Pope and his Imperial Majesty and not to obey it, and were, besides, to have too little reason for his refusal, let him consider how much good that would do his Grace and his Grace's land and people.

But his Grace's mind would be at rest if his Grace really knew what was good and right according to God's will; to suffer and endure for it what his Grace ought, would be no hardship personally for his Grace. For if that were the true cross and relic sent from God, his Grace would not shrink from it, but because God has said that His yoke would be sweet and His burden light, his Grace would willingly bear this cross if his Grace knew that it came from God, not doubting that God would lend his Grace help and strength for the burden. But they acted so strangely and variously at Wittenberg, and so many sects arose among them, that everybody was at sea and none knew who was the cook and who the ladle. That other people should be brought to harm and grief on his Grace's account would grieve his Grace deeply.

Moreover, you will not conceal from him his Grace's opinion that since there are recent reports of a new diet¹ to be called about the middle of Lent, and since his case will be not the smallest of the matters discussed at this diet, his Grace has thought that perhaps it would be well for him to have patience meanwhile and keep himself in the background until it is seen how things are going; also to send to this diet a written memorial and opinion concerning the measures to be adopted in reference to these matters. Perhaps Almighty God will permit his Grace to accomplish something, for it is possible that things may change greatly in the meantime.

¹ The Diet of Nuremberg. The call was issued February 12, and the date of meeting set for March 23 (RTA., iii, 38).

But if God's will and work were to be hindered thereby, that his Grace would not like, and therefore wishes the whole case to be put before him, for he is expert in these high matters. These things his Grace wishes him to know, and means it graciously and well.

529. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 137. German.

BORNA, March 5, 1522.

Disregarding the Elector's wishes (*cf. supra*, no. 528), Luther left the Wartburg, March 1, and traveled by easy stages to Wittenberg, where he arrived March 6. This letter was written while on the way.

Favor and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ, and my humble service.

Most serene, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord! Your Grace's kind letter¹ reached me Friday evening, as I was about to depart the next day. I need not say that I know your Grace meant the best for me, for I am certain of it, as far as a man can be of anything. Indeed, my conviction of it is almost superhuman, but that makes no difference.

I take the liberty of supposing from your Grace's tone that my letter² hurt you a little, but your Grace is wise enough to understand how I write. I have confidence that your Grace knows my heart better than to suppose I would insult your Grace's famous wisdom by unseemly words. I assure you with all my heart that I have always had a perfect and unaffected love for your Grace above all other princes and rulers. What I wrote was from anxiety to reassure your Grace, not for my own sake (of that I had no thought), but for the sake of the untoward movement at Wittenberg carried on by our friends to the detriment of the evangelical cause. I feared that your Grace would suffer great inconvenience from it. The calamity also bore hard on me, so that, had I not been certain we had the pure Gospel, I should have despaired. To my sorrow the movement has made a mockery of all the good that has been done and has brought it to naught. I would willingly buy the good cause with my life could I do so. Things are now done for which we can answer neither to God nor to man.

¹ *Supra*, no. 528.

² *Supra*, no. 527.

They hang around my neck and offend the Gospel and sadden my heart. My letter, most gracious Lord, was for those men, and not for myself, that your Grace might see the devil in the drama now enacting at Wittenberg. Although the admonition was unnecessary to your Grace, yet it was needful for me to write. As for myself, most gracious Lord, I answer thus: Your Grace knows (or, if you do not, I now inform you of the fact) that I have received my Gospel not from men but from Heaven only, by our Lord Jesus Christ, so that I might well be able to boast and call myself a minister and evangelist, as I shall do in future. I offered to be tried and judged, not because I had doubts myself, but to convince others and from sheer humility. But now I see that my too great humility abases the Gospel, and that if I yield a span the devil will take all. So I am conscientiously compelled to resist. I have obeyed your Grace this year to please you.¹ The devil knows I did not hide from cowardice, for he saw my heart when I entered Worms. Had I then believed that there were as many devils as tiles on the roofs, I should have leaped into their midst with joy. Now Duke George is still far from being the equal of one devil. Since the Father of infinite mercy has by the Gospel made us happy lords of all devils and of death, and has given us rich confidence to call Him dearest Father, your Grace can see for yourself that it would be a deep insult to such a Father not to trust Him, and that we are lords even of Duke George's wrath. I am fully persuaded that had I been called to Leipsic instead of Wittenberg, I should have gone there, even if (your Grace will excuse my foolish words!) it had rained Duke Georges nine days and every duke nine times as furious as this one. He esteems my Lord Christ a man of straw, but my Lord and I can suffer that for awhile. I shall not conceal from your Grace that I have more than once wept and prayed for Duke George, that God might enlighten him. I shall pray and weep once more and then cease forever. Will your Grace please pray, and have prayers said by others, that we may turn from him the judgment that (God knows) is always in wait for him? I could slay him with a single word.

¹ *I.e.*, by staying at the Wartburg.

I have written this to your Grace to inform you that I am going to Wittenberg under a far higher protection than that of the Elector. I do not intend to ask your Grace's protection. Indeed I think I shall protect you rather than you me. If I thought your Grace could and would defend me by force, I should not come. The sword ought not and cannot decide a matter of this kind. God alone must rule it without human care and co-operation. He who believes the most can protect the most, and as I see your Grace is yet weak in faith, I can by no means regard you as the man to protect and save me.

As your Grace desires to know what to do in this matter, and thinks you have done too little, I humbly answer that you have done too much and should do nothing. God will not and cannot suffer your interference nor mine. He wishes it left to Himself; I say no more, your Grace can decide. If your Grace believes, you will be safe and have peace; if you do not believe, I do, and must leave your Grace's unbelief to its own torturing anxiety such as all unbelievers have to suffer. As I do not follow your advice and remain hidden, your Grace is excused before God if I am captured or put to death. Before men your Grace should act as a prince of the Empire and be obedient to your sovereign, and let his Imperial Majesty rule in your cities over both life and property, as is his right by the Imperial Constitution, and you should not offer any resistance in case he captures and puts me to death. No one should oppose authority save Him who ordained it, otherwise it is rebellion and displeasing to God. But I hope they will have the good sense to recognize your Grace's lofty position and so not become my executioners themselves. If your Grace leaves them an open door and free passes when they come, you will have done enough for obedience. They can ask nothing more of your Grace than to enquire if Luther be with you, which will not put your Grace in peril or trouble. Christ has not taught me to be a Christian to injure others. If they are so unreasonable as to ask your Grace to lay hands upon me, I shall then tell your Grace what to do, always keeping your Grace safe from injury and peril in body, soul or estate, as far as in me is; your Grace may then act as I advise or not, as you please.

I commend your Grace to the grace of God. We shall speak further of the matter very soon if it is necessary. I have written this letter in haste, so that your Grace may not be disturbed at hearing of my arrival, for I must be every man's comforter and no man's hurt, if I would be a true Christian. He with whom I have to do is another man than Duke George. He knows me well, and I know Him fairly well. If your Grace believed, you would see the glory of God; but because you do not yet believe you have not yet seen it. God be praised forever. Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

530. THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY TO JEROME SCHURFF.

Enders, iii, 297. German.

LOCHAU, March 7, 1522.

Greeting. We wish you to know that we have recently received a letter sent us by Dr. Martin, in which he says, among other things, that he intends to return to Wittenberg. We enclose this letter that you may acquaint yourself with its contents.

For many reasons we had thought it best that Dr. Martin should stay away for a while longer, especially since things are just now in a serious and critical condition and the feeling is very bitter, and many difficulties might arise both for him and for others, especially if he were known to be at Wittenberg. There are many people, too, who would be glad for some occasion to put us in difficulties, and he himself needs to be careful. But inasmuch as the doctor is now in Wittenberg without our previous knowledge, it is our desire that on the authority of this letter you give him our gracious greeting and this oral message. He is to send us a letter in which he sets forth the reasons for his return to Wittenberg and the fact that it was without our permission; he is also to exercise some self-restraint and say that he does not wish to give anyone any trouble, and the letter is to be so formulated that we can show it to some of our friends, the princes, in order to maintain our honor.

We wish you to know that we are seeking nothing in this matter except the prevention of tumult and other evils. You

will, therefore, do your utmost to assist and endeavor to see that we get a letter that we can show. You will also inform him that for certain reasons he shall refrain from preaching in the Castle Church, You will also return to us the letter of Dr. Martin, which we enclose, together with this letter of instruction, after you have read it, and let us know what agreement you have reached with him. We charge you also by your duty to us to keep the whole matter secret. Thus you will please us.

531. ERASMUS TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 2090. BASLE, March 7, 1522.

A. Meyer: *Les Relations d'Érasme et de Luther*, 1909, p. 163f.

Before Luther had published his *Assertions* and his *Babylonian Captivity*, had always advised him against doing so; but the books pleased almost everybody. Had no connection with any Lutheran more than Wolsey himself (tua R. [D]). Instead of upholding Luther acknowledges him to be wrong in many things, and always said so, both to his friends and his enemies; witness the letters he wrote to Luther himself, if they will bring them forward. Many of his letters are circulated among his friends, especially one he wrote to the Bishop of Rochester from Bruges, which he regrets has been published; but even this shows he did not approve of Luther's proceedings. Said the same thing to the Elector Frederic at Cologne,¹ to the King of Denmark,² and to the captain of the Bohemians,³ who made him the largest promises. Why, the Lutherans denounce him, and threaten him with spiteful pamphlets. How, then, came the rumor? Two divines at Louvain,⁴ who hate Erasmus and literature, aided by some monks, will do anything to ruin him. At first, it is true, while the evil might yet have been healed, he did not approve having it ventilated before the people; if this had not been done, the

¹ On November 5, 1520, cf. Smith, 100.

² In the summer of 1521, in the Netherlands. Cf. Vol. I, p. 484, n. 4.

³ Artlebus von Boskowitz of Znaim, Supreme Captain of Moravia; perhaps a kinsman of Martha de Boskowitz, to whom the Bohemian Brethren appealed in addressing the king. He had written urging Erasmus to join Luther, and Erasmus replied in the epistle translated, Vol. I, no. 385, headed simply "To a Powerful Gentleman." P. S. Allen, *Age of Erasmus*, 296.

⁴ Egmond and Dierx, vide Vol. I, pp. 370ff.

thing would not have gone so far. Now the evil must be rooted out, the contagion is so widely spread. If he were to declare himself in three words a Lutheran, we should see a very different game among us and the Germans. But he has not written against Luther! No, for he had no leisure to write books, but wrote letters. Thought he could serve Christianity better otherwise.

532. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 146. German.

WITTENBERG, March 12, 1522.

Upon the receipt of the Elector's commands to Schurff (*supra*, no. 530), Luther immediately wrote the Elector (De Wette, ii, 141), giving his reasons for returning to Wittenberg. In a postscript he said that if this letter was not satisfactory he was willing to make any changes in it which the Elector might desire. On March 9 the Elector wrote again to Schurff, ordering him to have certain changes made (Enders, iii, 303). This is the final form of the letter of March 7, revised according to the Elector's wishes.

Favor and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. My humble services.

Serene, high-born Prince, gracious Lord. I humbly wish your Grace to know that by God's help I have returned again to Wittenberg, which undoubtedly is against your Grace's will, since you have never wished to be involved in this matter, for it seems as though it might cause great danger to others as well as to myself, who am banned and condemned by the edicts of the Pope and the Emperor, and am obliged to look for death at any moment. But what am I to do? God forces me and calls me, and the cause is urgent. It had to be so; so be it then, in the name of Jesus Christ, the Lord of life and death.

But in order that your Grace may not think that I have so unexpectedly and without your Grace's knowledge, will and consent, betaken myself again to your Grace's university and city of Wittenberg because of mere perversity or needless curiosity, I wish humbly to inform your Grace of the causes which move me. And first of all and above all, I wish to say explicitly that I was not moved to it by any contempt for his Imperial Majesty or any other temporal author-

ity; for although we cannot always obey the human powers that be, as, for example, when they undertake to do things that are contrary to God's commandments, nevertheless they are never to be despised, but are to be honored. Thus the Lord Christ did not justify or praise Pilate's decision, yet He did not cast either him or Cæsar from the throne, and did not despise them.

Now these are my reasons for coming to Wittenberg in these my tribulations. First, it cannot be denied that I began this matter, and I must confess myself the humble servant of the Wittenberg congregation to which God sent me, and, therefore, I could not remain away from Wittenberg any longer without failing in Christian love, fidelity and duty; and this would be a cause of trouble to others as well as myself. To be sure, there may be many people who look upon this whole thing as the devil's work, and condemn it, and they will regard this reason as of no importance and think it right that Wittenberg and everything that has been done there should be allowed to go to destruction. But this does not excuse me, for God will not judge me by the faith of others, whether they be many or few, but by my own conscience, and I know that my word and what I have done are not of myself but of God, and neither death nor persecution will teach me otherwise.

In the second place, during my absence Satan has fallen upon my flock at Wittenberg, and as all the world knows—and it is true—has done certain things that I cannot stop with any writing, but must deal with in my own person and with living mouth and ears. I could not reconcile any further postponement or delay with my own conscience. Therefore I was obliged to disregard not only your Grace's pleasure and displeasure, but the wrath and the pleasure of all the world. For Wittenberg is my flock, commended to me by God; they are my children in Christ; there was no disputing the question whether I should come to them or not come. It is my duty even to suffer death for them, and by God's grace I shall do it willingly and joyfully, as Christ commands in John x. If I could have helped matters with what I wrote, why should I not have contented myself to stay away from

Wittenberg always, since it is my duty even to die for my neighbor's sake?

The third thing that moved me was that I fear (alas, I feel sure!) that there will be a great uprising in Germany, with which God will punish the German nation, for we see that the Gospel pleases the common people greatly, and they receive it in a fleshly sense; they see that it is true, but will not use it rightly. Those who ought to quiet this uprising are helping it along, for they are beginning to quench the light by force, but they do not see that they are only embittering men's hearts and compelling them to revolt, and are adopting such an attitude that they seem to wish that they themselves or their children shall be destroyed; this is without doubt a plague that God had sent upon them. The spiritual tyranny, against which alone I directed my writings, is weakened, but now I see it is God's will to carry things still farther, as He did with Jerusalem and its two rulers,¹ for I have lately learned that not only the spiritual, but also the temporal powers must yield to the Gospel, willingly or not, as is clearly shown in all the histories of the Bible. Now God has commanded by the prophet Ezekiel² that we must "set ourselves as a wall before Him for the people"; therefore I have thought it necessary to consult with my friends whether we cannot turn away God's judgment, or at least postpone it. This may be all in vain, and my enemies may scoff and laugh at it when they hear it, nevertheless I must do what I see and know is to be done, for your Grace should know and be quite confident that the decrees that are made in heaven are very different from those that are made on earth.³

There are still other reasons which, however, are not so urgent, and, therefore, I do not insist upon or emphasize them much. The one reason is more than sufficient; the Gospel is in need, therefore I could not think of anything or shrink from anything or fear anything on earth.

¹ Pilate and Caiaphas.

² Ezekiel xxii, 30.

³ In the original letter of March 7, this sentence read: "The decrees that are made in heaven are very different from those that are made at Nuremberg [where the Imperial Council was sitting]; and your Grace will see that those who now think they have made a meal on the Gospel have not yet said grace before meat" (De Wette, ii, 143).

I humbly and submissively beg your Grace, therefore, to be gracious to me and forgive me that I have come back to your Grace's city of Wittenberg and taken up my abode here without your Grace's knowledge, will, consent and permission, and graciously to regard and consider the above-mentioned weighty reasons that moved me to do so, remembering that by God's help I intend to keep myself from troubling or offending anybody; for your Grace is lord only of men's lives and property, but Christ is Lord of the souls to whom He has sent me and for whom He has raised me up, and I must not forsake them. I hope, too, that my Lord Christ is stronger than all enemies and opponents, and will guard and protect me, if it be His will. No danger or harm will befall your Grace on my account, that I know full well. I commend your Grace to God's mercy.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

533. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 305.

(WITTENBERG), March 13, 1522.

Greeting. I rejoice greatly, my dear Spalatin, that you are an evangelist, and I pray that the Lord may make your word a word of power for the increasing of your own faith and of the faith of those who hear you. Your wondering why I have not written you is proof of the smallness of your faith; as though I were offended because I have been silent. And what difference does it make if Luther is offended since you are now rich and rule in Christ, in Whom alone we boast?

I send herewith my letter to the Elector. The Elector has showed many signs of lack of faith, and we must bear with his infirmity, but in this letter there is one word that hurts me. I have been compelled to call the Emperor "my most gracious Lord," when all the world knows he is most hostile to me, and everybody will laugh at this evident dissimulation. Still, I would rather be laughed at and convicted of dissimulation than withstand the infirmity of the Elector, and I clear my conscience of the charge because it is the custom thus to style the Emperor. It is, so to speak, a proper name and a

title, and is used even by those to whom he is most hostile. I hate dissimulation, and I have made enough concessions heretofore; there is a time for plain speaking. Do you pray for me, and help me to tread underfoot that Satan who, in the name of the Gospel, has set himself up here in Wittenberg against the Gospel. We are fighting against an angel of darkness who has transformed himself into an angel of light. It will be hard for Carlstadt to give up his views, but Christ will force him to do so if he does not yield of his own accord. We who believe in the Lord of life and death are ourselves lords of life and death. More again. Farewell, and be strong in the ministry on which you have entered.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

534. JEROME SCHURFF TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

Enders, iii, 306.

WITTENBERG, March 15, 1522.

Serene, high-born Prince. My humble and submissive service to your Grace. Gracious Lord, I presented your Grace's revised copy of the letter¹ to Doctor Martin, who accepted it submissively and humbly wrote your Grace in accordance with it the letter² that I herewith obediently send your Grace.

I humbly wish your Grace to know that there is great gladness and rejoicing here, both among the learned and the unlearned, over Doctor Martin's return and over the sermons³ with which, by God's help, he is daily pointing us poor deluded men back again to the way of truth, showing us incontrovertibly the pitiful errors into which we have been led by the preachers who forced their way among us. It is plain as day that the Spirit of God is in him and works through him, and I have no doubt that it is by the special providence of the Almighty that he has come to Wittenberg just at this time. Even Gabriel⁴ has confessed that he has erred and gone too far.

¹ *I.e.*, the letter of March 7 (De Wette, ii, 141) with the Elector's amendments.

² The letter of March 12 (*supra*, no. 532).

³ The daily sermons of March 9-16. *Cf.* Smith, p. 146. The substance of the sermons translated in Philadelphia, ii, 391ff.

⁴ Zwilling.

Dr. Capito was here for two nights and heard two of Doctor Martin's sermons, in which he showed what gross errors had been committed against the Holy Sacrament of the Altar and its use. He was delighted with them, as he himself says. Since, then, the work that has been begun here comes, beyond all doubt, from God, He will protect it and will provide that it shall not be overthrown either by the devil or by his followers, if we only commend it to Him in true confidence and with real humility and fear.

The commands your Grace has given me and shall hereafter give me, I shall keep secret even to my grave.¹ Carlstadt is not satisfied, but, as I hope in God, he will neither do nor accomplish anything. I commend myself to your Grace with all humility. May Almighty God preserve your Grace in true and constant faith even to the end of this wretched life. Amen.

Your Grace's humble and obedient

JEROME SCHURF.

535. THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY TO DUKE JOHN OF ELECTORAL SAXONY.

Wülcker-Virck, 106. German.

LOCHAU, March 15, 1522.

. . . Your Highness knows that Dr. Martin is back in Wittenberg, and your Highness and I shall have to bear the blame for it, but in order that we may make the excuse that he is there without our consent and permission, he has written us, giving the reasons for his return, and we are sending with this a copy of his letter.² We suppose that the report has reached Nuremberg that Dr. Martin is back in Wittenberg, and we therefore ask your Highness to send Hans von der Planitz³ copies of Dr. Martin's letter (for there was no time to have a copy made here), so that he may show them as a justification and excuse for your Highness and us.

¹ The Elector had warned Schurff not to reveal his messages to Luther. Cf. *supra*, no. 530, and Enders, iii, 303.

² Of March 12 (*supra*, no. 532).

³ Then representing the Elector at the Council of Regency in Nuremberg (*vide infra*, no. 538, *ad init.*)

536. LUTHER TO HARTMUTH VON CRONBERG.

Weimar, x³, 53f. German.

(WITTENBERG, about the middle of March, 1522.)

This letter, which was printed four times in 1522, involved Luther in serious difficulties with Duke George of Saxony, who interpreted certain passages as uncomplimentary references to himself. *Vide infra*, no. 562.

Grace and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, gracious Lord and good friend in Christ. I read your two letters, the one to his Imperial Majesty and the other to the Mendicant Orders,¹ with great joy, and thank my God for the grace and the gift which He has given you in the knowledge of Christian truth and in love and desire for it. For it is easy to see that your words well up from the depths of your heart, and they show that the Word of Christ is not only in your ears and on your tongue (as is the case with many), but dwells deep in your heart. It has put its own mark upon you and made you glad and bold to praise it and confess it, not only with your lips, but also in deeds and in writings before the whole world and against the whole world, especially against these wise and exalted souls. The greatness and the abundance of this gift no one can rightly estimate except one who has the Spirit, Who tells us what is given us and teaches us to compare spiritual things with spiritual, as St. Paul says.² For this does not enter the heart of the brutish man.

Therefore I have not been able to refrain from visiting you in spirit with this letter and telling you of my joy. I can say without a lie that the condemnation and persecution of the Pope and the whole world neither hurts me nor disturbs me as much as I am strengthened and rejoiced when I hear that a man has laid hold upon the tender truth and openly praises it. But how much more am I comforted when I learn—as I do learn every day—that you and men like you are coming to know it and are boldly confessing it. God graciously gives me this comfort so that my faith may be strengthened and I

¹ The first of these letters in E. Kück, *Die Schriften H. von C.'s* (Halle, 1912), pp. 1ff.; the second, pp. 51ff., and Walch,² xv, 1643ff.

² I Corinthians ii, 12f.

may have something besides sorrow when He shows me that His Word does not go forth from Him in vain, as He says by Isaiah,¹ and that the whole world opposes it, as He says again in Matthew:² "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." Thus it lies in the very nature of the Word that there are very few who receive it heartily and the many persecute it terribly. Wolves and bears and lions do not persecute it, but men, and Christ says "*all men.*" . . .

But this precious Word brings with it a great hunger and an insatiable thirst, so that we should not be satisfied even though many thousands of men believed on it, but wish that no man shall be without it. . . . Lo, you have now received this thirst for the salvation of your brethren, which is a sign of true faith. What is left for you, then, but to expect the gall and the vinegar, *i.e.*, slander, shame and persecution, because of your thirsty speech? There is no other way. Where Christ is there must be Judas, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas, Annas, and also His cross; or else it is not really Christ. Therefore we do not trouble ourselves about our tribulations, but about our persecutors' miserable state, for we have all we need and are sure they can take nothing away from us, but the more they rave the more they must hurt themselves and help us. . . . They threaten us with death; if they were as wise as they are foolish they would rather threaten us with life. It is a laughable threat when they try to frighten Christ and His Christians with death, for they are victors over death. It is like trying to frighten a man by saddling his horse and putting him up for a ride. But they do not believe that Christ is risen from the dead and is Lord of life and death; He is with them even in the grave, nay, even in hell. But we know and boast and are glad that He is risen and that death is nothing but the end of sin and of itself; for the life in the flesh still cleaves to sin, and cannot be without sin, because of the flesh. Therefore the Spirit, who has made a beginning in us, cries out: "Come, death and judgment-day, and make an end of sin and death." . . .

Of this joy in Christ our wretched enemies know nothing and are angry when we tell them of it and offer it to them;

¹ Isaiah lv, 11.

² Matthew xxiv, 9.

they would kill us for life's sake. O God! The all-powerful resurrection of Christ is far too great a confidence to be made timid and cowardly by the temporary power of their straw and paper tyranny. One of them is especially that bladder N.,¹ who defies heaven with his lofty paunch and has denied the Gospel. He has a mind to devour Christ as a wolf snaps up a fly; thinks, too, that he has already taken a good bite out of His left heel, and rages more than all the rest. I have prayed for him with my whole heart and had pity on his abominable attacks, but I fear that his judgment is at hand; it is long since deserved. I beg that you, too, and yours, will also commend him to the Lord in prayer, for it is our duty to be kind to our enemies with all our heart, even though they will not allow us to be good to them; perhaps one day he may be rescued from the dragon's mouth, and Saul may become a Paul. I should urge you to address a similar letter to him, but would not have that which is holy put before the dogs or pearls cast before swine. He is past hearing and thinking, and I know nothing to do except pray for him. He is destroying many souls and laying up great treasure against the day of wrath. But I lay this on your soul. We shall live even though they slay us or do us all manner of ill.

A still harder attack has lately been made upon our faith. Satan, who is always mingling with the children of God, has started a fine game for us, and especially for me, here at Wittenberg, and for once has satisfied the desires of our opponents against us and opened their mouths wide to speak evil of the Gospel. All my enemies, and all the devils, too, however nearly they have touched me, have not wounded me as I have now been wounded by our own people; I must confess that the smoke hurts my eyes and almost chokes my heart. Here, thought the devil, I shall take the heart out of Luther and make his stubborn spirit weak; this trick he will neither understand nor beat. Ah, well, I wonder whether this, too, is not a punishment on some of my noble patrons and on me! On my patrons, because although they believe that Christ is risen, they are still groping after Him in the garden with

¹ This is the passage at which Duke George took umbrage, as referring to himself. Cf. *infra*, no. 562.

Magdalen, and for them He has not yet ascended to the Father; on me, because at Worms, to please my friends and not to appear too obstinate, I quenched my spirit and did not make my confession before the tyrants harder and stronger, though since that time the unbelieving heathen have accused me of pride. Heathen that they are, they judge like heathen, who have never received either Spirit or faith. I have often rued my humility and the respect I showed them.

Be that as it may, however, whether we sinned or did right, we will not be downhearted or fearful, for as we do not put our confidence in our good deeds, so we do not despair because of our sins, but we thank God that our faith is greater than good deeds and sins. For the Father of all mercies has granted us to believe not on a wooden, but on a living Christ, who is Lord over sin and innocence, and who can raise us up and support us even though we fell into thousands of sins every hour. . . . We know that He who raised Him from the dead and set Him at His right hand is strong enough and faithful enough to be Lord over all things, over sin, death, devil and hell, not to speak of the papal pig's-bladders¹ with their three noisy peas. . . .

You know that the sin at Worms, where God's truth was so childishly disdained and was so openly, willfully and knowingly condemned unheard, was the sin of the whole German nation, because committed by its heads and with no one protesting. Thus they have become so guilty before God that He might altogether remove His precious Word or allow such offences to come that no man would any longer regard it as God's Word, but blaspheme it and persecute it as though it were devil's doctrine which they have denied and condemned from sheer willfulness. Sad to say, my dear Hartmuth, this is the burden which that unhappy diet has taken upon itself as a favor to the Pope. . . . So, we see, it happened to the Jews. After they had willfully condemned God's Son, they were given over to such an obstinate spirit that they boldly blaspheme Him and cannot cease to do so, and thus fulfill the Scripture,²

¹ The pun is lost in translation. The German *Blase* is equivalent to the Latin *bullo*. The meaning is that the papal bulls are like the children's rattles, made of inflated bladders with dried peas in them.

² Psalm cix, 16.

"As he delighted not in blessing, so shall it be far enough from Him." This is what has happened to our papists. At Worms they were ready to hate and blaspheme Christ; now they cannot cease to hate and blaspheme Him, and neither prayers nor admonitions help them, but only make them worse. Righteous is Thy judgment, heavenly Father! This, methinks, is the real St. Vitus' dance!¹ God is my witness that in my heart I fear that unless the judgment day shall interrupt the game, God will take away His Word and send such blindness upon the German nation and so harden its heart that it is terrible for me to think of it. O Lord, heavenly Father, let us fall into every sin, if sin we must, but preserve us from hardness of heart and keep us to Him and in Him Whom Thou hast made Lord over sin and innocence, that we may not deny Him nor allow Him out of our sight; thus all sins, all deaths, all hells will harm us not at all. Nay, what shall harm us?

But we must thank God with our whole heart that He still allows us to see Him, as though He were not yet ready to withdraw His Word, so that He gives to you and to others an unterrified spirit, and love besides. For that is evidence that they believe not for any man's sake, but for the sake of the Word itself. There are many who believe on my account, but the only true believers are those who would continue to believe even if they heard (which God forbid!) that I had denied the faith or fallen away from it. These are they who pay no heed to the bad, the terrible, the shameful things they hear about me and about our people, for they do not believe on Luther, but on Christ Himself. The Word has them, and they have the Word; as for Luther, they care not whether he is a knave or a saint. God can speak by Balaam as well as by Isaiah, by Caiaphas as well as by Peter; nay, He can speak by an ass. I myself do not know Luther, and will not know him. I do not preach about him, but about Christ. The fiend may fly away with him, if he can; but if he leaves Christ in peace, it will still be well with us. . . .

I fear the German nation is going too far, and at last it may be with us as it is written of the Jews in the last chapter of

¹ *I.e.*, insanity.

II Kings. They kept killing the prophets until God gave them up and there was no more help for them. So I fear He will at last give the German nation its due. At Constance they first denied the Gospel and shed the innocent blood of John Huss and Jerome; afterwards at Worms and at Heidelberg they slew Dramsdorf;¹ thus they acted also at Mayence and at Cologne; the whole Rhine is bloody² and will not be cleansed from its blood or cease to make heroes of those Christ-killers, the inquisitors, until God steps in, and there is no more help for them. The nation has tempted God too often. And now again it has condemned me at Worms, and though it has not shed my blood, the will to do so has not been lacking, and they are murdering me incessantly in their hearts. Oh, unhappy nation! Must you be antichrist's executioner for God's saints and prophets?

See how I have overflowed with words. It has been done by the faith of Christ, which has poured itself out in joy over your faith and your glad confession of it. John had to leap in his mother's womb when Christ came to him, and you see that in your letter He has come to me. Would to God that He might come to you also in this letter of mine, and make not only your John, but Elizabeth and the whole family joyful and full of the Spirit, and stay not for three months only, but forever. May God, the Father of all mercy, grant it. Amen.

About myself I have no special news to tell you, except that I have now come back to Wittenberg, to see whether I can show the devil a thing or two. How long I shall remain I do not know. I have also undertaken to put the Bible into German. I had to do it; otherwise I might have died with the mistaken idea that I was a scholar. All those who think themselves learned ought to do some such work. I have dedicated the book on Confession to Francis von Sickingen, and hope that it, and everything that has come out since, has reached you, for I have not been able to send it. A part of the Postils on the Gospels and Epistles is now appearing;

¹ John Draendorf, who was condemned as a Hussite and executed in 1425 at Heidelberg. Cf. *Realencyk*, v. 17.

² The Rhineland was the chief center of the Inquisition in Germany.

when it is finished I hope a Christian will be able to find in it all he needs to know. Greet all our friends in the faith, Francis von Sickingen, Ulrich von Hutten, and the rest. God's grace be with you. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER, DR.

537. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, iii, 312.

WITTENBERG, March 17, 1522.

Greeting. Dear Nicholas, although I am variously occupied by our great disturbances, I cannot omit writing to you. Your Zwickau prophets were about to bring forth monsters, which, if born, would have done no little damage. Their spirit is fair-seeming and very wily, but the Lord be with you. Amen.

Satan has attempted much evil here in my fold, and in such a manner that it is hard to oppose him without scandal. Be on your guard against all innovations made by public decree or popular agitation. What our friends attempt by force and violence must be resisted by word only, overcome by word and destroyed by word. It is Satan who urges us to extreme measures.

I condemn masses held as sacrifices and good works, but I would not lay hands on those who are unwilling to give them up or on those who are doubtful about them, nor would I prevent them by force. I condemn by word only; whoso believes, let him believe and follow, whoso does not believe, let him disbelieve and depart. No one is to be compelled to the faith or to the things that are of faith, but to be drawn by word, that he may believe and come of his own accord. I condemn images, but only by word, saying not that they should be burned, but that faith should not be placed in them, as hitherto has been done and is yet done. They will fall of themselves when the instructed people learn that they are nothing before God. In like manner I condemn the Pope's laws about confession, communion, prayer and fasting, but by word, that I may free consciences from them. When their consciences are freed, they may use such things for the sake of the weaker brethren who are entangled in them, and then

may cease to use them as they wax strong, so that charity may be the rule in external usages and laws.

Nothing vexes me more than this multitude, which abandons Scripture, faith, and charity, and boasts that it is Christian only because in the presence of weaker brethren it is able to eat flesh on Fridays, commune in both kinds, and stop fasting and prayer. I hope that you too will pursue this method of teaching. . . . All things are to be proved by Scripture, and hearts are to be helped little by little, like Jacob's sheep, that they may first receive the Word of their own accord and afterwards grow stronger. But perhaps you do not need this advice; it was the solicitude of love that prompted it. Farewell in Christ, and aid the Gospel with your prayers.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

538. HANS VON DER PLANITZ TO THE ELECTOR FRED-
ERIC OF SAXONY.

Wülcker-Virck, 110. German.

NUREMBERG, March 18, 1522.

Hans von der Planitz († 1535) came of a noble family resident in the neighborhood of Zwickau. He studied law at Bologna (LL.D., 1499), and entered the service of the Elector of Saxony (1513-33). He was used by the electors in many confidential diplomatic missions, notably as the electoral representative in the Imperial Council of Regency (1521-24). In this capacity he was present at the Diets of Nuremberg (1522, 1523), and his correspondence (collected and edited by Wülcker and Virck, 1899) is one of our chief sources of information concerning the history of those diets. The best sketch of his life in Wülcker-Virck, pp. xix-lvxxxiv; the main facts in ADB.

. . . I shall keep to myself the news that Doctor Martin is back in Wittenberg, and if anything is said here in my presence reflecting on your Grace, I shall not fail to do my duty, so far as I am able, nor to defend and excuse your Grace. Nevertheless I would remind your Grace that your Grace knows, or, perhaps has only heard, that his Imperial Majesty has put Doctor Martin and his adherents, protectors, etc., under the ban. I have not seen the ban myself, but have only heard that it is to be posted publicly in many places. Now if Doctor Martin is publicly in Wittenberg, and lives there openly, it is my humble fear that it may cause your Grace some trouble, and that certain people who are very busy in this matter will

put upon it the interpretation that is worst, not best, for your Grace. It is even possible that they may persuade the Fiscal to take measures against your Grace. There is a party here that does not care much about the whole matter, and would rather help it than hinder it, but they would yield to any demands. I should be heartily sorry to see or hear of any blame or injury coming to your Grace because of this. It would not be a bad plan, therefore, for Doctor Martin to keep himself quiet and hidden a little while longer, either at Wittenberg or elsewhere, until things take another turn, or at least until this proposed diet shall have come to some decision. . . .

539. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK¹ AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, iii, 315.

WITTENBERG, March 19, 1522.

Greeting. In order that you may know that I am at Wittenberg, reverend father in Christ, I wished to write to you with my own hand. Satan has broken into this flock of mine and has taught that the liberty of the Spirit should be made an occasion to the flesh, that the servitude of love should be cast off and everything turned upside down by schisms. Carlstadt and Gabriel² were the authors of these monstrous teachings, though Gabriel has come to himself in a measure and has become a different man; what will become of the other³ I do not know. It is certain that he will be forbidden to enter the pulpit, of which he took possession by his own boldness, without any call and against the will of God and man. As he did not come from God, so he did not teach the things of God, and the fruits of his teaching prove whose word he spoke and whose glory he sought. "He whom God hath sent speaketh God's words,"⁴ and again, "He who seeketh the glory of Him that sent him, the same is true."⁵ This cause compelled me to return to Wittenberg, so that, if it were Christ's will, I might destroy this theater of Satan.

The decree of your synod⁶ pleased me marvelously. I think

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 25, n. 2.

² Zwilling.

³ I.e., Carlstadt; but cf. *infra*, no. 547.

⁴ John iii, 34.

⁵ John vii, 18.

⁶ The General Chapter of the Augustinian Order, held in Wittenberg on January 6. Cf. *supra*, no. 518, n. 2.

the Holy Spirit was never present in any other gathering of monks than this one. I hope the Lord has begun to laugh at Satan and his servants and to deride them. Certainly Satan himself has been conquered, the Pope and his abominations have been conquered, and now I see that this last and least of his instruments must be conquered, namely, the wrath of those bladders which puff themselves up so magnificently at Nuremberg.¹ We believe that Christ, the Son of God, is Lord of life and death; whom, then, shall we fear? We have the first-fruits of victory, and we triumph over the papal tyranny, which used to put down kings and princes; how much more easily shall we conquer and despise the princes. He does not lie Who hath said,² "I will put all things under his feet." In that He saith "all things," does He not include the wrath of that bladder of Dresden³ and of all those who were lately in Nuremberg? Let them try to cast Christ down from heaven; we shall look on, confident that the Father can preserve the Son at His right hand from the face and the tail of those smoking firebrands.⁴

I greatly fear that if the princes continue to listen to that dull-witted Duke George there will be an uprising which will destroy the princes and rulers of all Germany and will involve all of the clergy; that is the way I see it. The people are everywhere aroused, and they have eyes; they will not and cannot be put down by force. It is the Lord who does this and hides these threatening perils from the eyes of the princes. Nay, by their blindness and violence He will bring such things to pass that I think I can see Germany swimming in blood. Therefore I beg you, by the mercies of Christ, my dear Wenzel, that you and yours will pray with us, and let us set ourselves as a wall before God for the people in that day of His great fury. Serious danger is impending, and that dullard of Dresden cares nothing for the people's cause, only so long as he can accomplish his insane purposes and satisfy his deep-rooted hatreds.

If you can do so, see that your councilors prevail upon the

¹ *I.e.*, the princes gathered in the Imperial Council. *Cf. supra*, pp. 106f.

² Psalm viii, 6.

³ Duke George of Saxony.

⁴ *Cf. Isaiah vii, 4.*

princes to be moderate and to avoid force in the things they do and the decrees they pass. Let them remember that the people are not what they once were. Let them know that a sword is most certainly hanging over their own heads in their own houses. They are working to destroy Luther, but Luther is certainly working to preserve them. The destruction they are planning is threatening not Luther, but themselves. So far am I from fearing them. This I certainly think I have spoken in the Spirit, but if wrath has been decreed against them in heaven, so that its coming cannot be hindered either by prayers or by advice, we shall pray at least that our Josiah¹ may sleep in peace and the world be left to become a Babel.

What Christ intends I do not know; but this I do know, that I have never been so encouraged or so proud as I am now. To be sure, I am in the midst of enemies, and am exposed every hour to the peril of death, and have no human aid on which to rely, but never in my life have I so despised the stupid threats of Duke George and his like. Doubt not that this spirit will master Duke George and all those who are as foolish as he is. I am writing this early in the morning, and am quite sober and full of heartfelt confidence. My Christ lives and reigns, and I, too, shall live and reign. Farewell, dear Wenzel.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

540. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY

Gess, i, 295. German.

(NUREMBERG, March 21, 1522.)

. . . I must warn your Grace that I have recently seen a letter in which it is said that Martin is in Wittenberg and is preaching publicly, though he is under the ban of the Pope and the Empire. Your Grace must beware that this does not become a cause of offence to God and the world, for however sweetly he may speak, he still has a scorpion's tail. I hope, for the sake of God and the Christian faith, that your Grace will have a care for your people, and be strict with those

¹ *I.e.*, the Elector Frederic. He actually died just at the outbreak of the Peasants' War.

who deserve punishment. Thus your Grace will, without doubt, receive God's grace and the praise of men here on earth, and salvation hereafter. . . .

541. ALBERT BURER TO BEATUS RHENANUS AT SCHLETTSTADT OR BASLE.

ARG., vi (1909), 467ff.

WITTENBERG, March 27, 1522.

. . . On March 6 Martin Luther returned to Wittenberg in equestrian habit, accompanied by several horsemen.¹ He came to settle the trouble stirred up by the extremely violent sermons of Carlstadt and Zwillling. For they had no regard for weak consciences, whom Luther, no less than Paul, would feed on milk until they grew strong.² He preaches daily on the Ten Commandments.³ As far as one can tell from his face the man is kind, gentle and cheerful. His voice is sweet and sonorous, so that I wonder at the sweet speaking of the man. Whatever he does, teaches and says is most pious, even though his impious enemies say the opposite. Everyone, even though not Saxon, who hears him once, desires to hear him again and again, such tenacious hooks does he fix in the minds of his auditors. In short there is nothing lacking in that man which makes for the most perfect Christian piety, even though all mortals and the gates of hell may say the contrary.

On March 12 Fabritius Capito came to Wittenberg to be reconciled to Luther, whom he somewhat offended by his letters,⁴ so that, it is said, he was called a poisonous beast by Luther. Now, I hear, they are entirely at one. What displeased Capito has begun to please him. He heard Luther preaching in the Wittenberg parish church, in which he saw him by chance. . . .

542. LUTHER TO JOHN LANG AT ERFURT.

Enders, iii, 323.

WITTENBERG, March 28, 1522.

Greeting. I believe you had reason for leaving the mon-

¹ Or, "dressed as a knight, and accompanied by several knights."

² I Cor. iii, 2.

³ These sermons printed Weimar, x³.

⁴ Luther did not like Capito's letter of December 20-21, 1521.

astery,¹ but I wish you had overcome all the reasons; not that I would deny your right to leave, but I do wish that our opponents might have been deprived of an opportunity for slander, in the same way that St. Paul deprived the false apostles of such an opportunity. . . . Now my suggestion is too late. If I have time I will write a letter to the Church at Erfurt,² though I see that you and our people here have grown far beyond me in knowledge of the Word, and the saying is everywhere fulfilled, "They must increase, but I must decrease."³ But the power of the Word is either latent or there is too little of it in all of us, and this makes me wonder. For we are the same as we were before—hard, senseless, impatient, audacious, drunken, lascivious, contentious—in a word, charity—that special mark of a Christian—is not in evidence, and the saying of Paul is fulfilled, "We have the kingdom of God in word, but not in power."⁴

I cannot come to you, for it is not right to tempt God and to seek perils elsewhere, when there is peril enough for me here. I am under the anathema of Pope and Emperor, and anybody is at liberty to kill me, and I have no protection except that of heaven. I see that many of our monks are leaving the monasteries for no other cause than that which brought them in, namely, for the sake of the belly and of carnal liberty. They will be Satan's instrument for making a great stench to offset the good odor of our word. But what can we do? They are lazy fellows, and seek their own advantage, and it is better for them to sin and perish out of the cowl than in it, for they would perish doubly if they were punished in this life. Greet all our friends, for I do not know who may be staying with you, and farewell in the Lord. Amen. I hope you will commend our cause to God in your prayers, and also Elector Frederic, who will not be with us long, I fear, unless we keep him by our prayers; if our head is taken away, the salvation

¹ After the General Chapter had given the Augustinians permission to leave their monasteries (January 6, 1522; cf. *supra*, nos. 518, 539), Lang left the house at Erfurt, and published sixteen reasons why he could no longer remain. Cf. Enders, iii, 324, n. 1, and W. Reindell, *Linck*, p. 272f.

² He found time in July (Enders, no. 557).

³ John iii, 30.

⁴ I Corinthians iv, 20.

also will be taken, which He has given and still is giving to our Syria.¹

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

543. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 173. German.

(WITTENBERG, March 28, 1522.)

Grace and peace in Christ, and my most humble service, Serene and High-born Prince, gracious Lord.

I do not like to trouble your Grace with intercessions and petitions for other people. The pleasure I get out of it I can well do without. Need compels me and love drives me to it. I wrote your Grace from my wilderness about Christopher N.,² who was in need and besought me to do so. Now he has come to me again, and has made such a pitiful plea that I am sorry for him, and his misery so touches me that I fairly thirsted to write your Grace again, for I had not thought that his need was so great.

I shall not quarrel with your Grace about his case, and am ready to admit that he deserved even worse treatment than he received, for I know that your Grace is fair-minded and would not wrong anybody. I also know that no prince can be so good and so wise that someone does not suffer at his hands or those of his officials. David was the best of all princes, but he wronged poor Mephibosheth on the representations of Ziba, and yet thought he had not been unjust. A prince must remember that there is always some injustice in his government; well for him in whose government there is the least of it. Therefore it is needful that he show all the more mercy and benevolence, so that "mercy may rejoice against judgment," as St. James says.³

So, then, I fall at your Grace's feet and humbly ask your Grace to have pity on this poor man, and at least support him in his old age until his death. It does no good to let him be ruined and forced into beggary, for I observe that his poverty distresses him so that he might lose his mind. Your Grace can easily supply him with food and drink, or help him other-

¹ II Kings v, 1.

² Christopher Pfaffenbeck. Cf. Luther to Spalatin, March 28 (Enders, iii, 321). The letter written from the Wartburg is lost.

³ James ii, 13.

wise. God has more Schneebergs,¹ and your Grace's dominions need not fear that they will be impoverished by charity; it has never happened so before. The saying is true, *Date et dabitur vobis*;² if *date* is rich, *dabitur* is far richer, and to whom much is given of him shall much be required.

Your Grace may be sure that I shall not leave the man in this state, even though I have to go out and beg for him myself. If that does no good, I shall even rob, and steal the first thing I lay my hands on, especially if it belongs to the Elector of Saxony. Therefore I ask your Grace graciously to hear this my request for my own sake, so that I may not have to go to stealing. I would not like your Grace to hang me for stealing one of the treasures of the Castle Church³ to help this man's need,

I hope that your Grace will not take this thirsty, or foolish, letter of mine amiss. My heart is in God, so far as I know. May Almighty God mercifully keep your Grace well and happy.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

544. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 324.

WITTENBERG, March 30, 1522.

Greeting. Here you have the letter you wanted, my dear Spalatin. What I wrote to Duke John Frederic⁴ I do not quite remember, except that I am sure I told him to make no innovations unless it could be done without giving offence to the weak, since charity is to be preferred to everything else. I wrote the same to Duke Charles.⁵

I had translated not only the Gospel of John, but the whole New Testament while I was at my Patmos, but now Philip

¹ Schneeberg, a town in Electoral Saxony on the slope of the Erzgebirge, the center of an extensive silver-mining industry, which was one of the Elector's great sources of income.

² Give and it shall be given you (Luke vi, 58).

³ *I.e.*, one of the relics of which the Elector was so proud.

⁴ A letter of advice concerning the administration of the sacrament in both kinds (DeWette, ii, 154f).

⁵ Duke Charles of Münsterberg (1476-1536). For a time he favored the Reformation, but after 1524 he was hostile to it. Enders, iii, 410, n. 1.

and I have begun to polish the whole thing, and (God willing!) it will be a worthy piece of work. We shall use your services sometimes in finding the right words, so be ready. But remember to give us simple terms, not those of the camp or the court, for this book must be adorned with simplicity. I am going to begin now. Please give us the names and the colors of the gems in Revelation xxi; or, better yet, get them from the court, or wherever else you can, and let us have an opportunity to see them.

I have in hand a little tract on the evangelical communion.¹ The matter is giving me a great deal of trouble, but I am not afraid of it; Christ lives, and for His sake we must be not only "a savor of death" to some and "a savor of life" to others, but we must even be put to death. Farewell, and greet all at court.

MARTIN LUTHER.

545. HANS VON DER PLANITZ TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

Wülcker-Virck, 134. German.

NUREMBERG, April 11, 1522.

. . . As regards the copy of Dr. Martin's letter,² I shall continue to obey your Grace's commands, and shall not give a copy of it to anybody, though I was especially asked to do so by Duke George, who would like to have a copy, though possibly not for your Grace's good. I allowed the Bishop of Strassburg to read it, as I reported to your Grace before, for he sent to me at least six times asking me to let him read it, and I thought he might become suspicious if his request were denied, so I let him read it. . . .

A few days ago there came from Rome a certain John Tordler, vicar of Meissen and subdeacon. He talked with me and the Dean of Wurzen,³ and told us, among other things, that the cardinals at Rome are really afraid of Martin, and that the Cardinals' College had given him two letters, one to Duke George, and the other to the Bishop of Meissen, exhorting the two princes to settle the trouble with Martin in whatever way

¹ On the Two Kinds in the Lord's Supper (*Von beider Gestalt d. Sacraments zu nehmen*). Weimar x², 11ff.

² Of March 12 (*supra*, no. 532).

³ Dietrich von Techwitz, also a representative of the Elector.

they could. If this is true, Duke George will not be pleased that they are so timid in this matter, and will hardly act on their advice. . . .

546. LUTHER TO GABRIEL ZWILLING.

Enders, iii, 342.

WITTENBERG, April 17, 1522.

After Luther's return to Wittenberg Zwilling had left the city and was living in retirement at Düben. When the City Council of Altenburg asked Luther to recommend a preacher for that city (Enders, iii, 333), he gave them Zwilling's name (De Wette, ii, 131), and wrote him this letter.

Grace, mercy and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. The Council of Altenburg has asked me for a preacher of the Gospel. If they come to you, go with them; if they accept you, receive their call as though it were assuredly the voice of God. I have offered you to them and recommended you, and so I beg you to accept what I have done in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who calls you through me and Philip, and go in peace. May the Lord make you to increase unto thousands of thousands. See to it, above all things, that you are moderate, and wear the dress of a priest, putting off that broad-brimmed hat¹ of yours for the sake of the weak, remembering that you are sent to those who must be fed with milk and released from the snares of the Pope. To do this you must work only with the Word, as you have heard from me, and as you will read in my new book.² It is the Father's will that men be drawn to Him through Christ, not forced or led to Him by our laws and ordinances. The first thing to do is to fill men's hearts with a dislike for wickedness; then wickedness will fall away of its own accord, without our effort; love for goodness must be sown, then goodness will come of its own accord, and it will come to pass that the kingdom of God shall suffer violence and violent men will take it by force.³ The Lord grant you His mind and Spirit, that you may be a worthy minister of

¹ *I.e.*, the lay head-dress.

² *Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments*, etc., cf. *supra*, no. 544, p. 119, n. 1.

³ Matthew xi, 12. Luther's interpretation of the passage is that men will become eager to enter the kingdom.

Christ His Son, and may He bless His word upon your lips.
Amen. Grace be with you.

BROTHER MARTIN LUTHER.

547. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iii, 343.

(WITTENBERG), April 21, 1522.

Greeting. Please send the enclosed books to my host in the realm of the birds,¹ my dear Spalatin; I had no time just now to write him a letter. I have promised Mattis Buchbinder that he shall be bridge-master of Wittenberg when the present incumbent dies, if the thing is possible. He is a poor man and needs it, but if there is someone else better qualified I do not wish to urge his appointment. Do whatever you can and think you ought. I am returning Miritsch's² letter.

I had a private talk with Carlstadt to-day, and besought him not to publish anything against me, as in that case I should be compelled, though unwillingly, to lock horns with him. He almost took an oath that he is not writing anything against me, though the printed sheets that are known to be in the hands of the rector and the judges tell another story.³ I shall certainly not suffer what he has written, even to avoid a scandal. They are trying to get him either to recall or to suppress the book, though I am not urging it. I do not fear Satan himself or an angel from heaven; how much less shall I fear Carlstadt! Farewell, and pray for the glory of the Gospel. Christ preserve our Prince for us yet a little while; this is my daily prayer. Again farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

548. LUTHER TO COUNT LEWIS OF STOLBERG.⁴

De Wette, ii, 188. German.

WITTENBERG, April 5, 1522.

Grace and peace from God, and my humble service.

¹ Hans von Berlepsch, the warden of the Wartburg.

² Melchior Miritsch, *cf.* Vol. I, p. 149, n. 5.

³ This unfinished work was confiscated by the university and parts of it already printed were publicly burned in Wittenberg. A letter from the Wittenberg faculty to the Elector, setting forth the facts and enclosing excerpts from the work, is printed by Barge, *Carlstadt*, ii, 562ff. *Cf. ibid.* i, 453ff., Müller, *Luther und Karlstadt*, 124ff., and C.R. i, 570.

⁴ A former student at Wittenberg. *Cf.* Vol. I, p. 485, n. 3.

Gracious Lord! Philip has asked me to write you about the matter of the images, of which your Grace wrote to him, and although your Grace can gather my opinion well enough from my book,¹ I have wished to grant his request and do your Grace a service, and so write to you myself.

Your Grace may believe for certain that this clumsy way of dealing with the images² does not please me. Even though the situation were worse than it is, this way of abolishing them would do no good. There are some people who abuse wine and bread and silver and gold, and make idols of them, as St. Paul says, "Whose God is their belly"; shall we, then, attack and revile all bellies and gold and wine? Then we should have to tear the sun and the moon and the stars out of heaven, for the prohibition of the Scriptures against the worship of these things is stricter than against the worship of anything else; nay, we could not allow any rulers, or even fathers or mothers, to live, for we honor them on bended knees as we do God, and oftentimes we fear and love them more than God Himself. But the true worship of God is in the heart, and consists of faith and love.

To be sure, I wish the images were out of the churches; not because of the danger that they will be worshiped (for I am afraid the saints are worshiped more than the images), but because of the false confidence men have that they are doing a good work and a service to God when they spend on wood and stone the money they ought to be applying to their neighbor's need.

But we must destroy this and other false beliefs by preaching, so that men's hearts may be drawn away from them by the pure Gospel; the external thing would then go to pieces of its own accord, because it helps nobody. So long, now, as men's hearts cleave to these things, we cannot tear them out without tearing men's hearts out too. We are Christians (sad to say!) in the breaking of images, the eating of meat and other outward things, but faith and love, which are the really powerful things, are never in evidence. I hope your Grace

¹ *Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments, etc., Vide supra*, no. 544, p. 119, n. 1.

² *I.e.*, putting them out of the churches by force, as had been done in Wittenberg.

will graciously take this letter in good part, for I am quite at your Grace's service. I commend your Grace to God's mercy.

Your Grace's servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

549. LUTHER TO CASPAR BORNER OR JAMES CUBITO.

Enders, iii, 375.

WITTENBERG, May 28, 1522.

This letter appeared in print in July, 1522, together with a letter to Capito of January 17, 1522 (Enders, iii, 278ff.). In this edition it was headed merely "Judicium D. M. Lutheri de Erasmo Roterodamo ad Amicum." An old MS. copy of the letter in Dresden is headed "Epistola Lutheri ad amicum, cujus, ut opinor, meminit in priori epistola ad Erasmum." By this is meant the letter of April, 1524, *infra*, no. 620, in which Luther refers to Joachim Camerarius. A MS. at Copenhagen is headed "Marth. Luth. ad civem quendam Lipsensem." Ambrose Blaurer saw a copy of it and refers to it on August 6, 1522, as "ad quendam Lysicum," *Briefwechsel der Blaurer*, i, 52. The old editions of the letters identify the recipient with Caspar Borner of Leipzig. On the other hand, Capito says that he saw the original autograph from which it was printed, and that it was addressed to James Cubito, a physician of Magdeburg. (See letter of July 30, 1523, Enders, iv, 188.) This testimony is weighty, and is accepted by O. Clemen in *Supplementa Melanchthoniana*, i, p. xiv. The allusions in the letter to persecution and to the "princeps" are not decisive, as Luther speaks in the letter to Capito of January 17, 1522, of the bad conditions at Magdeburg, and might well have spoken of the Archbishop as a "prince." There was also constant persecution at Leipsic. The letter, though not published under Luther's supervision, was intended to be an "open" one. In all the rest of his correspondence Luther never alludes once to either Borner or Cubito. (The reading "Cubito" in a letter of August 7, 1536, Enders, xi, 25, should be "Curio.")

Borner (†1547) of Grosenhayn, since 1518 rector of the Thomas School in Leipzig, and professor of theology at the university.

Grace and peace in Christ. I was glad to receive your last letter, honored Sir, because it shows how rightly you think and that you are making progress in your opinions of things Christian. I hope and pray that the Lord may perfect what He has begun. I am grieved, indeed, by what you say about the fury against Christ which prevails in your city, but either your Prince will give up his raging of his own accord, or someone else will make him do so against his will, and that soon.

I knew before that Mosellanus¹ agreed with Erasmus about predestination, for he is altogether an Erasmian. I think, on the contrary, that Erasmus knows less about predestination, or seems to know less, than even the schools of the sophists have known, nor is there any reason why I should fear my own downfall if I do not change my opinion on this subject. Erasmus is to be feared neither in this nor in anything else that pertains to Christian doctrine. Truth is mightier than eloquence; the Spirit stronger than genius; faith greater than learning; and, as Paul says,² "The foolishness of God is wiser than men." The eloquent Cicero was often beaten in the courts by less eloquent men; Julian³ was more eloquent than Augustine. In a word, truth conquers lying eloquence even though it only stammers, as it is written,⁴ "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou perfected strength, to destroy the enemy and the avenger."

I shall not provoke Erasmus, but if I am provoked once and again I shall strike back. I think he is unwise to array the power of his eloquence against me, for I fear that he will not find in me another Lefèvre,⁵ nor will he be able to glory over me as he glories over him, saying, "Everybody is congratulating me on conquering the Frenchman." If he casts the die he will see that Christ does not fear either the gates of hell or the powers of the air, and poor stammerer though I am, I shall encounter the eloquent Erasmus with all confidence, caring nothing for his authority or reputation, or for his good will. I know the man, just as we know the plots of Satan, but I expect him to reveal more clearly from day to day whatever he has against me.

I have told you this at some length so that you may not be anxious or fearful on my account, and may not be alarmed by other people's high-sounding bombast. Greet Mosellanus, for I do not hold it against him that he follows Erasmus rather than me. Nay, tell him to be right boldly Erasmian. The

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 194.

² I Corinthians i, 25.

³ Julian of Eclanum (fifth century), the greatest literary champion of Pelagianism.

⁴ Psalm viii, 2.

⁵ Lefèvre d'Étaples, with whom Erasmus had had a literary feud.

time will come when he will think differently; meanwhile we must bear with the weakness of a good man. Farewell in the Lord.

550. LUTHER TO PAUL SPERATUS AT IGLAU.

Enders, iii, 397.

(WITTENBERG), June 13, 1522.

Paul Speratus (Spret) was born 1484 at Rötlen in Swabia. He studied at Freiburg and Paris, probably at Vienna and in Italy. He was ordained to the priesthood 1506. He received a prebend in Würzburg (July, 1520), but was obliged to leave the city (November, 1521) because of his Lutheran views, which also cost him his next position in Salzburg. He was excommunicated at Vienna (January, 1522), but became pastor at Iglau in Moravia, where he was arrested and condemned to death, but was pardoned on promising to leave the country. His next home was Wittenberg (1523-24), but in 1524 he became, on Luther's recommendation, court preacher to Albert of Brandenburg. From 1530 to his death (1551), he was Bishop of Pomerania, one of the two bishoprics of East Prussia. He was the organizer of the Lutheran Church in Prussia and was well known as a hymn writer, collaborating with Luther on the first evangelical hymnal (the *VIII Lieder Gesangbuch*, 1524). His life by Tschackert (Halle, 1891). *Realency.*, ADB., Julian, *Diet of Hymology*³, 1073f.

Grace and peace in Christ. I received your letter with the questions, and one at the same time from Madam Julia von Stauffen,¹ and learned from them with the greatest pleasure that the Gospel is bearing fruit in your land, because the Emperor's satellites, the sophists, are persecuting it with incredible fury in the Low Countries. But God has given them an omen of death, if perchance they may come to themselves and repent; for a sea-monster has been cast ashore at Haarlem. It is called a whale, and is seventy feet long and thirty-five wide. By all the precedents of antiquity this prodigy is a sure sign of God's wrath. The Lord have mercy on them and us.

To the questions of the Waldensians,² which you have put

¹ Argula (not "Julia") von Stauff, the first woman to write in behalf of the Reformation. She was the wife (married 1515) of Frederic of Grumbach, a Franconian noble, who seems to have been a nonentity. Her literary activity was provoked by the condemnation (1522) of Arsacius Seehofer by the University of Ingolstadt. Her defence of Seehofer was followed by a series of writings (1522-24), but her literary work ceased in 1524. She died 1554. Cf. Kolde, *Arsacius Seehofer und Argula von Grumbach* (*Beiträge zur bayer. KG.* 1905, and *Realency.*)

² I.e., the Bohemian Brethren, also known as the "Picards." Cf. Luther to Speratus, May 16 (Enders iii, 363). On Luther's relation, with them *vide* Köstlin-Kawerau i, 632ff.

to me through their commissioners, I would reply as follows. In the first place, I wish that questions of this sort were done away and suppressed, so far as possible, for they are unprofitable and dangerous to the common people, who are uneducated and fickle and are easily drawn away from the things that are necessary—that is, from faith and love—into these new and strange matters. Satan is clever; he starts these things so that he may have a way of corrupting the simplicity that is in Christ, and introduces questions that are, as Paul says,¹ interminable. This is what he did when he spread philosophy and ceremonies throughout the world, and none of the bishops resisted him, or stood for the liberty and purity of faith. Thus even now, among us, he is quibbling over the worship of saints and what the saints are conscious of in heaven, and I have it in mind to take the matter up with him, so far as the Lord permits. This is doubtless what has happened with the Waldensian brethren also. Do this, therefore! Urge, insist on, demand the things that are necessary; namely, faith and love, and if they do not first embrace these things, then denounce their frivolity, which occupies itself with these externalities, and not with the things that are necessary. For even the sacrament itself is not so necessary that faith and love are to be let go on its account. It is foolish to quarrel over these cheap things and neglect the precious and salutary things.

Nevertheless, for fear they may think that importunate fools cannot be answered, I should say that a man is free to adore or invoke Christ in the sacrament, and he who does not adore Him commits no sin, neither does he commit sin who adores Him. Let this be the end of this contention. Do not allow either party to be coerced, and let no one adduce circumcision, or judge another. Do you hold this sort of contention over this matter in contempt, and by your contempt condemn it. Where faith and love are present there can be no sin either in adoring or in not adoring Christ in the sacrament; but if faith and love are not present, no one will be without sin, whether he adores Christ or not; nay, no one will ever be without sin no matter what he does. For faith

¹ I Timothy i, 4.

adores Christ, because it sets before it only Him whose body and blood it doubts not to be present. If the contentious are unwilling to call this "concomitance," let them call it something else and cease the contention, which in this matter is not seemly. For no one denies—not even the Brethren, I take it—that the body and blood of Christ, who is the object of adoration, are present, and this is reason enough for using the term "concomitance." But if there are any who wish to discover how the Deity is contained in the sacrament by way of concomitance, show them that their curiosity is foolish and that they are rushing headlong into the mysteries of God with carnal imaginations; thus you will keep them in the simplicity of faith and in the pure knowledge of the sacrament. For when these foolish and needless imaginings are admitted, they make people curious, faith becomes a secondary matter, and the way is open for all that filth about infinite space, the void, quantity, substance, and all the other ravings of natural reason and philosophy. For this reason we must guard the simplicity of faith in these discussions. Again, faith and love do not adore Christ in the sacrament because they know that there is no command to adore Him there, and no sin in not adoring Him. Thus faith and love, in their liberty, pass through the midst of them and bring them all into agreement, allowing everybody to hold his own opinion. There is only one thing that faith and love forbid,—that people shall strive with one another and judge one another; for they hate sects and schisms and will have freedom in all things.

The dispute about whether the body of Christ alone is present under the bread by virtue of the words, etc., is to be settled the same way. Judge for yourself whether there is any need to involve the ignorant multitude in these hair-splittings, when otherwise they can be guided by the sound and safe faith that under the bread there is the body of Him who is true God and true man. What is the use of wearying ourselves with the question how blood, humanity, Deity, hair, bones and skin are present by concomitance, for these things we do not need to know. These things neither teach nor increase faith, but only sow doubts and dissensions. Faith wishes to know nothing more than that under the bread is

present the body, under the wine the blood of the Christ who lives and reigns. It holds fast to this simple truth and despises curious questions.

Thus, too, I would solve the question about adoring and invoking God dwelling in the saints. It is a matter of liberty, and it is not necessary either to do it or not to do it. To be sure, it is not so certain that God has His dwelling in many men as that He is present in the sacrament, but we do read in I Corinthians¹ that an unbeliever will fall on his face and worship God in the saints, if he hears them prophesying; and Abraham saw three angels, and worshiped one Lord; and (to use your own illustration) what do we do when we "prefer one another in honor," except honor and adore God in ourselves? Let it be free, then, to call upon God in man or out of man, in creatures or out of them, for "I fill heaven and earth," saith the Lord.² Here faith goes the safest way, for in all things it sees only God, but we cannot say enough of this to unbelievers, or prove it to them, because they are always worshiping themselves. Therefore, as I said before, teach them only to be sound in faith, and there will be no need for this kind of questions, and the unction of the Lord will teach them in all things; without it we can do nothing else than run into endless questionings.

Greet Martin Novilianus³ for me. I have written to Madame Julia,⁴ but not at length. The book on vows is long since out of print, but I have ordered a new edition struck off. I have told the bearers of this letter to be sure to tell you what is going on here. Farewell in Christ, and pray for me.

Postscript.—When I was about to seal this letter I looked over yours again to see if I had answered all your questions, and found the page in which you ask about the power of the words of institution in the sacrament. You think rightly that the power comes from the promise if, between ourselves, there is any power in the words. But you know, too, that it is faith alone that consecrates, and the priests are very often without faith when they consecrate, in which case, of course,

¹ I Corinthians xiv, 24f.

³ The schoolmaster at Iglau.

² Jeremiah xxiii, 24.

⁴ *Vide*, p. 125, n. 1.

their use of the words is not only a mockery and deception, but is even impious. Therefore, in order to be safe, we ought to learn that they also consecrate, and although a priest ought not to be such an unbeliever, nevertheless he can consecrate in the faith of the Church when he acts by the command and authority of the Church. For it is not he that speaks the words, but the Church, and he is the minister of the words which the Church speaks. From this you can readily draw further conclusions. Again farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

551. LUTHER TO JOHN STAUPITZ AT SALZBURG.

Enders, iii, 406.

WITTENBERG, June 27, 1522.

In 1520 Staupitz resigned his position as vicar of the Augustinian Order and retired to Salzburg. He obtained (April 26, 1522) a dispensation to change his Order, and entered the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg, August 1, 1522. The next day he was chosen abbot.

Grace and peace in Christ, reverend Father. I have learned of your abbacy not only from the Prior of Nuremberg,¹ but also by a rumor so persistent that I should have been compelled to believe it if I had not seen your letter. In the same way, I suppose, lies about us are carried to you. Although I am willing to yield to the will of God, nevertheless I cannot see, in my ignorance, how it can be God's will that you should become an abbot, nor do I think it advisable. However, I wish neither to oppose you nor to judge you. One thing I beg of you by the mercies of Christ,—do not believe the accusations that are made against either Wenzel² or me. You say that my doctrines are praised by those who frequent the brothels, and that my recent writings have given great offence; I am neither surprised nor afraid. We have tried here, and are trying, to publish the pure Word without any disturbance; the good and the bad are both using it, and how they use it is not in our power to determine, as you know. We have set ourselves the task of driving out by means of the Word that unclean celibacy, the impiety of private masses, the tyranny that is exercised over the monks, and whatever else has been in-

¹ Wolfgang Volpracht.

² Link.

roduced by men and set up against sound doctrine. We are doing what Christ predicted when He said that His angels would gather out of His kingdom everything that is a cause of offence. I must altogether destroy the Pope's whole kingdom of abomination and perdition, my dear father. Christ is doing this now without us, without human help, by the Word alone. God has seen the end of it. The matter is beyond our comprehension, therefore there is no reason why I should delay until someone is able to understand it. It befits the greatness of God, then, that there should be great disturbances of mind, great scandals, great portents. Let not all these things disturb you, my dear father; I hope for the best. You see in these things the counsel of God and His mighty hand. Remember how from the very beginning my cause has seemed to the world dreadful and intolerable, and yet it has grown stronger day by day. It will prevail even over this which you now so greatly fear; wait a little while; Satan feels his wound, and therefore he is raging this way and throwing everything into confusion; but Christ, who has begun this work, will tread him under foot and all the gates of hell will strive against Him in vain.

James,¹ the Prior of Antwerp, has been taken prisoner again; it is thought that he has been burned at the stake and two others with him, for it was certain he would be put to death, because he repudiated his recantation. The sophists are hastening to their own destruction, which will come to them because of the innocent blood they are shedding. Amen. They are planning to burn me, too, at the stake, but I am constantly provoking Satan and his scales all the more, that the day of Christ may be hastened in which He will destroy Antichrist. Farewell, my dear father, and pray for me. Dr. Jerome,² Amsdorf, who is rector, and Philip³ send you their greetings. I hope you will excuse Wenzel;⁴ he is a good man

¹ Propst. He had been once imprisoned for heresy, but released after making recantation. His second imprisonment followed a renewed preaching of evangelical doctrine, but he was not burned at the stake, for he managed to escape from Brussels and get back to Germany. Cf. Enders iii, 329, n. 4. Kalkoff, *Anfänge der Gegenreformation in d. Niederländern* i, 51ff., ii, 60ff. The first execution of Lutherans in the Netherlands took place in July, 1523.

² Schurff.

³ Melancthon.

⁴ Link.

and handles the Gospel well, which is a cause of offence to the saints and the wise men.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

552. FELIX ULSCENIUS TO CAPITO.

Kolde, *Analecta*, 37.

WITTENBERG, July 20, 1522.

I congratulate you, my honored teacher, that your Prince¹ has at last, contrary to what everybody has expected, begun to fix his hope on Christ. Melanchthon is glad that your efforts have not been thrown away, and so are all good men. To speak with the prophet, may God confirm that which He has begun in him; to Him alone be the glory. I got the two gulden which you sent me from Nuremberg by Master Sebald.² I am thankful for them and hope to return them. Martin has issued a marvelous attack upon the King of England,³ and does not spare Charles,⁴ even in the pulpit. We have heard that he [Charles] takes this Luther-matter ill. It is of great importance to Christ's people that Martin is proving himself a vigorous evangelist, and our magistrates are dealing most severely with those offenders who are a cause of scandal to the Gospel. Yesterday they drove three women out of the city because of their loose life, and a young man because he was guilty of lying in wait at the house-doors. His friends made many prayers to Melanchthon on his behalf, but he would not listen to them. Martin and Melanchthon wish to have all adulterers and blasphemers put to death. . . . Melanchthon is trying to secure more honor for classical studies here, a thing which is necessary, as you know. He has

¹ Albert of Mayence.

² Sebald Münsterer of Nuremberg studied first at Leipzig, came to Wittenberg in 1520, was made doctor of laws and professor there in 1527. He and his wife both died of the plague in October, 1539. Luther had his four children for awhile with him. Enders, xii, 271f.

³ On Henry's work against Luther, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, cf. *supra*, nos, 487, 504, 509, 510. It was printed in London, July, 1521, and often reprinted. See Gordon Duff, in *The Library*, New Series, vol. ix, no. 33 (January, 1908), pp. 1-16. Luther received a copy in May, 1522, according to a letter from P. Gluenspiess to G. Reumer, dated Wittenberg, May 28, 1522, *Archiv. f. Reformationsgeschichte*, iv (1907), p. 411. He answered at once, his reply appearing in July, 1522, under the title *Contra Henricum Angliae Regem*, Weimar, x, part ii, 175ff. Cf. Smith, pp. 192ff. and *English Historical Review*, October, 1910.

⁴ The Emperor.

just completed his Greek Lexicon, and will send it to Anselm¹ for the next fair; Setzer² has made this possible by letting Philip have the time he had intended to give to a medical work. Dr. John Bugenhagen,³ who is lecturing here, has married an honest Wittenberg girl. Wetzsteiner⁴ of Nuremberg who was with Martin at the Diet of Worms, has also taken a wife. It is rumored that Erasmus is about to write against Martin. I hear that Martin has said of him that even though Erasmus may fall away from the doctrine of Christ, nevertheless he has no doubt he will come to himself and to a right opinion about that doctrine. Heretofore he has excelled only as a teacher of the law, and in this sphere the purest and most elegant writer among our countrymen. . . .

Yours,

FELIX ULSCENIUS.

553. LUTHER TO AN UNNAMED CORRESPONDENT.

De Wette, ii, 242. German.

WITTENBERG, August 28, 1522.

Grace and peace in Christ. I received your letter, my good friend, by the liberated Daniel,⁵ and am glad that the

¹ Possibly Thomas Anselm, the Hagenau printer, though the last work from his press bears the date 1521.

² John Setzer (Secerius), Anselm's successor in the business at Hagenau. He died 1532. For his life *vide* ADB.

³ John Bugenhagen (Dr. Pomeranus), born at Wollin, June 24, 1485; studied at Griefswald (1502-04), teacher in Treptow (1504-17); head of the monastic school at Belbuk (1517-21). Going to Wittenberg (matriculated April 29, 1521) on the invitation of his friend, Peter Swaven, he was almost immediately engaged as lecturer at the university, though without official appointment. He became pastor of the City Church in 1523 and received a regular professorship in 1535. From 1525 to 1543 he was frequently absent from Wittenberg under special commission to organize evangelical churches in lands that had received the Reformation (Brunswick, 1528, May to October; Hamburg, October, 1528 to June, 1529; Lubeck, October, 1529-1532; Pomerania, 1534-1535; Denmark, on the invitation of the king, 1536-1539; Brunswick again, 1539-1543). From 1543 till his death he was active in Wittenberg as preacher and professor. He was one of Luther's intimate friends (with Melancthon, Jonas and Amsdorf) and officiated at his wedding (1525) and his funeral. His literary contributions to the Reformation were large (translation of Luther's New Testament into Low German; assistance with the revision of Luther's Bible; many tracts on theological subjects), but his greatest services were rendered in the field of practical reform (church organization and worship). His letters edited by O. Vogt (Stettin, 1888); best biography by H. Hering (Halle, 1888). This report of his marriage is incorrect, for he was not married until October 13, (Hering *op. cit.*, p. 19); it is probably his betrothal that is meant.

⁴ Petzensteiner.

⁵ Probably Probst, who had escaped persecution like a second Daniel, and had come to Wittenberg. In that case Luther's correspondent must have been one of Luther's friends in the Netherlands; but *cf.* Weimar, x³, p. 178, n. 2.

Word of God is prospering among you and that you have put yourself to so much pains in its behalf. You ask why I have answered the King of England so sharply,¹ so that you can reply to my opponents. I would have you know that I did it purposely, and will henceforth show no more gentleness to blasphemers and liars. My preaching and writing has gone as far as it can, and has reached its limit. You know that Christ and Peter and Paul were not always gentle. How often does Christ call the Jews "a generation of vipers," "murderers," "children of the devil," and "fools"? Especially in His last sermon, in Matthew xxiii, how hard and how terribly He rebukes them! Stephen, in Acts vii, calls them murderers and betrayers; Peter curses Simon, in Acts viii, and tells him to go to the devil with his money. And as for Paul, how sharply he reproves! He calls them dogs, apostles of the devil, liars, deceivers, falsifiers, seducers, children of the devil. I shall say nothing of the prophets.

Now, as you know, I have written many little books without any severity, in a friendly and gentle tone; I have made the most humble overtures, and run after those men and appeared before them² at great difficulty and expense, and have borne their measureless lies and slanders. But the more I have humbled myself the more they rave and slander me and my doctrine, until they have become hardened and can neither hear nor see. If anyone is so minded that he disregards and despises my long patience and my many offers, why should I care if he takes offence at my rebukes? He shows that he sees no good in me, and only seeks occasion to despise me. Therefore he must be given the occasion, so that the falseness of his heart may be revealed, for no one who comes to my teaching with a right heart will take offence at my severity.

But is not their judgment biased when they will not see the severity and slander of my enemies, and call them the best of Christians and hold me a heretic? They have been far more severe than I have; nay, many of them have become crazy against me. Judge for yourself what kind of hearts they are that let the much good that is in my work pass, and

¹ *Vide supra*, no. 552, n. 3.

² At Augsburg and Worms.

seize upon the harsh things alone, and, on the other hand, let pass the much that is bad in the others and find only the little that is good. But, as I have said, God's judgment must go on and all the unworthy must take offence and fall away, for thus many of Christ's disciples went back, and said,¹ "This is a hard saying; who can bear it?"

Therefore, my good friend, do not be surprised that many take offence at what I write. So it should be and so it must be. Only a few will be faithful to the Gospel, and there is no one to whom the Gospel is more distasteful than to those false hearts who pretend to be its friends and then fall away when the outlook is not good. How can they stake their lives for it when the time comes or persecution demands it?

In a word, it will be clear in due time why I have been so harsh. If anyone will not believe that it is well meant and a good thing to do, let him leave it; one day he will have to confess it. Even my gracious Lord² has written me advising against it, and many of my other friends have done the same, but my reply is always that I will not and ought not stop it. My work is not that of one who can take a middle course, and yield this or give up that, as I have done hitherto, fool that I was. God have you in His keeping.

MARTIN LUTHER.

554. LUTHER TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Weimar, x², 327.

(WITTENBERG, about August, 1522.)

This letter was first published anonymously as a preface to *Fragmenta aliquot D. Joannis Gocchii Mechlinensis antehac nunquam excusa*, without place or date, but doubtless printed at Zwolle in the latter half of 1522. It was rediscovered and its authorship proved by O. Clemen in his *Johann Pupper von Goch*, Leipzig, 1896, Appendix. W. Köhler threw some light on it in Th. St. Kr., 1900, p. 135, and in his book, *Luther und die Kirchengeschichte*, 1900, pp. 279ff. The date is partly given by parallel passages in Enders, iii, 440f. and 435, partly by references to other books.

John Pupper von Goch (†1475) a Brother of the Common Life, emphasized the sole authority of the Bible and minimized the value of monasticism and asceticism. Cornelius Grapheus of Antwerp began publishing his works at Antwerp, the principal one, *On Christian*

¹ John vi, 60.

² The Elector of Saxony.

Liberty, 1521, for which he was summoned before the Inquisition. Clemen, *op. cit.*, *Realencyk.*, and RGG.

Greeting to the Christian Reader. If in scholastic theology nothing else were wanted than eloquence and genius, I should never have dared to move a feather or to peep (as Isaiah¹ says) lest I should judge the mote in another's eye and not see my own beam,² for I confess that I am a barbarian and of slender genius. But truly, when I compare scholastic with sacred theology, that is with Holy Scripture, it seems full of impiety and vanity and dangerous in all ways to be put before Christian minds not forearmed with the armor of God. So I raised up my horn, and, desirous of my brother's salvation as well as of my own. I agitated against this kid³ of the goats perhaps more boldly and more caustically than tender ears can bear, or than beseems my profession. But as I never cared for my reputation, I have found it easy to throw it away by either harshness or mildness, provided only that the salvation of Christians were thereby helped. So some diseases which cannot be cured by emolients must be cured by the knife. But let it pass—I deserve no indulgence. Let all my books perish, if the booksellers will hear my entreaty. My glory is nothing. Yet I rejoice that others arise and are found enemies of this impiety, and that the treasures of Germany are brought to light. The Lord's will is done by their hands. In truth, I see that the purer theology has been and is hidden among the Germans. Recently John Tauler⁴ came out, a quondam Thomist, if I may call him so, but a writer like of whom I think has hardly been born since the age of the Apostles. Joined to him is a tract of like sort and language, the German Theology.⁵ After these Wessel⁶ of

¹ Isaiah x, 14.

² Matthew vii, 5.

³ Not Emser is meant, but Aristotle, so-called by Luther in his *Asterisks*, Weimar I, 291, as the type of scholasticism. Köhler, *loc. cit.* Cf. Daniel vii, 8ff.

⁴ On Tauler cf. Vol. I, p. 41. His sermons appeared at Augsburg, 1508.

⁵ *The German Theology*, an anonymous tract edited by Luther first in 1516 in part and fully in 1518.

⁶ Wessel Gansfort, (1420-89), of Groningen, a Brother of the Common Life, who anticipated the doctrine of salvation by grace so exactly that Luther said: "Had I read Wessel previously my opponents would have said that I had taken everything from him, so closely do our spirits agree." Two volumes of his writings appeared in 1522. RGG. Luther wrote a preface to his *Farrago* August 30, 1522, Weimar, x², 316.

Groningen, a writer unequal to his fellow-countryman, Rudolph Agricola,¹ if you look for style, but superior if you have regard to the purity of theology. Now follows the fourth—not to speak of the living—John Goch of Mechlin, a true German and a genuine theologian. If Germany ever was Germany, it certainly is to-day while it germinates² unto the Lord in magnificence and brings forth the sublime fruit of the earth so prolifically. I withdraw before these guides and hand them the lamp, hoping that soon, under their tuition, there will not be left in our earth a Thomist or an Albertist, a Scotist or an Occamist, but only simple sons of God and Christian brothers.³ Only let not those who batten on literary dainties revolt against the rustic diction, nor despise the coarse coverings and cheap garments of our tabernacle, for within is all the glory of the king's daughter. Certainly if we cannot get learned and eloquent piety, let us at least prefer an unlearned and infantile piety to an impiety which is both eloquent and infantile. Why should I play with words any longer? He will be abundantly eloquent who has a full store of the best matter. Wisdom is not only eloquent in herself, but even makes the tongues of babes persuasive, for out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hath he perfected virtue.⁴ May He who is blessed for ever send us this virtue from His throne through His elect vessels. Amen.

555. ERASMUS TO DUKE GEORGE OF ALBERTINE, SAXONY.

Gess, i, 352.

BASLE, September 3, 1522.

Greeting, most illustrious Prince. It was very gratifying to me that you honored me with your very kind letter,⁵ since I had been so occupied and my health was so bad that I had neglected to write to your Highness. That this perilous discord displeases you is not strange, for who is there, endowed with a Christian spirit, whom it does not displease?

¹ Rudolph Husmann called Agricola (1442 or 1444-85), a famous humanist, also of Gronigen. Allen i, 106. RGG.

² Jeremiah xxii, 5; xxiii, 15, in the Vulgate has "germinare," in our version "bring forth a Branch."

³ *Germani*.

⁴ Psalm viii, 2; Matthew xxi, 6.

⁵ This letter is lost.

Would that the princes would so watch over true studies that this great evil might be stopped, and stopped in such wise that it would not spring up again, for it is now too late, perhaps, to argue about which party is to blame. It cannot be denied that Luther undertook a good work and began by taking up the cause of Christ, Who had almost been forgotten, thus earning the applause of the whole world, but I could wish that he had been better advised in his handling of this great matter and had shown greater moderation, both of mind and pen. I wish either that there were not so many good things in what he has written, or else that he had not spoiled the good things by others that are unbearable. Nevertheless, some of the Lutherans are greater sinners in this respect than Luther himself. Now that the controversy is waged on both sides with cruel hatred, there is danger that if Luther is worsted many good things may perish which I should be sorry to see done away, and the victorious party may put upon us certain things which no one who loves Christ would be able to endure, and some things would be lost, to the grave detriment of the glory of Christ and the purity of the Gospel.

If I may speak freely to a prince as wise as he is kind, the world was asleep in scholastic opinions and human constitutions, and heard only of indulgences and compositions and the power of the Roman pontiff. Even though these things were indubitably true, nevertheless they do not contribute much to the power of the Gospel, do not inspire us with contempt of this world, do not inflame us with love of heaven. And yet these were things that were most insistently taught. The authority of the Pope is not to be despised, but all the glory is to be given to Christ alone. Moreover under these conditions certain men were in power who do not seek the things of Jesus Christ, but like that Demas whom the Apostle Paul mentions,¹ they love this world. From this sleep the world had to be aroused and the spark of Gospel power had to be revived again; would that it had been done with that gentleness and carefulness with which that holiest of all tasks ought to have been performed. Then, too, certain monks and monkish theologians mixed in the business and stirred

¹ II Timothy iv, 10.

up this evil with their foolish and ignorant and seditious clamors, and made a bad thing worse and a little thing great. For at first there was nothing in danger except the gains of the indulgence-sellers, and just as Luther writes much which the ears of most men are not able to endure, so these men bring in many things which good and learned men see are harmful to true evangelical piety. Moreover those who write these things are not attending to Christ's business or the Pope's, but to their own. They are moved by the desire for private gain, and they hurt the cause of the Pope and obscure the glory of Christ. These men do not allow those things in Luther that are altogether Christian to be approved, nor do they yield any of their own contentions, but to the former ones they add others that are still harsher.

Since I perceived, therefore, that both parties were contending in impotent rage, I have not mingled in this tumult, except to declare emphatically that I was in no sort of league with the Lutherans and that nothing displeases me more than sedition. To be sure I saw that I was otherwise unequal to this dangerous business, even if I had had leisure to read what they write on the one side and the other, for it would all have had to be read. Besides, my age and my health demand that I be relieved of difficult tasks. I would never write so sharply against Luther that the other party would not think me lukewarm. Moreover the Lutherans now threaten me with such dire things that there is no one whom they would rather tear to pieces than Erasmus, if he were to enter the fray. There are books enough against Luther, if he is to be overthrown that way, and there are others who far surpass me in this kind of a conflict.

Finally, it has always been my opinion that there is no better way to put a stop to this tragedy than the way of silence. The wisest of the cardinals and the magnates agree with me. The Pope issued a cruel bull; it only added fuel to the fire. It was followed by an even more cruel edict of the Emperor, who is heart and soul in this matter; it has put a check upon the tongues and pens of some people, but it has not silenced their minds. They praise the pious intentions of the Emperor, but they ascribe his decision of this matter

to men of whom the learned have a poor opinion.

I have never doubted that the book of the Serene King of England, which you praise with good reason, was the work of him whose name it bears.¹ For that prince possesses a wonderfully happy and versatile genius and can do incredible things in any field to which he devotes himself. Even as a boy he was diligent in the cultivation of style, even writing letters to me, and a few years ago he wrote a theological disputation on the question whether a layman is bound to say his prayers aloud. He delights to read the books of the scholastic theologians, and at banquets it is his custom to discuss theological subjects. The learned argument is sometimes continued far into the night. Even if he had some help in the preparation of that book, there was no need for my assistance, since his court is full of the most learned and eloquent men. If there is something about his style not unlike my own, that would not be anything either strange or new, for when he was a boy he carefully studied my writings, at the suggestion of William of Mountjoy,² a former pupil of mine, whom he made his intimate friend.

The two books of Luther, which your Highness sent me, were sent in vain, for I am ignorant of the language in which they are written. I am told that they were circulated here for a long while before you sent them to me. I think it foolish to challenge those whom you cannot conquer, though to admonish the princes and bishops of their duty whenever the opportunity offers is not useless and is in accordance with the example of the most approved writers. Jerome does it repeatedly, Chrysostom does it, and Bernard. There always have been bishops and there always will be, and perchance

¹ Erasmus's desire to flatter a powerful patron was greater than his veracity. Mr. P. S. Allen has shown that Erasmus once helped Lord Mountjoy to pass off as his own, a work which he (Erasmus) really believed (probably correctly) to be the work of Mountjoy's secretary. Allen, i. 436, 449. As to the authorship of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, it is practically certain that at the least Henry received much help from an "assembly of divines" brought together by Wolsey, and also from More and Fisher. It is printed in an old edition of Fisher's works. More admits having helped Henry; *Life of More* by Roper in Bohn's edition of the *Utopia*, 1910, p. 247. The subject is discussed at great length by O'Donovan in his edition of the *Assertio*, 1908, pp. 53-93.

² William Blount, fourth Lord Mountjoy (died 1534), counsellor and intimate of Henry VIII, in his youth a pupil, and in later life the patron of Erasmus. Cf. DNB and P. S. Allen, i. 207.

there are some even now who are drunk with good fortune and have forgotten what it means to be a bishop, and what is said in general terms ought not to be made a reproach to any individual, only so long as the thing is not done in a seditious or cruel manner, and the sweetness of Christian charity mitigates the austerity of the admonition. The authority of the Pope must not be diminished, but it is preserved by good deeds. This whole evil, or certainly a great part of it, comes from us, who embrace the world with our whole heart, and yet make a pretence of bearing the name of Christ. If we cut away these roots of evil the world will love and honor us as fathers; now it hates and repudiates us as tyrants.

We are looking to see to what the new Pope¹ will call us. Perhaps he will show us some way of ending this evil, which has seized upon so many regions and has become so deeply fixed in the minds of so many men. So far as my age, ability, strength and leisure permit, I shall do my best for the cause of the faith and of Christian harmony, as I have done heretofore according to my power. I trust your prudence, most illustrious Prince, to see that what I have written to you so frankly may not be turned to my hurt by others, for there is nothing that they do not make an occasion of slander. May the Lord Jesus long preserve your Highness safe and well.

556. LUTHER TO SPALATIN

Enders, iv, 4.

(WITTENBERG, September 20, 1522.)²

Grace and peace. You now have copies of the whole New Testament for yourself and the Elector, all except the preface to Romans, which will be finished to-morrow. I am also sending a copy for the younger prince,³ which you will give him for me, as Lucas⁴ and Christian⁵ have suggested. I believe Wolfgang Stein⁶ has already sent a copy for the elder prince.⁷

¹ Adrian VI. He had been elected January 9.

² The date of this letter is fixed by the reference to the publication of the New Testament, which appeared September 21, 1522. DeWette (ii, 587) puts it in the year 1524.

³ Duke John Frederic.

⁴ Cranach.

⁵ Doering.

⁶ John's court chaplain at Weimar.

⁷ Duke John.

It remains for you to accept the task of securing from the Elector for John Bugenhagen one of those stipends that have heretofore been thrown away on the sophists. For next to Philip he is the best professor of theology in the world. I hear, nay, I know, that there is danger he may be carried off to Erfurt, and I wish him to be kept here; who knows how long I shall be allowed to stay? More about this, perhaps, another time. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

557. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 22.

WITTENBERG, November 3, 1522.

. . . In translating the Old Testament I am only in Leviticus. It is unbelievable how I have been hindered by letter-writing and business and social duties and many other things. I have now decided to shut myself up at home and hasten the work, so that Moses may be in press by January. We shall publish this separately, then the historical books, and finally the prophets, for the size and cost of the books makes it necessary to divide them and publish them a little at a time. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

558. POPE ADRIAN VI TO FRANCIS CHIEREGATO.

RTA., iii, 390.

ROME, November 25, 1522.

On Adrian VI, Pope January 9, 1522, to September 14, 1523, *cf. supra*, Vol. I, p. 256, and G. Pasolini: *Adriano VI*, Rome, Loescher, 1913.

On Chieriegato, *supra*, Vol. I, p. 357.

Letter of instruction for you, Francis Chieriegato, concerning certain things which you can say orally to the prelates, princes and representatives of the cities of Germany, when and where you shall think proper.

In the first place, you will tell them of the great grief with which we are afflicted because of the prospering of the Lutheran sect, especially because we see numberless souls, which have been redeemed by the blood of Christ and committed to our pastoral care, turned away from the true faith by reason

of this sect, and going to perdition, and that in the nation from which we ourselves have sprung, according to the flesh, and which, from the time when it was first converted to Christ down to these last years, has always been most faithful and religious. Therefore it is our most eager desire that a speedy stop be put to this plague before that happens to Germany which formerly happened to Bohemia. We are quite prepared to do everything that can be expected of us to bring this about, and it is our especial desire that every one of them shall do the same according to his ability, and so far as we can we exhort and ask each of them to do so. The following reasons ought to move them to it.

First of all, and above all, the honor of God is to be preferred to everything else, and it is grievously wounded by these heresies. His worship is not only lessened, but rather is totally corrupted, as is also that love to our neighbor by which everyone is bound to do his best to recall from error his neighbor who has gone astray. Unless we do this, God will require of our hands those who perish because of our neglect.

In the second place they ought to be moved by the infamy that is coming on their nation, which was always considered the most Christian of all the nations, but now has a bad reputation everywhere because of those who follow the Lutheran sect.

In the third place they should be moved by respect for their own honor, which will suffer greatly unless those who have authority and power in the German nation labor with all their might to drive out these heresies; not only because they will be degenerating from their own ancestors, those Christian men who had a great part in the condemnation of John Hus and other heretics at the Council of Constance, and some of whom are said to have led him to the fire with their own hands; but also because they, or the majority of them, approved the imperial edict for the execution of the apostolic sentence against Martin Luther and his followers, and gave it their authority, and unless they execute it to the best of their ability they will either be adjudged inconstant or will even be thought to favor Luther, since it is evident that they could easily put an end to him if they really wished.

In the fourth place, they ought to be moved by the wrong that Luther is doing to them and to their parents and forefathers. For since they themselves, and their parents and forefathers, always held the faith which is approved by the Roman and Catholic Church, and Luther and his followers hold a very different faith, it is clear that Luther is condemning them as schismatics and heretics, and, consequently, according to Luther, all their ancestors who died in this faith are in hell, because error in the faith brings men damnation.

In the fifth place, let them think of the end to which the Lutherans are moving, for, under color of that evangelical liberty which they propose to men, all the power of those in authority is destroyed. For, although in the beginning they pretended that they wished to annihilate or to suppress the ecclesiastical power, as one that had been usurped tyrannically and contrary to the Gospel, nevertheless their fundamental doctrine, to wit, the liberty they preach, works equally, or even more, against the secular power, since it cannot bind men to obedience by any precepts, however just and reasonable, on pain of mortal sin. Thus it is evident that they wish to weaken the secular power also, though they act shrewdly in maintaining it, so that the secular princes believe that this plot is directed not against them but only against the ecclesiastics, to whom the laity are commonly hostile. So they bring some of the princes over to their side, and get others to take no action, at least not to oppose them, and this way they will the more easily overthrow the ecclesiastics. When this has been done, there is no doubt that these same people will turn their efforts against the secular princes themselves.

In the sixth place, they should be moved by the great scandals, disturbances, destruction of property, murders, law-suits and dissensions which this evil sect has aroused and is constantly arousing throughout Germany; by the blasphemies, too, the maledictions, the scurrilities and the bitter words that are always on their lips. Unless they are careful to set these things at rest, it is to be feared that the wrath of God and desolation will come upon a Germany so divided against itself; nay, upon the princes themselves who have received power and a sword from the Lord for the punishment of evil doers,

and yet permit such things to be done among their subjects. "Cursed be he," saith the prophet,¹ "that doeth the work of the Lord negligently, and keepeth back his sword from the blood of the wicked."

In the seventh place, let them consider that Luther is using almost the same means for seducing Christian people that the filthy Mahomet used to deceive so many thousands of souls, namely, permitting those things to which carnal men are inclined and exempting them from those things in our law which are burdensome; except that Luther seems to proceed a little more moderately, and thus deceives men more readily than the other. Mahomet granted men permission to have many wives and to put them away at will and take others; this man, in order to win the favor of the monks and the virgins dedicated to God, and the priests who are guilty of lustful desire, preaches that vows of perpetual continence are not lawful and not binding, and that evangelical liberty, therefore, permits them to marry, forgetting the word of the apostle, when he speaks of the younger widows, and says,² "When they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry, having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith."

When you have set forth these things and many others to the same effect, which you can gather from the copies of our letters and think out for yourself, you will, in our name, exhort the said princes, prelates and people, that they shall at last wake up and bestir themselves to put a stop to the grievous insults that the Lutherans are putting upon God and His holy religion, and to the shame which they are inflicting upon the whole German nation and its princes, and to the reproach and contempt which they are bringing on their own ancestors, whom they are, in effect, condemning to hell, as we have said. Let them proceed at once to the execution of the apostolic sentence and the aforesaid imperial edict. Let pardon be granted to those who come to themselves and wish to abjure their errors, and let them always incline toward mercy rather than toward revenge, after the example of our God, who willeth not the death of sinners, but rather that they

¹ Jeremiah xlviii, 10.

² 1 Timothy v, 11f.

be converted and live. But let those who obstinately persist in their errors be punished with the rod of destruction, according to the decrees of the sacred laws and canons, so that others, with their example before them, may either remain in the true faith, or, if they have lapsed, may return to the right way.

But if someone, perchance, shall say that Luther was condemned by the Apostolic See without a hearing and without the entering of a defence, and ought at least to have a hearing, and not to be condemned before he has been convicted; you will reply that what belongs to the faith is to be believed on divine authority and needs no proof. "Away with arguments," says Ambrose, "when the inquiry concerns the faith it is the fishermen, not the dialecticians, that must be believed." We admit, to be sure, that he ought not to be denied the right to defend himself in regard to matters of fact, *i.e.*, whether he has or has not said thus and so, or preached or written this and that; but as regards the divine law and the matter of the sacraments, we must take our stand on the authority of the saints and of the Church. Besides, almost all the things on which Luther differs from others have already been rejected by General Councils, and there ought to be no doubt that whatever has been approved by General Councils and the Church Universal, must be held as an article of faith; for anyone who casts doubt upon things that have once been rightly settled, insults a Synod of the Church. What certainty can men ever have and how can there ever be an end to disputations and contentions, if any presumptuous and perverse individual shall have the liberty, or the license, to reject those things that have been established by the decision, not of one man or of a few men, but by the common consent of the ages and of the wisest men and of the Church Catholic, which God never allows to err in matters of faith, while every state, on the other hand, demands that its laws be kept inviolable. Will not every place be filled with disturbance and scandal and confusion unless those things that have once, nay, often, been settled by mature judgment are firmly kept by all? Since, therefore, Luther and his followers condemn the councils of the holy fathers, burn the sacred canons, and throw everything into confusion at their

own will and disturb all the world, it is evident that all lovers of peace must exterminate them as enemies and disturbers of the public peace.

You may say, moreover, that God permits this persecution to be directed against His Church because of the sins of men, especially of the priests and the prelates of the Church; for it is certain that the hand of the Lord is not shortened that He cannot save, but our sins separate us from Him and hide His face from us that He does not hear us. The Scriptures complain that the sins of the people come from the sins of the priest, and, therefore (as Chrysostom says), our Saviour, when He was about to cure the sickness of the city of Jerusalem, went to the temple to chastize first of all the sins of the priests, like a good physician, who cures disease by going to its root. We know that in this Holy See there have been many abominations these many years—abuses in spiritual things, excessive decrees, and everything perverted; nor is there any wonder if the disease has descended from the head to the members; from the supreme pontiffs to other prelates of lower rank. “We all (*i.e.*, we prelates and ecclesiastics) have gone aside everyone to his own ways, and there was none that did good, no, not one.”¹ Therefore it is necessary that we all give glory to God and humble our souls before Him, and each of us see whence he has fallen, and rather judge himself than await the judgment of God in the rod of His anger.

In this matter, so far as we are concerned, you will promise that we shall spare no pains that this curia, from which, perchance, this whole evil has emanated, shall be reformed first of all, so that the health and reformation of all may also emanate from it. We feel ourselves the more bound to bring this about because we see that the whole world eagerly desires this kind of a reformation. We were never ambitious for this pontificate (as we believe we have told you elsewhere), and so far as we were ourselves concerned we should have preferred to lead a private life and to serve God in retirement; indeed, we should have utterly refused the pontificate if the fear of God and the purity of our election and the danger that schisms might have arisen out of our refusal had not

¹ Psalm xiv, 3.

compelled us to accept it. Therefore we took upon us the yoke of the supreme dignity, not from lust of power, nor for the purpose of enriching our relatives, but with the intention of obeying God's will, of reforming the deformed Church, His bride, of succoring the oppressed, of promoting and honoring learned and virtuous men who have for a long time been neglected, and of doing everything else that a good Pope and legitimate successor of St. Peter ought to do. No one should be surprised, however, if he sees that we do not immediately correct all the wrongs and abuses. The disease is too deep-seated; it is not simple but has many complications; its cure must proceed slowly and the most serious and dangerous symptoms must be combated first, lest in our desire to reform everything at once we turn everything upside down. Sudden changes are dangerous in a state, says Aristotle, and he who blows his nose too hard draws blood.

As regards the complaints that the princes have made to you that the Holy See has disregarded the concordats,¹ of which you write in your last letter, you may say that we cannot and ought not be blamed for things that were done before our time, and that we were always opposed to actions of this kind, even when we were in minor orders. Moreover it is our fixed intention to abstain entirely from these things during the whole time of our pontificate, even though they had not demanded it, partly in order that everyone may have his rights, partly because justice and humanity require that we shall not only not offend the nation from which we have sprung, but even bestow peculiar favors on it.

As regards the suits which they ask to have recalled from the Rota² and sent back to the local courts, you may say that we wish to favor them in this matter so far as we can honorably do so, but because our judges are absent from the city on account of the plague, we cannot at present inform ourselves of the nature and state of these suits. We hope, how-

¹ The Gravamina, or Complaints of the German Nation, have a prominent place in the proceedings of the Diets (Cf. Walch², 452ff., for the Diet of Augsburg; RTA ii, for the Diet of Worms; *ibid.* iii, 645ff., for the Diet of Nuremberg). They deal chiefly with alleged violations of the Concordat of Vienna of 1448.

² The papal court of appeals. It is a continual complaint against the curia that cases are taken to Rome for decision which ought to be decided in the local courts, ecclesiastical or secular.

ever, that the plague will shortly abate, and when they have returned we will do whatever is reasonable to please the said princes.

You will also urge that our letters be answered, and require those to whom we have written¹ to inform us by letter by what means this evil sect can be, in their judgment, most readily suppressed, so that those things that we must do may be the more quickly done, and you will diligently inform yourself on the same subject and write us in full.

Moreover, since we have learned that there are in Germany many many good and learned poor men, and some men of distinguished ability, who have been made hostile to this See because the apostolic provisions² go to actors and stable-boys rather than to learned men, we desire you to inquire who these men are and send us their names, so that when vacancies occur in German benefices, we may be able to appoint them by a *proprius motus*; for we know that for a long while the ecclesiastical benefices, especially those with cure of souls, have been given to unworthy men.

As regards the subsidy for Hungary³ we give you no other information than that which we gave you when you left, except that we exhort you to care most zealously for the matter, as you are doing. We shall send legates to the princes and cities of Italy also to ask each of them to help as they may be able.

POPE ADRIAN THE SIXTH.

*T. Hezius.*⁴

559. POPE ADRIAN VI TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

RTA., iii, 406.

ROME, December 1, 1522.

This letter is one of a number sent to Chierigato and forwarded by

¹ The Pope addressed letters to a considerable number of individual princes and to the delegates of certain of the German cities. Not all of them have been preserved. On the letters *vide* RTA, iii, 404, n. 1.

² *I.e.*, the appointments to benefices. With the Pope's confession of the abuse of the appointing power *cf.* Luther's statements in the *Letter to the German Nobility* (Weimar ii, 420ff; Phila. ii).

³ *I.e.*, for the crusade in Hungary against the Turks. Records of the negotiations between the pope and the Diet on this subject in RTA ii, 319ff.

⁴ Theodore (Dirck) von Heeze, formerly pupil of Adrian at Louvain, now his private secretary. After Adrian's death he returned to Liège, where he became canon. *Cf.* Pastor: *History of the Popes*, Vol. IX. He was a great scholar and a friend of Erasmus.

him from Nuremberg. RTA., iii, 406, n. 1. Two other breves of Adrian to Frederic, one of October 5, 1522, and one of 1523, printed Erlangen, *Opera varii argumenti*, vi, 589ff., 1872.

Beloved Son! Greeting and the apostolic benediction! We do not doubt that in the beginning, when Martin Luther first began to disseminate his errors, your Highness had no idea that those tender shoots would produce such evil fruit in the Church of God, for you would not have allowed wicked heresies to flourish so long in your dominions, since your own life has been holy and you are sprung from ancestors who were wont to extirpate the heresies that entered their lands from foreign parts. We are confident that this opinion is well-grounded, because of the promises of piety and constancy which you made (as we have learned) to our predecessor, Leo X, of blessed memory, through our beloved son Thomas, Cardinal of San Sisto,¹ then legate in Germany, to the effect that you would tolerate Luther only so long as the Apostolic See had not repudiated his doctrines; when that had been decided you would not wait for anyone else to inflict punishment upon him.

Lo, now, beside the academic condemnation of the foremost universities in the world, the sentence of the Apostolic See, which you said you were awaiting, has been declared. In matters of this kind the Apostolic See not only cannot err but is accustomed to guide all other churches into the right way when they have fallen into error, and in this case it has proceeded the more deliberately and gravely because of the magnitude of the matter and because it judged that the man was a favorite of yours, and for you this Holy See has always done everything it could. This was followed some time afterwards by the imperial edict for the execution of the said sentence decreed by the Diet of Worms, at which you were yourself present. Nevertheless, as we have learned with no small vexation, this fire is not yet extinguished; indeed, it is continually spreading far and wide, and Martin Luther himself, whom you have not punished as you ought, making your dominions, from which he first entered the field, an asylum and bulwark, is continually going from bad to worse,

¹ Cajetan. Cf. Vol. I, p. 102.

and, setting up, so to speak, the trophies of his evil deeds, is celebrating a triumph.

If only you will take counsel not with those who have instigated this man to the committing of these crimes, but with yourself alone and your accustomed wisdom, you will see for yourself, beloved Son, that this is not a matter of disputations because of which at the beginning you seemed to take Luther's part for the honor of your own university against the professors of neighboring universities (perhaps not wrongly); nor is it even a matter of the Roman See, from which our faith originated, and which Luther has attacked far more sharply than accords with Christian charity; but it concerns the very foundations of our religion, which that son of iniquity, who is a very different man from what you and many others at first thought him, is attempting to rend asunder, cast down and altogether overthrow. Consider, too, that we have trouble enough, and more than enough, to defend our boundaries against the arms and the wiles of the infidels, even though we were not laboring with the internal discords, schisms and heresies of which Luther is the author. If your too great indulgence gives him any longer the opportunity to rend the seamless cloak of the Lord, beware lest our Redeemer, Who, in His great kindness, has adorned you with so many brilliant gifts, may be the more grievously angry with you the longer you allow this poison to go unpunished.

We have written at such length especially to you and more pointedly than to the other princes of Germany because the others can easily excuse themselves on the ground that these evils did not arise in their dominions and that the author of them was not in their power to chastise. From this time forth you will no longer have any reason for dissimulation or any occasion for protecting this man; for this plague first arose in your own home, it has increased there, and even now continues to exist there. The sentence of the Apostolic See, which you were awaiting, the imperial edict, the opinions of scholars, and the innumerable ills that have come out of this heresy, all show that your mind is somewhat clouded, either by too great fondness for Luther or from some other cause.

Take upon yourself at last, my Son, this great and holy

work; disregard the advice of those who are unjustly hostile to the clergy, and with your well-known ability and wisdom see to it that Martin Luther and his followers, especially those in your own dominions (who are not sheep of the Lord's flock but evil beasts) are either brought back to their former state of good order (which we should prefer), or else are punished as obstinate rebels by the power that is given you, and thus use every means to come at last to the aid of Christian peace. Everyone knows that you can aid the cause of the Church, not only in your own dominions but in other parts of Germany, where you possess the greatest influence, if you will put an end to the rumors which say that Luther's raging is with your consent, and will consult the common good of the Christian state and preserve your reputation for excellence in virtue and nobility both with God and man. We hope that you will do this, and we not only ask you and beseech you to do it, but we demand it in the name of God and because of the holy obedience you owe.

560. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 36. (WITTENBERG, December 12 (?), 1522.)¹

Grace and peace. John Serranus² seems to be a good man, but there is no need for my advice. Perhaps he does not know the peculiarities of the Elector, and so it seems to me that he ought to be left at Eisenach, or wherever else he can go, to teach whomever he can get to listen to him. There is no more reason why he should be granted so-called "public security" than I. Let the Lord defend him as He defends me; only let him not be driven away.

¹ This letter was written at almost the same time with a letter to the Count of Schwartzburg, dated December 12 (Enders, no. 594; DeWette, ii, 257).

² Francis Lambert of Avignon (1486-1530), entered the Franciscan Order 1501, and achieved great success as a mission-preacher (*cf. infra* no. 570), left the order in 1522 to cast his lot with the reformers, taking the name of John Serranus. After spending some months in Switzerland (at Geneva and Zürich), he went to Eisenach and finally to Wittenberg, where he remained till February, 1524, lecturing in the university and translating Lutheran writings into French and Italian, living meanwhile mostly at Luther's expense. From 1524 to 1526 he lived in Strassburg, but in the latter year he was taken under the patronage of Philip of Hesse and became a member of the first faculty of the University of Marburg. In his later years he broke with the Wittenberg reformers on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Biographies by Baum (Strassburg, 1840), Hassenkamp (Elberfeld, 1860) and Ruffet (Paris, 1873). *Realencyk.*, ADB.

I cannot answer the Count of Schwartzberg¹ in detail. It is a big book, as I have already written to him and Philip von Feilitzsch,² and, besides, the most of his questions have already been answered in books that I have published. There is only one question remaining, that concerning the power of the sword,³ and this, Christ willing, I shall dispose of when Moses has been finished. Meanwhile do you send my answer to the Counts of Schwartzburg⁴ to Anselm of Lettau.⁵ Farewell.

Please do us the favor of describing the following animals and giving us their names according to their species:

Birds of prey—Kite, vulture, hawk, sparrow-hawk, falcon, and any others of this sort.

Game animals—Roebuck, chamois, ibex, wild goat or *sylvestris hircus*.

Reptiles—Is *stellio* properly called a newt, and *lacerta limara* a viper? In Hebrew and Latin and Greek these things are all so confused that we have to guess at them from the genera and species of the animals. Therefore I wish, if possible, to learn in German the names, the species and the nature of all the birds of prey, the game animals and the venomous reptiles. I shall tell you the poisonous vermin that I have. They are: Weasel, mouse, toad, viper, newt, lizard, snail, mole. Moses calls them, crocodylon, mygalon, chameleon, and numbers them, shamelessly enough, among the "creeping things" of Leviticus xi.

The names of the night birds are these: Owl, raven, horned

¹ John of Schwartzberg (1463-1528), a Franconian nobleman, at this time in the service of the bishop of Bamberg. At the Diet of Nuremberg (1522-23) he was chairman of the committee which drafted the reply to the Pope (*infra*, no. 574). In 1524 he entered the service of George of Brandenburg, where he was active in the introduction of the Reformation. Cf. Enders, iv, 5, n. 4, Ranke², ii, 39, ADB. The "answer" is to a book which Schwartzberg had written and sent to Luther in manuscript. *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 563, n. 1. Life by W. Scheel, Berlin, 1905.

² Representative of the Elector at the Diet of Augsburg, 1518 (Enders, i, 243) and at the Diet of Nuremberg, 1523 (Janssen-Pastor 20, ii, 342). He was with Luther at Worms, cf. Vol. I, p. 523.

³ I.e., of the temporal authorities. Luther discussed the question in his tract *Von Weltlicher Obrigkeit* (Weimar xi, 229ff.; Philadelphia iii, 224ff.).

⁴ Henry of Schwarzburg (1499-1538) and his father, Günther (died 1531); not to be confused with John of Schwarzenberg, *supra*.

⁵ He appears in 1533 as the Electoral official at Schneeberg. Enders, iv, 36, n. 2. The letter from the Counts of Schwartzburg had been forwarded by him. It concerned the abolition of the monasteries (DeWette ii, 257).

owl, tawny owl, screech owl.

Of the wild animals I have the stag, the roebuck and the chamois, which our author makes *bubulus*. Of the birds I have the vulture, the kite, the hawk and the sparrow-hawk, though I clearly know the appearance of them. I do not know what he is dreaming of when he numbers among the edible animals the taragelaphus, the pygargus, the oryx and the camelopard. I wish that you would undertake this part of the work, take a Hebrew Bible and work all this out carefully and try to reach some certainty about it. I have not the leisure. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

561. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 48.

(WITTENBERG), December 26, 1522.

Grace and peace. Here are the letters sent me from Eisenach by Serranus¹ and the rest. If the man shall come to me I shall receive him and let him tell his story, but as charity bids us think the best of all men, according to I Corinthians xiii, so faith bids us fear the worst of all men, according to John iii and Matthew x, "Beware of men." There are some people who commend the man to me, but there are some things which, if they do not arouse suspicion, certainly do not allay it. It would be best if the Elector would risk a small amount on him and allow him, or command him, to stay where he is until we see what kind of a man he will be. It is likely that Satan will make all sorts of pretensions and all sorts of attempts; therefore until the matter is certain, no one is to be trusted. If it were Christ's will to send us an evangelist He would certainly give us some assurance by signs, either preceding or following. Enough of this. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

562. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Gess, i, 407.

DRESDEN, December 30, 1522.

Hartmuth von Cronberg had published Luther's letter to him (*supra*, no. 536). It appeared in several editions, in one of which the name of Duke George was inserted. Luther had written, "One of these is especially the bladder N." The interpolated edition read, "One of

¹ *Vide supra* no. 558, n. 2.

these is especially the bladder Duke George of Saxony." A copy of this last edition was forwarded from Nuremberg by Dietrich von Werthern, the Duke's representative at the Council of Regency (Gess, i, 401). It called forth this letter. Cf. Smith, p. 221.

We, George, etc., desire to inform you, Doctor Martin Luther, that two days ago there came to our attention a printed copy of a letter said to have been written and sent out in your name and by you to Hartmuth von Cronberg, a copy of which we enclose and send herewith. And since in the said letter, in the fifth paragraph, which begins "Such joy, etc.," we are mentioned by name and attacked with abusive words and grave insults in matters which concern our soul and our good repute, which we have taken deeply to heart, inasmuch as we have not consciously given any occasion for them; therefore it is our desire that you will inform us, in your reply to this, whether you have published a letter of this tenor to Hartmuth von Cronberg, and will let us know, as is proper, what position you take in it, in order that we may know how to act as our honor shall demand.

563. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 53.

WITTENBERG, January 2, 1523.

Grace and peace. Who can say, my dear Spalatin, how our Bethaven¹ can be reformed without scandal to our neighbors and without giving offence to the living, especially if you call that a scandal and an offence which offends the papists and the wicked? I shall tell you, if you do not know it already, that nearly all the priests there not only lead impious lives, but have hardened their hearts and despise God and man, and go whoring almost every night and then shamelessly say mass in the morning. Amsdorf himself² is witness that, with three exceptions, they are all open fornicators. Think, now, what recompense this abomination earns with God for the Elector and his people by whose bounty it is supported. Who knows but that this is the reason why our Gospel has prospered less

¹ The Castle Church at Wittenberg. The clergy attached to this church held obstinately to the customs that had obtained before the Reformation began. They continued to say private masses and refused to reform the services of the church. They had been for a long while a thorn in Luther's side.

² Who was one of them, though not in agreement with them.

than it has, because we permit men who are not only wicked, but open sinners, to serve in divine and sacred things, which ought to be approached with fear and trembling, for nothing else than their own base gains? I have preached that even though they must be allowed to continue in their impiety, it is the duty of the magistrates either to prohibit their fornications or else to compel them to marry. No one either can or ought to be compelled to piety and faith, but public offences ought to be done away. I wish that the Elector would at least put a stop to the daily masses which he supports by a contribution from the treasury, so that we might begin a reformation. I shall talk more about this matter with Amsdorf.

When I wrote some time ago in behalf of John Bugenhagen, asking for game for his wedding, you were afraid that the Elector might lay himself open to the charge of favoring the marriage of priests, and gave it to me yourself. Now I have another case on hand. Two good fathers here, John Westermann¹ and Gottschalk of Hervord,² will receive this month the papal decree of Doctor of Theology, and will celebrate the completion of the festivities, if you will ask the Elector for some game for us. For although they know things well enough, they are yielding to their superiors and becoming fools; who knows, however, what fruit of wisdom their folly may some day produce? So you see there is no danger in this case if the Elector grants the request; indeed, there is an opportunity for a deception which may remove the former suspicion. Do this work of charity, therefore, and help us serve their folly.

I would not conceal from you that it has hitherto been the pride of our university that the lectures were given gratis by the bounty of the Elector. But now Bugenhagen, out of dire necessity, lessens this reputation by the lectures he is giving, for he cannot teach for nothing, and yet his students think it a hardship to have to buy what they are not willing

¹ An Augustinian of Lippstadt, matriculated at Wittenberg 1510, and again 1521 (M. A. October, 1522; Dr. of Theol., February 3, 1523). He returned to Lippstadt 1524, but was driven out of the city 1533. Pastor at Geismar after 1534. Enders iv, 55, n. 3.

² Gottschalk Grop of Hervord (died 1540), matriculated at Wittenberg 1521 (M. A. November, 1522; Dr. of Theol., February 3, 1523), pastor at Eimbeck 1525-40.

to do without. Meanwhile those who receive the stipends are either not lecturing at all, or else they are men who are not to be compared with Bugenhagen in any respect. They are complaining, therefore, not about Bugenhagen, for they know the stipends of those swine ought to go to him, but because they are not getting their lectures gratis, though they came here with that hope, especially those who have but slender means. Mention this to the Elector, then, if you can; perhaps he may be willing to remedy the matter. Although the lectures of Philip and Carlstadt are excellent and there are enough of them, nevertheless I would not be without those of Bugenhagen, for Carlstadt's lectures are irregularly given. I tell you this in confidence. Farewell, and pray for me. Please give me an answer about the game, so that they may know what preparations to make. MARTIN LUTHER.

564. HANS VON DER PLANITZ TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

Wülcker-Virck, 301. German.

NUREMBERG, January 2, 1523.

. . . Luther has had to suffer with us again, but nothing has been finally decided as yet, for we have not been able to agree. They are ascribing all sorts of things to the good man. For one thing, he is said to write and preach that Christ's true body is not present under the form of bread, but only a figure of it, such as is also in the Supper, and that no one can consecrate the sacrament, because the words of benediction with which Christ blessed the bread are lost; the Gospel says, indeed, "Jesus took bread and blessed it and brake it," etc., but how He blessed it, and with what words, we do not know. Again he is said to preach and say that Jesus was conceived of the seed of Joseph,¹ and that Mary was not a virgin, but had many sons after Christ. It is said that these things are held and believed at Wittenberg and that the Christian faith will be utterly destroyed within three years unless they are looked after seriously very soon. It is said, too, that Luther will not accept any judge, or any advice about his doctrines, for he absolutely refused to do so at Worms. It

¹ Cf. *infra*, no. 588.

was there proposed to him, in fraternal love, that he should allow the universities to be the judges, and he said no. He was then asked whether he would be willing to have the temporal and spiritual princes call together the most learned of their subjects to pass judgment on his doctrines; or, in case he had doubts about the spiritual princes, that the temporal princes should appoint for this work the most learned men that could be found; this, too, he refused. In the third place, he was asked whether he would accept the decision of a general council, and this also he refused to do, and would agree to none of these methods, but only said his writings and his doctrines were true and needed no examination. Thus he persists in his obstinacy and many men's souls are deceived by him, etc. (All this from the Margrave).¹

I never heard any of these things before, and there are few who believe them except those who are hostile to Luther and his doctrine, but when I said I had never heard them before and they were hard for me to believe, especially that about Christ's sacrament and about His mother, I was told that it was certainly the truth; and yet no matter how confidently it is said, I can simply not believe that Martin has taught or preached these things. If I had clear proof that it was not true, I should not hesitate to tell them who said so and who were present and heard it, so that they might know what they were saying.

The Margrave had a private talk with me to-day. He said I should help get your Grace to abandon Luther, for he feared that if this were not done your Grace might have trouble; he would be very sorry to see this because of his fraternal affection for your Grace and his relationship to your Grace; he spoke as one who was really concerned for your Grace's honor and welfare. To this I replied that for my own part I thought his Grace meant it well; I desired to know, however, what your Grace had ever done in this matter about Luther, or in what way your Grace had taken his part; the matter was really not your Grace's concern; your Grace had nothing to do with it; the cause was spiritual, and your Grace was a temporal Elector, therefore I did not think it proper for your

¹ Joachim of Brandenburg. The parenthesis is in Latin.

Grace to go into the matter, but it was a case for the prelates of the Church, etc. While we were standing together and talking, the Archduke¹ came and disturbed us, but afterwards all sorts of things were said:—of what account was the imperial mandate, published at Worms, when Luther was kept and tolerated at Wittenberg in spite of it? certain books, too, were published there in which the Pope, the King of England, and even his Imperial Majesty were maligned, and this ought not to be permitted or endured, etc. Thus one talks white, another black, and everything is mixed up. It has been finally decided, however, to lay the whole case before the Estates of the Empire for their advice about what is to be done against Luther and in this whole matter.² That is how things now stand, but the Margrave Joachim is afraid they will try to deprive your Grace of the electorate unless your Grace shall disown this cause. Almost all the princes who are here are strongly against Luther, but almost all their counsellors are good Lutherans. I do not know how things will turn out; I am earning only their enmity and ill will. God order it to His praise. . . .

565. LUTHER TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 418.

WITTENBERG, January 3, 1523.

Instead of greeting, I wish you would stop raging and roaring against God and against His Christ. Ungracious Prince and Lord! I received your Disgrace's letter³ with the pamphlet or letter I wrote Hartmuth von Cronberg,⁴ and have had read to me with especial care the part of which your Disgrace complains as injurious to your soul, honor and reputation. The epistle has been printed at Wittenberg and elsewhere. As your Disgrace desires to know what position I take in it, I briefly answer that as far as your Disgrace is concerned, it is the same to me whether my position is standing, lying down, sitting or running. For when I act or speak against your Disgrace, be it secretly or openly, I intend it as right, and (God willing) will have it taken so. God will find the needful power. For if your Disgrace were in earnest, and did not so

¹ Ferdinand.³ *Supra* no. 562.² *Cf. infra*, no. 566, *ad init.*⁴ *Supra* no. 536; *cf.* no. 562.

ignobly lie about my coming too near your soul, honor and reputation, you would not so shamefully hurt and persecute Christian truth. This is not the first time that I have been belied and evilly entreated by your Disgrace, so that I have more cause than you to complain of injuries to soul, honor and reputation. But I pass over all that, for Christ commands me to do good even to my enemies, which I have hitherto done with my poor prayers to God for your Disgrace. I offer to serve your Disgrace in anything I can, save in what is wrong. If you despise my offer I can do no more, and shall not tremble for a mere bladder, God willing. May He lighten your Disgrace's eyes and heart and please to make me a gracious, kind prince of you. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER,
by the grace of God Evangelist at Wittenberg.

566. FRANCIS CHIEREGATO, BISHOP OF TERAMO, TO THE
MARQUIS OF MANTUA.¹

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 616.

NUREMBERG, January 10, 1523.

We are occupied with the negotiations for the general war against the Turk, and for that particular war against that nefarious Martin Luther, who is a greater evil to Christendom than the Turk. It is not known what will be the result of these two most important matters. Prays God to bring them to the like good end as obtained by the first [Diet]. To this effect fails not to employ all possible diligence. Assures the Marquis that the affair of Luther is so rooted there that a thousand men would not suffice to eradicate it; still less can he, being alone by himself, accomplish this result. Will do what he can. Is subjected to threats, outrages, defamatory libels, and all such insults as can possibly be borne. Believes that the affair has gone such lengths that it can proceed no further. They have now commenced to preach that the sacrament of the altar is not the real sacrament, and should not be adored, but merely celebrated in memory of Christ. They have also alleged that the blessed Virgin was entitled to no merit for bearing Christ in her holy womb, and that she had

¹ Frederic Gonzaga. *Vide* Vol. I, p. 487.

several children by Joseph, and they daily go from bad to worse. Prays God to stretch forth His arm. Still hopes that with the divine assistance it may be possible to apply some good remedy before the close of this diet.

567. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 63.

WITTENBERG, January 14, 1523.

Grace and peace. Our fathers will have their celebration on the day after the Purification of the Virgin, and so we are expecting you to keep your promise.¹ You learned from my former letter² my plan for reforming the priesthood of Amaziah;³ I have no other.

I think the Lord's Supper ought henceforth to be freely given and received in both kinds. We have been sufficiently indulgent heretofore to the infirm, and the matter has now been made known everywhere until they have almost grown accustomed to greater innovations. It is time to make room for the Gospel and those who are offended by a practice that has become so well known are not weak, but rather obstinate. Let us, therefore, use our liberty in this matter.

Perhaps you have already seen my letter to Duke George,⁴ for I can scarcely believe that he would not make it public himself, especially to our Elector and the Imperial Council;⁵ but I must be careful that it does not first get abroad from me. I am sending you his letter to me,⁶ and will send mine to him unless you have it already. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

568. HENRY VIII OF ENGLAND TO FREDERIC, JOHN AND GEORGE, DUKES OF SAXONY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 40.

GREENWICH, January 20, 1523.

The original may be found under the title "Henrici VIII contra Lutherum ejusque haeresim ad . . . Saxoniae duces," in *Spicilegium*

¹ Cf. *supra* no. 563.

² No. 563.

³ The clergy of the Castle Church (Cf. Amos vii, 10).

⁴ *Supra* no. 564.

⁵ In this surmise Luther was not mistaken. January 17 the Duke addressed an angry letter to the Elector on this subject (Gess, i, 438) and February 4 he entered formal complaint with the Imperial Council (*ibid.*, 456).

⁶ *Supra* no. 562.

Romanum, 1840, iii, 741-750. In the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* it is wrongly dated 1524, as is the reply of Frederic and John, no. 301. Henry sent this letter by a special herald to the Imperial Council of Regency at Nuremberg. Thence the herald proceeded to Colditz, where he had a friendly interview with the Elector on April 27. Cf. letter of Frederic to John, Colditz, April 28, 1523; C. F. Förstemann: *Neues Urkundenbuch*, 1840, p. 25, and Gess, i, p. 499. Frederic answered cautiously on May 3. Duke George replied May 9, Gess, i, no. 508. Henry's letter and George's reply were published at the instigation of Emser, and given by Lupset to Faber before June, 1523. *Corpus Reformatorum*, xcv, 98. In general, cf. *English Historical Review*, October, 1910, pp. 660f.

Thinks it would be unkind not to advise them in a matter which concerns not only their honor, but also their fortunes. What can be more the duty of powerful and devout princes than to restrain the Lutheran faction, which will produce the greatest mischief unless resisted by the good and pious. Does not consider Luther likely to impose upon the good and prudent, for his impious writings would shock their ears, but he knows that there always is a rabble, of which the most foolish are the most apt leaders. Formerly he wrote some things not altogether bad, but he has so progressed for the worse that his former laudable works seem intended to render salable his poison. Supposes now that there is no one with a spark either of brains or of piety who has not cast out of his mind him and his madness. He began by discussion, then grew angry, and in his last book against the King surpasses all his previous fury and folly. Cannot answer the book, as he writes nothing to the purpose, giving ravings instead of reasons. Anyone who fairly reads the King's book and his, will easily judge that Luther's follies have been sufficiently answered. Though conscious of his own weakness, Henry knew that his cause was invincible, but now his adversary has shown the whole world that he can find nothing but cavils and abuse in answer to his reason. He is mistaken if he thinks that the King is moved thereby. Does not mind being called mad by a madman. Supposes that they are more moved than he is by this abuse; for although the abuse of himself did not touch him, he felt very indignant at Luther's blasphemy against the Emperor and other German princes in suggesting that the

safe-conduct given to him to go to Worms would be broken. Who doubts that he would have been deservedly punished if the Emperor and the peers had wished it; but how could the Emperor, or any honorable Christian, ever intend to violate public faith? Wonders that the Germans can bear such disgrace from a good-for-nothing friar. The more the King feels indignant at it, the less he is moved by the lies about himself, of which he has read those in Latin, and heard of those in German. It is no new thing for him to make use of any lie to excite the people against their princes, and he has already collected a band of wicked men for the same object. No faction was ever so universally pernicious as this Lutheran conspiracy, which profanes sacred things, preaches Christ so as to trample on His sacraments, boasts of the grace of God so as to destroy free will, extols faith so as to give license to sin, and places the inevitable cause of evils in the only good God. The poison is producing dissension in the Church, weakening the power of the laws and of the magistrates, exciting the laity against the clergy, and both against the Pope, and has no other end than to instigate the people to make war on the nobles, while the enemies of Christ look on with laughter. Refers to the progress of Mohammedanism and the Bohemian sect. Princes must assist in preventing these evils, and must not consider the matter merely scholastic. It is their duty, more than others, as they are nearest to the danger, and can most easily crush it before it increases.

Luther writes in more than one place that he has been chosen by God to preach this doctrine, which alone he calls the Gospel; but they will easily perceive that he shows no reasons why he should be thought to understand the Gospel better than the old Saints and doctors of the Church, all of whose interpretations he despises, in comparison with his own, while he rejects what has been handed down by tradition from the Apostles.

His doctrine is like that of Wycliffe, which, he doubts not, they abhor, as German princes and their progenitors endeavored to exterminate it, and have confined it to Bohemia. Feels sure they will prevent it from flooding Saxony and the whole of Germany.

Was the more inclined to exhort them as they come from the same stock as the kings of England. Urges them to restrain the sect, without bloodshed if possible, but, if not, by any means, and not to allow laws, magistracies, in fact, everything human and divine, to be trampled under foot.

Urges them not to allow Luther's translation of the Bible to be published. Does not deny that it is a good thing for the Scriptures to be read in all languages, but not in his version, in which the people will read all that he has drawn from heretics.

569. HENRY GLAREAN TO ZWINGLI.

Schuler und Schulthess, vii, 263.
CR., xcv, 7.

BASLE, January 20, 1523.

. . . Whatever Erasmus has written is in the hands of everybody. He is an old man and would like to lead a quiet life, but both parties are trying to drag him in. He does not wish to have any part in these human divisions, and who may drag him into them? Whom he would flee from, he sees; whom he would follow, he does not see. All his books have a Christian tone, and it is more likely that Luther has been helped by Erasmus' studies than he by Luther's. He is timid, because he is prone to delay. I never hear anything from his lips that has not a Christian sound, though he has certain human opinions. He seems to be fonder of the French than of the Germans, though he helps both people equally. He is displeased with certain preachers—and they cannot please you either—who are unlearned men and wish to help Luther's cause, but not only do not help it, but even hurt the Gospel. Erasmus does not wish to be a Lutheran, nor yet an anti-Lutheran, unless they scourge him until he is not able to bear it. I wonder why the Germans are so hostile to Erasmus when he has given them such distinction in letters. . . .

570. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 65.

WITTENBERG, January 22, 1523.

Grace and peace. Your John Serranus¹ is here. His true

¹ Francis Lambert. Cf. *supra*, p. 151, n. 2.

name is Francis Lambert. He is a man of noble origin, who spent twenty years among the Franciscans and was a missionary. He has been exiled and impoverished by persecution. There can be no doubt about the man's integrity; there are witnesses here who heard him both in France and in Basle, and both Tripolitanus,¹ the suffragan of Basle, and Pelican give him excellent recommendations. We have plenty of excellent lecturers, to be sure, but if anything can be done, we will not send him away. The man pleases me every way. I have observed him as carefully as it is possible to observe anybody, and he is a fit man for us to bear with and to help in his exile; but you know my income and know that I, who live on other people's money, cannot support him on my own. I think the Elector should be persuaded to give him twenty or thirty gulden, not as a charity, but as a loan at interest in the love of Christ, until he is taken up by his fellow-craftsmen² or can support himself by his own labor. *I think he will not stay here long, for here he will find his equal or his master;*³ but we have pity on the exile. Farewell in the Lord.

Margrave George⁴ has written me from Prague, excusing himself for a certain insult⁵ that has been put upon me in his name, adding that he has written to our Elector to the same effect. The Master of Livonia⁶ has also asked me, by

¹Tilman Limperger, professor at the University of Freiburg i. B., 1491-92, Provincial of the Augustinian Order 1491-98, suffragan bishop of Basle and titular bishop of Tripoly, 1498, professor at the University of Basle after 1501. In 1526 he was deposed from his bishopric for favoring the teachings of Oecolampadius.

²*I.e.*, the Wittenberg Franciscans.

³This in German.

⁴George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ausbach (1484-1543), the third son of the Margrave Frederic, and nephew of Ladislas II of Bohemia and Hungary. Never unfriendly to the Reformation, he finally became its patron and introduced it into his own territories both in Prussia and in Franconia and aided in its introduction in the other domains of the house of Brandenburg. *Cf. Realencyklopädie* and ADB. The letter, dated January 5, is in Enders, iv, 57ff.

⁵On December 8, 1522, there was born at Freiberg, in Ducal Saxony, a monstrous calf, of which a picture was at once made, and has been frequently reproduced, *e.g.*, Weimar, xi, 373. An astronomer at Prague cast its horoscope, and stated that it was a portent signifying Luther, *i.e.*, God's wrath against him. This conclusion was published in a little broadside dedicated to Margrave George, and this is the insult for which he apologized. *Cf. P. Smith, "The Mooncalf," in Modern Philology*, January, 1914.

⁶Walter von Plettenberg (1494-1535). On the Reformation in Livonia, *cf. RGG.*, iv, 1080f.

a personal representative and by his chancellor,¹ a scholarly man, to write a little book on religion for his people.² They support a preacher of the Word³ and rejoice in having the Gospel. Thus Christ passes over from the Jews to the Gentiles, and when the descendants of Abraham persecute Him, sons of Abraham are made out of the stones.⁴ John, Count of Anhalt,⁵ has advised me, through Dr. Jerome⁶ and a certain Francis,⁷ to clear myself of a charge that Ferdinand has openly made against me at Nuremberg, viz., that I teach the new doctrine that Christ is of the seed of Abraham.⁸ At first I took this crazy charge as a jest, but they are so insistent on it that I have been compelled to believe it is true. See what prodigies they are, what worthy champions of Christian truth!

571. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO ERASMUS.

Gess, i, 450.

DRESDEN, January 25, 1523.

Erasmus's letter to the Duke (*supra*, no. 555) remained long unanswered. December 5, 1522, Erasmus wrote a second letter, expressing the fear that the first had been lost, and enclosing a copy (Gess, i, 393). The Duke was still in no hurry to reply.

You were not deceived, my learned Erasmus, in the suspicion that your former letter, a copy of which you lately sent, had been intercepted, for it was not delivered before, though for what reason we do not know. We no longer wonder that you so avoid and refuse the task of writing against Luther, now that we have learned that in his writings you have hit upon so many good things for which you fear, and very many things altogether Christian, and that you think there is no better way to stop this tragedy than the way of silence. Henceforth we shall cease urging you to the task

¹ John Lohmüller of Riga.

² This Luther did. *Vide infra*, no. 598.

³ Andrew Knopken (1490-1539).

⁴ Cf. Matthew iii, 9.

⁵ John (September 14, 1504-February 4, 1551), a son of Margaret of Anhalt, on whom cf. Vol. I, p. 244. He knew Luther through her and because Luther had preached at Zerbst on May 18, 1522. Many letters from Luther to him are preserved. Cf. Enders, ix, 224, and RGG., i, 479ff.

⁶ Schurff.

⁷ Probably Francis Burkhard, professor at Wittenberg, 1525-36. He received his B.A. there in June, 1521, his A.M. in February, 1524. Cf. N. Müller, *Peter Beskendorf*, in *Aus Deutschlands kirchlicher Vergangenheit*, 1912.

⁸ *Supra*, nos. 564 and 566.

which you refuse for so many reasons, especially now that he has insulted us cruelly by name, for fear that we may either seem to be seeking revenge, or may be only rolling the stone up the hill. We had not thought, however, that you, who are now living in Upper Germany and have often lived there before, were ignorant of the language so that the books would be sent to you to no purpose. Still we believe that you received them in the same spirit in which they were sent. Farewell.

572. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 73.

(WITTENBERG, January, 1523.)¹

Grace and peace. I never stop troubling you because you deserve to be troubled now that you have become a true evangelist. Pfaffenbeck² is after me again, this time with a letter; before he spoke with me orally, and I swallowed it in order to spare you. Now I ask that you will intercede with the Elector for the wretched man in my name, or, if I must make the supplication myself, tell him I will do so. He is hard pressed by poverty, and I see that the Elector has become accustomed to his clamor and he will knock in vain at the Elector's door.

Here is news from Eisenach. My host³ with the grand view writes me that the Abbot of Hersfeld⁴ is allowing both monks and nuns to leave their convents and that the pastor of Hersfeld⁵ has taken a second wife, the first having died. At the insistence of the Swiss, Zwingli has appointed a public disputation to be held at Zürich in Switzerland. The Bishop of Constance⁶ summoned the Carthusian, Reisch,⁷ who is a

¹ De Wette (ii, 410) dates this letter "September (?)." The only clue to the date is the reference it contains to the Zürich Disputation. Two such disputations were held in Zürich in 1523, the first January 29, the second October 26. Enders, followed by the St. Louis editors (Walch², xxi, 479), applies the reference to the first disputation.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 543, and Enders, iii, 365. He seems to have been a most persistent suitor for Luther's aid.

³ Hans von Berlepsch, the warden of the Wartburg (*Hospes speculativus*).

⁴ Kraft Myle, *supra*, no. 483

⁵ Henry Fuchs, *supra*, no. 489.

⁶ John Faber, *supra*, i, 315, and J. Staub: *Dr. Johann Fabri . . . bis zum offenen Kampf gegen Luther* (August, 1522). *Programm der Stiftsschule, Einsiedeln*, 1910-11.

⁷ Gregory Reisch (died 1525), prior of the Carthusian monastery at Johannis-

bitter foe of the Gospel, but he has declined; then he asked a certain parish priest from Tübingen. We shall hear what will come of it.

John Sichard¹ writes me that at Freiburg in the Breisgau it is forbidden to mention my name on the street; also that the City Council has prohibited the preaching of the Gospel, saying, "Our customs do not agree with the Gospel." What portents! Dr. John Rühel² has told me to send you this gold piece and remind you of your promise to get him that little penny, for my friends at Mansfeld got the other one from me. I do not want another for fear it too may be taken from me. I do not deserve to have anything.

MARTIN LUTHER.

573. LUTHER TO HANS VON DER PLANITZ.

De Wette, ii, 305. German.

(WITTENBERG), February 4, 1523.³

Grace and peace in Christ, honored Sir and friend. I was glad to get your Grace's letter in regard to John Gilden⁴ together with your kindly advice about my harsh letter,⁵ and thank your Grace for this undeserved favor and kindness.

I wish your Grace to know that I hope my letter will not hurt anybody, and if Duke George should attack my gracious Lord without accusation and without proof of guilt, I am confident that my Lord Christ will prevent it. If, on the other hand, he shall be accused, he can easily prove that his Grace has always been opposed to my harsh writing, has often

berg, near Freiberg. He was well known as a teacher, and his *Margarita philosophica* (1503) is the first philosophical encyclopedia. ADB., cf. Janssen, *History of the Germ. People* (Eng. trans.), i, 121f.

¹ John Sichardt (1499-1552), studied at Erfurt and Ingolstadt, taught in schools at Munich and Freiburg (1521-25), professor at Basle (1525-30) and Tübingen (1535-52). In his later years he was probably the highest authority in Germany on Roman Law.

² Cf. Vol. I, 136, n. 3.

³ De Wette and Erlangen (liii, 161) date the letter "February 5." Luther's date is "Wednesday after the Purification," which, in 1523, was the 4th.

⁴ Gilden was a Catholic priest who married in 1524. Luther's certificate of marriage, De Wette-Seidemann, vi, p. 501, Enders, v, 96. He later became pastor in Weida, but on getting his maid with child was removed to Uhlstedt, 1529. An attempted rape forced him to leave this place, and we last hear of him in prison in 1535. Luther wrote to comfort him in that year. Enders, x, 157f., 280. Clemen: *Beiträge*, iii, 1903, 55ff.

⁵ The letter to Duke George, *supra* no. 565. Planitz had seen it at Nuremberg, where he was the Elector's representative.

tried to keep me from it and has been greatly displeased by it, all of which I have known full well. Besides, I have never yet attacked Duke George as severely as I have the Pope, the bishops and the King of England; indeed, I have submitted to him most humbly and made him humble offers, so that I think I have spared him far too much. I ought long since to have taken a better grip on such a raving tyrant's wool. I know that all my writings are of such a kind that on first appearance they seem to come from the devil, and people are afraid the heavens will soon fall; but afterwards it is a different story. These are new times, and the great men, who have not been accustomed to such treatment, are attacked; what God has in mind will appear in His own time.

I do not wish to excuse myself, as though I were not human; nevertheless I can boast with St. Paul that although I am too harsh, perhaps, yet I have always told the truth and no one can accuse me of hypocrisy. If I am to have a fault, I would rather it should be that I speak too harshly and blurt out the truth too thoughtlessly, than that I have ever once been a hypocrite and kept the truth to myself. But if the freedom and harshness with which I write makes the great lords angry, let them leave my doctrine undisturbed and mind their own business; I will do them no wrong. If I sin in this way it is not for them to forgive—for I am only doing what is right—but for God alone.

Your Grace will take this in true kindness and be confident that Christ is Lord even of His enemies, and can protect us, as He has promised to do when we pray, so that we, without doubt, shall not be harmed by the firebrands of Syria and Samaria.¹ God have you in His keeping.

MARTIN LUTHER.

574. THE ESTATES OF THE EMPIRE TO FRANCIS CHIEREGATO.

RTA., iii, 435.

NUREMBERG, February 5, 1523.

Chieregato laid the Pope's Letter of Instruction (*supra*, no. 558) before the diet, January 3, 1523, and it was referred to a committee which was to draft an answer and lay it before the Council of Regency. The reply was reported to the diet, January 28, and adopted, after

¹ Isaiah vii, 4.

debate, February 3. On the 5th it was put in final form and handed to Chieriegato. The reply was then confirmed (March 6) by an edict of the Council of Regency (*op. cit.*, 447). Cf. RTA., iii, 385ff. We have given only the most important passages from this lengthy document.

. . . It is alleged that the sentence laid upon Luther by the Apostolic See and the edict of his Imperial Majesty have not been duly enforced, but the enforcement has not been put off without the greatest and most urgent reasons, to wit, lest still worse things should come to pass. For the greater part of the people is convinced, and the popular opinion is now informed by Lutheran books and teachings, that by means of certain abuses many great burdens and hardships have been put upon the German nation by the Roman Curia. Therefore, if any attempt had been made at a severe enforcement of the sentence of the Apostolic See or the edict of his Imperial Majesty, the mass of the people would immediately have suspected that this was done for the purpose of overturning evangelical truth and of sustaining and maintaining wicked abuses and impieties. Thus there would have been nothing to expect except grievous popular uprisings and civil wars, as the princes and other estates have clearly learned and perceived by many and various signs. They think, therefore, that more opportune remedies must be applied to these evils, especially in this difficult time. . . .

. . . Since his Holiness desires to be informed by what means he can best put a stop to this Lutheran error, so that those things that he must do can be the more quickly cared for, the most illustrious Lord Viceroy¹ and the other princes and estates would say that because of their piety and devotion to the Christian religion, they are now, and always will be, heartily ready to be of any use and help they can in the matter. But inasmuch as the morals of this age are most corrupt in every sphere of life, ecclesiastical and secular, and there are many other errors, abuses and corruptions, which have come not only from the Lutheran sect but from many other causes, and have taken such root that it is imperatively necessary that fitting remedies be provided; and also because of the

¹ Frederic II, Count Palatine, on whom cf. *supra*, Vol. I, p. 513.

monstrous tyranny of the cruel Turk, by which for many years he has inflicted upon Christendom many hardships and divers calamities, and to-day threatens worse things; therefore the most illustrious Viceroy and the other princes and estates can think of no more fitting, efficacious and opportune remedy than that his Holiness, with the consent of his Imperial Majesty, should call a free Christian Council at a suitable place in Germany as quickly as can be done, to meet in Strassburg or Mayence or Cologne or Metz, or some other suitable place in Germany; nor should the calling of this council be deferred beyond the space of one year, if it is at all possible for it to take place in that time. At this council everyone concerned, clerical or lay, ought to be free to speak and to give advice, without any hindrance, for the glory of God, the salvation of souls and the welfare of the Church, any oaths and obligations to the contrary notwithstanding. . . .

The most illustrious and serene Viceroy and the other princes and estates have also taken counsel, with all diligence and care, concerning the methods and the measures by which the uprisings and errors of the people can, in the meanwhile, be pacified, held in check and put down; for the success of the plan depends in considerable measure on what is done in the meantime. Thus they have considered, in the first place, that Luther and certain of his followers live in the dominions and territories of Duke Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and, therefore, the most illustrious Viceroy and the other estates of the empire wish to exercise all their influence with the Elector of Saxony, and hope through him to bring it to pass, that Luther and his followers may not henceforth write anything, or publish anything, or cause anything to be printed,¹ and they are persuaded beyond all doubt that the aforesaid most illustrious Elector of Saxony, because of his regard for the Christian religion and his obedience to the Holy Roman Empire, will put forth every effort to this end.

At the same time the most illustrious Viceroy, the princes and estates of the empire, will take care that throughout Germany the preachers of the divine Word are charged not to spread among Christian people or utter anything by which

¹ Cf. *infra*, no. 587.

the mass of the people can be moved to tumult or rebellion, or led into any error, but that they shall teach and preach nothing but the true, pure and holy Gospel and the approved Scriptures, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scriptures approved and received by the Christian Church. . . . Moreover the archbishops, bishops and other prelates will appoint throughout their dioceses learned men, tested and skilled in sacred letters, whose duty it will be to give faithful and diligent attention to the preachers, and if any of them give offence, either by error or impropriety in their preaching, they will correct them kindly and considerately and inform them of their fault in such a way that no one can suspect that there is any desire to stand in the way of evangelical truth. But if these preachers are unwilling to listen to their advisers and to abstain from their folly, they are to be coerced and punished with suitable penalties by the local Church authorities.

Besides this, they will provide in all the book-sellers' shops and in the printing presses, so far as this is possible, that in future no new work shall be printed, and especially that no libelous books shall be sold, either publicly or privately; and all the rulers will make a law that if anyone wishes to publish, sell or print any new work, such works must first be revised and reviewed by certain approved and learned men, who have skill in letters, and unless they have the permission and approbation of these men they are not to be sold, printed or published.

By these means they hope that these tumults, errors and offences can at this time be remedied; especially if his Holiness shall make suitable and proper reformation of the matters complained of,¹ and shall call a free Christian council, for in this way he will satisfy the mass of the people. . . .

575. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

Enders, iv, 77.

Berbig, *Spalatiniana*,² 87.

(WITTENBERG, February 8, 1523.)

At the beginning of 1523, when the Elector was confronted with the

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 147f.

² *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Gesch. des Reformationszeit*, v (Leipsic, 1908).

possibility that he might have to surrender Luther or defend him by force of arms, he collected opinions from a number of theologians on the question whether he had a right to accept the latter alternative. Only Luther's opinion is here given. Those of Link, Bugenhagen and Amsdorf in Enders, iv, 77ff.; that of Melancthon in *Corpus Reformationum*, i, 601.

My opinion is as follows:

Our Elector has hitherto acted as one who neither would nor could judge or justify this cause because he is a layman, but was ready to yield to the truth, when it had gained the victory. Under these circumstances he cannot undertake war in behalf of our cause, but must yield to the power of the Emperor, who may seize and persecute in his territories those whom he will; for the Emperor is his lord by the consent of God and men, even though the men be wicked. But if he desires to go to war for the protection of this cause, he ought first to confess openly that the cause is just and renounce his former neutrality. He may not go to war because his subjects are concerned, but as a foreign prince coming to their aid from a foreign land. He should do this only if called to it by a special spirit and a special faith; otherwise he ought to yield entirely to superior authority and die with the Christians whom he confesses. But if this cause is an issue between equals, and not between him and the Emperor, or those who act under the Emperor's orders; if Duke George or the Margrave¹ or some other were to attack him on their own account, then there is nothing else to do except what is done in wars that arise from other than religious causes; he should first offer them peace and justice, and then repel force with force in his subjects' behalf.

M. L.

576. UNKNOWN WRITER TO THE CARDINAL OF ST. PRADEX,
CALLED DEL MONTE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 628.

INGOLSTADT, February 16, 1523.

Whether the writer of this letter is identical with the writer of a letter he encloses, a certain Folchinaria, I cannot determine.

Antonio Ciochi del Monte Sansovino, Archbishop of Siponto, was made cardinal by Julius II, in 1511. He was prominent throughout the

¹ Joachim of Brandenburg.

pontificates of Adrian and Clement VII. His nephew became Pope Julius III. Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*, vols. iv-vi.

From his letter addressed to the Sacred College [of cardinals], and from the copy of the letter enclosed, the cardinal will comprehend the proceedings against the Lutherans.

A book has been brought here to-day, sent from Nuremberg, edited by Luther and printed at Wittenberg, about the abolition of private mass.¹ He thereby declares the priesthood, the missal, the cardinals and bishops to be mummeries (*larvie*). He says the monasteries are anti-Scriptural, foes of God, and most mischievous. Everyone wonders that Frederic, Elector of Saxony, suffers such things in his towns and in his university; and that the Apostolic See has not withdrawn the privileges from a university so infected with every disease.

Wishes the Pope to see this. In Lent there is to be a meeting of the princes at Nuremberg. Prays God that they may consult to some good purpose.

577. LUTHER TO THE CANONS OF THE CASTLE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG.

Enders, iv, 89.

WITTENBERG, March 1, 1523.

The Castle Church was the last stronghold of Catholicism at Wittenberg because the canons were unwilling to give up saying the masses for the dead, which were heavily endowed. Luther regarded these private masses as abominations, and had long wished to abolish them. For a long time he was restrained by respect for Lawrence Schlamau, the dean, who had for ten years been parish priest. Very soon after Schlamau's death he started a new campaign by writing this letter. Four of the canons, Matthew Beskau, John Dölsch, George Elner and John Volmar, sent it with a letter of their own to Elector Frederic on March 4. His reply, dated Lochau, March 5, said that he did not regard masses for souls as impious nor see why they should be done away. ARG., xii (1915), 13ff.

Grace and peace, excellent and worshipful Sirs! The cause of the Gospel, with which Christ has so splendidly endowed us here, compels me to offer your Worships my humble petition by this letter, since it was not proper to make it publicly, and I beg for Christ's sake that your Worships will deign to

¹ *De abroganda missa privata*, Weimar, viii, 398ff.

receive it kindly.¹ More than one of you has been taken away.² I refer especially to him for whose sake we have tolerated for more than a year those things in your church and your worship which conflict with our Gospel. We have yielded enough to the infirmities of our friends, and I see that this tolerance is becoming an occasion for obstinacy and mockery of the Gospel, and thus the necessities of the time demand that I shall at last do my duty. Therefore I first privately admonish your Worships in Christ to conform to the standards of the Gospel, and I require that you make it your common task to abolish all the intolerable abominations that have been tolerated hitherto, for from this time forth your Worships neither can nor ought conceal what is openly done in your church in a Christian or an unchristian way, since the Gospel has been spread abroad in so many sermons and books that boys and girls, nay, even those, almost, who have no reason, now know it; and because of the ministry with which I have been entrusted, my conscience will not suffer me to be silent any longer. Therefore let your Worships do of your own accord what you know well enough must be done, that it may not be necessary for me to attack you publicly. Your Worships have part in this place, in its air and all things else, therefore you must know that we can no longer be partakers in the abominations that it is your custom to commit against the Gospel, which bids us avoid the brethren who do not consent to the sound words of our Lord.³ Therefore either this public scandal must be done away, or you must go without the name of Christians. The grace of our Lord be with you. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

578. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 633.

VALLADOLID, March 7, 1523.

By the post from Flanders the Emperor has received news of a monster born in Saxony. A cow calved a calf⁴ with a

¹ With this whole letter *cf.* no. 563.

² One other canon besides Schlamau had died in February.

³ I Timothy vi, 3.

⁴ *Cf. supra*, no. 570. A letter of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, dated Valladolid, August 25, 1523, speaks of this and of the people's comparing it to Luther, *Petri Martyris Opus Epistolarum*, Amsterdam, 1670, p. 459.

man's head and broad shoulders, over which was a friar's hood. This is compared by the people here to Luther. Supposes that the state will have received intelligence of this through another channel.

579. LUTHER TO JOHN SCHWANNHAUSEN AT BAMBERG.

Enders, v, 8.

WITTENBERG, March 7, 1523.

Enders dates this letter March 8, but "Sabbatho Oculi" means "Saturday before Oculi," which fell on March 7. Walch², xxi, no. 591a.

John Schwannhausen (†1528) was canon of the Church of St. Gangolf in Bamberg. He had attended the University of Wittenberg (matriculated 1502) and was a fellow-student there with Amsdorf and Spalatin. In March, 1523, he was accused by the Cathedral Chapter of preaching heretical doctrines, but was not deprived of his office till 1524, after which he worked for a time in Nuremberg. The place of his death is unknown. Cf. Ehrhard, *Johannes Schwannhausen in Beiträge zur Bayrischen KG.*, iii, 1ff., 55ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. Although I am unknown to you and you to me, dear Sir, nevertheless He whom you preach (as your Bambergers tell me) is known to both of us, by the grace of God, and this impels me to seek your acquaintance by letter and send you a greeting, that, as Paul¹ says, we may comfort one another with our common faith. Go forward to success, dearest brother, quit yourself like a man and let your heart be strong and uphold the cause of the Lord. "The servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also, but be confident, for I have overcome the world. In the world you shall have hardship, but in me peace."² But why should I comfort one who is stronger than I? I will make but this one request of you, that you pray God for us and commend me in your prayers to the Lord. In Him farewell. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

580. LUTHER TO EOBAN HESS.³

Enders, iv, 118.

(WITTENBERG), March 29, 1523.

Grace and peace. Your delightful letter was given me by

¹ Romans i, 12.

² John xv, 20; xvi, 33.

³ On the life of Hess, *vide* Vol. I, p. 121, n. 2. His life by C. Krause, 2 v. Gotha, 1879.

our good Crotus,¹ who is traveling with James Fuchs² and Peter,³ but Philip⁴ showed me the *Captiva*.⁵ Perhaps this ought be enough for the rude Luther to write to you, my dear Eoban, merely as acknowledgment of your letter. For what should I write besides, I who wish you to read nothing that is not worthy of your muse, even though I know the sincerity of your heart and that you do not despise things of smaller worth? What I think of the *Captiva* you can judge for yourself, for you are not of such hard fibre⁶ as not to perceive, and not so conceited⁷ as to flatter yourself that you have surpassed even yourself; in one thing, however, you will not surpass yourself—you will not get yourself to believe that the *Captiva* displeases either me or you. It will be published soon, and even without us it will show what sort of man its author is, and it will not need to fear envy herself. But unless I knew that you would say you had done it for propriety's sake, I should protest that too much has been ascribed to my name in this remarkable little poem. "Give to others," says the poet,⁸ "the honor of this name"; still I will bear this undeserved glory, for I have grown accustomed to bearing deserved ignominy.

Do not be disturbed by the fears, which you express, that our theology will make us Germans more barbarous in letters than ever we have been; some people often have their fears when there is nothing to fear. I am persuaded that without knowledge of literature pure theology cannot at all endure, just as heretofore, when letters have declined and lain prostrate, theology, too, has wretchedly fallen and lain prostrate; nay, I see that there has never been a great revelation of the Word of God unless He has first prepared the way by the rise and prosperity of languages and letters, as though they were

¹ Crotus Rubeanus.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 230, n. 2.

³ Peter Eberbach of Erfurt, where he matriculated 1497; M.A., 1508. In 1520 Melancthon nominated him for a lectureship at Wittenberg. C.R. i, 207.

⁴ Melancthon.

⁵ A poem of 428 verses which Hess had written and sent to Wittenberg. It was the first publication to appear from the press of John Setzer (Secerius), the Hagenau printer. Melancthon's acknowledgement of the poem in C.R., i, 613.

⁶ Writing to a humanist, Luther quotes the classics (*cornea fibra*, Persius, *Satires*, i, 47).

⁷ In Greek.

⁸ Horace, *Satires*, i, 4, 44.

John the Baptists. There is, indeed, nothing that I have less wish to see done against our young people than that they should omit to study poetry and rhetoric. Certainly it is my desire that there shall be as many poets and rhetoricians as possible, because I see that by these studies, as by no other means, people are wonderfully fitted for the grasping of sacred truth and for handling it skillfully and happily. To be sure, "Wisdom maketh the tongues of those who cannot speak eloquent,"¹ but the gift of tongues is not to be despised. Therefore I beg of you that at my request (if that has any weight) you will urge your young people to be diligent in the study of poetry and rhetoric. As Christ lives, I am often angry with myself that my age and my manner of life do not leave me any time to busy myself with the poets and orators. I had bought me a Homer² that I might become a Greek. But I have worried you enough with these little things. Think as well of Luther as you can think of your *Captiva*, and farewell, strong in Christ. Amen.

581. ERASMUS TO SPALATIN.

ZKG, ii, (1878), 120.

Th. St. Kr., 1908, 245.

BASLE, March 12, 1523.

The original of this is lost. It is known only in Spalatin's German translation. The name of the addressee is not given in the letter as now extant, but it is certainly to Spalatin.

. . . I have never ventured to judge Luther's spirit, but I have often feared that the appearance of so much arrogance and so much vituperation would injure the cause of the Gospel, now happily reawakened. What need was there of so reviling the King of England, the most pious prince of this age? . . . Had Luther only shown that his spirit was truly Christian, had he from his heart forgiven the abuse

¹ Wisdom of Solomon, x, 21.

² A copy of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, printed by Aldo at Venice, June, 1517, which once belonged to Luther, and is, in all probability, the one he alludes to here, is owned by Mr. G. A. Plimpton, of New York. It has a note in it by Melancthon's hand saying that it was given him by Luther in 1519. It is noticeable that Luther often quotes Homer in the early months of 1519 (Enders, i, 370, 404, 480), but rarely at other times. See the article by Preserved Smith in ZKG., xxxii (1911), 112f.

which the King wrote not against Luther but against the man whom he was persuaded that Luther was, had he without *lèse majesté* answered with strong, diligent and clear arguments, then he would neither¹ have moved so great a prince against him, nor would he have made so many people turn from himself. Would to God that he were gentler! What a preface² is that in which he praises Melanchthon's *Annotat-ions*! What arrogance there is in it! My fear is not for Luther, but two things move me. Should Luther go under, neither God nor man could longer endure the monks. Furthermore, Luther cannot perish without a great part of evangelical purity perishing with him. I have seen one of his letters³ to a friend against me, which has much bitterness in it. I know that there are some who irritate the man [against me]. But it would have been evangelical wisdom not to have expressed a judgment⁴ about me or against me, until one had first learned the truth. If I were moved by material considerations I should wish nothing more than that he and his should write against me as bitterly as possible. But the affair will of itself prove that I have no such motives in mind. Had I wished to act against the evangelical cause⁵ I should now have had mountains of gold. But as I would not act thus I have had to suffer and to do all sorts of things. In many things Luther's friends do not sufficiently consider what is feasible and necessary, nor will they take any advice. I should write to Luther myself, did I not know that the labor would be in vain, and also would cause me injury and peril. . . .

582. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, iv, 126.

(WITTENBERG), April 8, 1523.

Link was married on April 14, at Altenburg. This letter is Luther's

¹ Text *wider* for *weder*. Barge's suggestion, Th. St. Kr., *ad loc.* that we should read "*nicht*" is unnecessary.

² Preface to *Annotationes Phil. Melanchthonis in epistolas Pauli ad Romanos et Corinthios*, 1522, De Wette, ii, 238ff, Enders, iii, 438, Weimar, x², 309f. Taking as his text, "Be ye angry and sin not," Psalm iv, 5, Luther says he hopes his works and Melanchthon's will enrage his opponents.

³ Either Luther's letter to Capito, January 17, 1522, or to Borner (Cubito?), May 28, 1522, is meant. *Supra*, no. 549.

⁴ The two letters mentioned in the last note were published in July, 1522, under the title: *Luther's Judgment of Erasmus*. Enders, iii, p. 278.

⁵ "Gospel" already had this meaning.

acceptance of the invitation to be present. He performed the ceremony.

Grace and peace. Philip,¹ the provost,² Dr. Jerome,³ Bugenhagen, our prior,⁴ James,⁵ Joachim⁶ and I will surely come, unless the Lord throws some unusual obstacle in our way, which we hope will not be the case. Carlstadt is away from home. Furthermore Jerome Crappe⁷ and Master Lucas⁸ [will come].⁹ Whether the wives of the provost and of Jerome will come along is still undecided. To-day I took in nine nuns from the convent at Nimbschen, among whom are two von Zeschaus and a Staupitz.¹⁰ Farewell in the Lord with your bride.

Yours, MARTIN LUTHER.

583. LUTHER TO GEORGE SPALATIN IN ALTENBURG.

Enders, iv, 127.

WITTENBERG, April 10, 1523.

Grace and peace. Nine fugitive nuns,¹¹ a wretched crowd, have been brought me by honest citizens of Torgau. I mean Leonard Coppe¹² and his nephew¹³ and Wolf Dommitzsch;¹⁴ there is therefore no cause for suspicion. I pity them much,

¹ Melanchthon.

² Jonas.

³ Schurff.

⁴ Eberhard Brisger, of Mülheim, near Coblenz, matriculated at Wittenberg in 1519. An Augustinian, he was the last to remain in the cloister with Luther. In 1526 he became pastor at Altenburg. A number of letters of Luther to him are preserved from the years 1526-43.

⁵ Probst.

⁶ Camerarius.

⁷ Perhaps Melanchthon's father-in-law, but more likely his brother-in-law (1490-1563), an alumnus of Wittenberg, who became, in 1530, Councillor, and, in 1538, Burgomaster of Wittenberg.

⁸ Cranach.

⁹ The construction is doubtful; it may mean that Crappe and Cranach are also away from home.

¹⁰ *Vide infra*, no. 583.

¹¹ On the night of April 4-5, 1523, nine nuns left the Cistercian convent at Nimbschen near Grimma. Three others, who escaped almost at the same time (*cf. infra*, no. 584, where twelve nuns are mentioned) were sent to their relatives at once. Enders gives the names of two of them as Gertrude von Schellenburg and Elsa von Gauditz (iv, 129, n. 1).

¹² Coppe, born at Torgau, 1464; studied at Leipsic and Erfurt, 1495ff; 1504-9, town councillor of Torgau; 1510, the electoral tax gatherer. He met Luther during the latter's visits to Torgau, 1519 and 1522, and was his close friend later. He died 1552. E. Kroker: *Katharina von Bora*, 1906, p. 35, and De Wette-Seidemann, vi, 528.

¹³ Another Leonard Coppe, of whom nothing else is known.

¹⁴ Another citizen of Torgau, of a well-known family.

but most of all the others who are dying everywhere in such numbers in their cursed and impure celibacy. This sex, so very, very weak, joined by nature or rather by God to the other, perishes when cruelly separated. O tyrants! O cruel parents and kinsmen in Germany! O Pope and bishops, who can curse you enough? Who can sufficiently execrate the blind fury which has taught and enforced such things? But this is not the place to do it.

You ask what I shall do with them? First I shall inform their relatives and ask them to support the girls; if they will not I shall have the girls otherwise provided for. Some of the families have already promised me to take them; for some I shall get husbands if I can. Their names are: Magdalene von Staupitz,¹ Elsa von Canitz,² Ave Gross,³ Ave von Schönfeld⁴ and her sister Margaret, Laneta von Goltz,⁵ Margaret and Catharine Zeschau⁶ and Catharine von Bora.⁷ Here are they, who serve Christ, in need of true pity. They have escaped from the cloister in miserable condition. I pray you also to do the work of charity and beg some money for me from your rich courtiers, by which I can support the girls a week or two until their kinsmen or others provide for them. For my Capernaäns have no wealth but that of the Word, so

¹ The younger sister of John Staupitz. She had been in the convent since 1501. In 1529 she was placed at the head of a girls' school in Grimma, married a certain Tiburcius Geuder in 1537, and died 1548. Amsdorf wished Spalatin to marry her (*cf. infra*, no. 584).

² Elsa von Canitz may have come from the family of that name at Thallwitz, near Wurzen. After her flight to Wittenberg she went to a place called the Oak, between Leipsic and Grimma. Luther invited her to come to Wittenberg again to teach in 1527. Ten years later she also settled at Grimma. Kroker, 45f.

³ Ave Gross was the daughter of a knightly house settled near Grimma. She married John Marx of Schweinitz. Kroker, *ibid*.

⁴ Ave and Margaret von Schönfeld were daughters of George von Schönfeld of Delitzsch. They lived in Cranach's house at Wittenberg. Luther was much attracted to Ave, who, however, married Basil Axt, who had studied medicine at Wittenberg, and was at this time head of Cranach's drug-store. Later he became physician to Albert of Prussia. Ave died in 1540. Margaret married the Brunswick nobleman von Garsenbüttel. Kroker, *ibid*.

⁵ Laneta von Goltz, at this time about thirty, returned to a sister at Colditz. On August 24, 1523, she married the pastor there, who was killed by a shepherd only a few weeks later. In 1527 she was married again to Henry Kind of Leisnig.

⁶ Veronica (not Catharine) and Margaret von Zeschau, who had been in the cloister since 1505, returned to their relatives at or near Grimma. Nothing is known of their future life.

⁷ Catharine von Bora (1499-1552) of Zulsdorf, near Leipsic, was sent to the cloister at the age of five, and took the veil in 1515. She married Luther June 13, 1525. See Smith, 168ff and *passim*, literature, 456.

that I myself could not find the loan of ten gulden for a poor citizen the other day. The poor, who would willingly give, have nothing; the rich either refuse or give so reluctantly that they lose the credit of the gift with God and take up my time begging from them. Nothing is too much for the world and its way. Of my annual salary I have only ten or fifteen gulden left, besides which not a penny has been given me by my brothers or by the city. But I ask them for nothing, to emulate the boast of Paul, despoiling other churches to serve my Corinthians free. . . .

Farewell and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

584. NICHOLAS AMSDORF TO SPALATIN (AT ALTENBURG).¹

Kolde, *Analecta*, 442.

(WITTENBERG), April 11, 1523.

The Latin original of this letter has not been found. What is here given is an excerpt, translated by Spalatin for the Elector, and superscribed,—“Amsdorf writes as follows.” It is dated “Saturday in Easter Week,” which Kolde mistakenly interprets “April 4.” In 1523 Easter was April 5, and the 4th (*vigilia Resurrectionis*) was the date on which the nuns escaped.

Not nine, but twelve nuns have left the convent. Nine of them have come to us. They are fair, fine, all of noble birth, and none of them is fifty years old. The best-born among them, the sister of my gracious lord and uncle, Dr. Staupitz, I have destined to be your wife, my dear brother, so that you may boast of such a brother-in-law as I of such an uncle; but if you wish to have a younger one, you shall have your choice of the fairest of them.

If you want to give anything to the poor, give it to them, for they are poor, wretched and deserted by their kinsfolk. I pity the poor things; they have neither shoes nor clothes. I beg of you, my dear brother, to see if you cannot get something for them from the people of the court, so that they may be provided with food and clothing. Please do all you can, for in their great poverty and anxiety they are very patient. Indeed I am astonished that in such great tribulation and poverty they are so patient and happy. If you could do some-

¹ Where he had gone for Link's wedding. Cf. *supra*, no. 582.

thing for them with our gracious Lord,¹ you would be doing a wonderfully Christian work. There are some of them who will not go back to their relatives even if they were to ask them, because they would be in Duke George's land and would have to do without the Divine Word. Pray be the friend at court for these honorable maids.

I have not been able to get our father Dr. Martin to stay at home.² He will not listen either to Philip or me, but gives us this answer: "I cannot be troubled; I shall arm myself with prayer, and if necessary, I shall certainly perform a miracle." Then he laughs. That is the way he declined our proposals. We shall not lose many lectures, for we shall come straight back.

585. FREDERIC AND JOHN, DUKES OF SAXONY, TO
HENRY VIII.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 301. ALTENBURG, May 3, 1523.

Thank him for his letters, dated Greenwich, 20 Jan., delivered by his herald, and for his benevolent admonition, which is most agreeable to their minds. Would be exceedingly sorry to see errors arise against the Christian faith, especially under their patronage, or with their permission. Have no other wish than to be faithful to the Church, and would regret any injury done to Henry on account of the old alliance in blood between the English and the Saxons. Had no idea of protecting the doctrines and preaching of Luther, but have left him to defend himself.

As to Henry's advice that it would be unseemly to dispute with such a man, the King may judge how little qualified they are to do so. At the last diet at Nuremberg, a nuncio of the Pope demanded by what means these evils were to be met, and was answered by the Emperor's lieutenant and the Electors (the Dukes of Saxony being there by proxy) that the only way they could see was a free Christian council. Would have the greatest confidence in the decisions of a council, considering the promises of Christ, "Wherever two or three," etc., and that the gates of hell should not prevail against the Church.

¹ The Elector, to whom Spalatin sent this.

² From Link's wedding. Cf. *supra*, no. 582.

586. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

De Wette, ii, 334. German.

(WITTENBERG), May 27, 1523.

Grace and peace, worthy master. Our prior¹ asks, and I, too, ask, that you will ask my gracious lord² that he will give him some good advice. The tax collector of Wittenberg wishes to be paid before next Saturday for the malt he sold the prior, and the prior has no money and will not be able to get any. The beggar's sack has a great hole in it, but, sad to say, it cannot yet be torn up. God willing, it will not trouble us long, however. If I had not to waste so much money on runaway monks and nuns, I could have given the prior a contribution. Pfaffenbeck has been beseeching me again, but I dare not make any more requests for him; God help him. I have sent my gracious Lord's answer to Leimbach,³ and have heard nothing more since then. God have you in His keeping.

MARTIN LUTHER.

587. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 335. German.

WITTENBERG, May 29, 1523.

The reply of the Estates of the Empire to the papal nuncio, Chierigato (*supra*, no. 574), was embodied in a decree of the Council of Regency, March 6 (RTA, iii, 448ff.). The text of the decree was communicated to Luther with the request that he obey that part of it which prohibited the publication of any new books until the meeting of the proposed council. This is Luther's reply. The first part of it, which represents essentially the contents of no. 573, is omitted.

. . . In reply, I would humbly inform your Grace that I have humbly and thankfully received your Grace's request, and can say to your Grace with good reason that my idea and purpose (to write without boasting, and in accordance with public protestations that I have previously made) never was, and is not now, to slander anyone of high station or low, or to write, teach or preach anything that might give rise to disturbance, disobedience, disunion and rebellion in the em-

¹ Eberhard Briser, Luther's sole remaining companion in the Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg. He was afterwards provided with a living at Altenburg, in 1526. Cf. *supra*, p. 179, n. 4.

² The Elector.

³ A certain John Leimbach had asked Luther's help in the collection of money owed him, as he claimed, by the Elector.

thing for them with our gracious Lord,¹ you would be doing a wonderfully Christian work. There are some of them who will not go back to their relatives even if they were to ask them, because they would be in Duke George's land and would have to do without the Divine Word. Pray be the friend at court for these honorable maids.

I have not been able to get our father Dr. Martin to stay at home.² He will not listen either to Philip or me, but gives us this answer: "I cannot be troubled; I shall arm myself with prayer, and if necessary, I shall certainly perform a miracle." Then he laughs. That is the way he declined our proposals. We shall not lose many lectures, for we shall come straight back.

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. . . In reply, I would humbly inform your Grace that I have humbly and thankfully received your Grace's request, and can say to your Grace with good reason that my idea and purpose (to write without boasting, and in accordance with public protestations that I have previously made) never was, and is not now, to slander anyone of high station or low, or to write, teach or preach anything that might give rise to disturbance, disobedience, disunion and rebellion in the em-

¹ Eberhard Briserger, Luther's sole remaining companion in the Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg. He was afterwards provided with a living at Altenburg, in 1526. Cf. *supra*, p. 179, n. 4.

² The Elector.

³ A certain John Leimbach had asked Luther's help in the collection of money owed him, as he claimed, by the Elector.

pire, or lead Christians into error, for I have often written and preached against this very thing; but my sole purpose from beginning to end has been, and still is, to write, teach, preach and do nothing else than what is necessary and profitable for the increase of God's Word and honor, of the holy and true faith and of love of our fellow-man, and which thus serves the well-being of all Christendom. On this matter, by God's help, my conscience is clear before God. But that I have heretofore written so harshly and severely against certain persons of all ranks, is not without reason, though I have done it without hatred and with no unchristian heart. To be sure, I know very well that my harsh writing has been displeasing to many of my friends and foes, and to your Grace as well, and that your Grace has more than once tried to prevent me from doing it, and to persuade me to refrain from it; but it is also true that I entered this conflict at first without your Grace's advice, knowledge and consent, and that I returned to Wittenberg last year at my own risk, not with the intention of injuring anyone on earth, but only of protecting the flock that my God committed to me and of serving the whole Christian Church to the best of my poor ability, as was my Christian duty. I should also be heartily disposed to refrain from any further writing, especially from harsh writing; but because of some of those who are ill-disposed toward me—especially John Faber,¹ the vicar of the Bishop of Constance, who has written a great Latin book against me that has recently been printed and published at Leipsic, and Emser, too, who is publishing one German book after another against me (though, to be sure, they are not very profitable and do not hurt me) full of slanders not only against my Christian profession, but also against the holy Gospel—because of this, I say, it will be hard for me, as your Grace and all Christians can well understand, to endure such blasphemy against God, my Lord, and to have my opponents' wanton attacks called honorable and my own necessary replies, which they force me to make, called evil and dishonorable, and forbidden. Nevertheless, since the imperial decree, which has now been issued,

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 315. His "great Latin book," *Adversus Nova . . . et . . . Aliena Dogmata M. L.*, was published at Rome in 1522, at Leipsic, 1523.

clearly says, among other things, that only the holy Gospel shall be preached and taught, and that teachers and preachers are to be admonished kindly and in such wise that it cannot be supposed that the truth of the Gospel is to be hindered or suppressed, I hope and trust in God that I shall not be forbidden to write and shall be innocent in the eyes of all if in my written replies I devote myself rather to the divine truth of the Gospel than to the proofs of my own innocence.

Concerning all this I would not leave your Grace any longer uninformed, humbly requesting that your Grace will graciously note this my submissive reply, and, if your Grace so pleases, pass it on. For, I thank God, I am acting without fear, and am not ashamed of my cause or of the Word of God. The eternal God illumine and strengthen your Grace's heart with His divine grace and mercy. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

588. LUTHER TO BERNARD, A CONVERTED JEW.

Enders, iv, 146.

(WITTENBERG, May(?), 1523.)

It was alleged at the Diet of Nuremberg that Luther denied the virgin birth of Christ. (Cf. *supra*, no. 564.) As an answer to "this new lie," he published a little tract, under the title, *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (Weimar, xi, 314ff). The date of the first (Wittenberg) edition we do not know, but a second edition was in press at Strassburg (or Hagenau) early in June, so that the first edition must have been issued in May or earlier. Luther sent a copy of it as a present to Bernard, a converted Jew, who married Carlstadt's maid in the summer of 1522. Along with it he sent this letter.

Grace and peace from the Lord. The conversion of the Jews is in bad odor almost everywhere, not only among Christians but also among the Jews. The latter say that no one goes over from Judaism to Christianity in good faith, but that anyone who attempts it is guilty of some crime and cannot stay among the Jews. The Christians say that experience shows that they either return to their vomit,¹ or only pretend to have deserted Judaism. Everybody knows the story of what is said to have occurred at the court of the Emperor

¹ II Peter ii, 22.

Sigismund. When a Jew at the Emperor's court desired, with many prayers, to become a Christian, he was at last admitted to baptism, and afterwards was tested, but prematurely and beyond his strength. For immediately after his baptism the Emperor had two fires built, calling the one the fire of the Christians, the other the fire of the Jews, and bade the baptized Jew choose in which of them he preferred to be burned. "For," said he, "you are now baptized and holy, and it is hardly likely that you will ever become a better man than you now are." The miserable man showed that his faith was either pretended or weak by choosing the fire of the Jews; as a Jew he leaped into it, and as a Jew he burned. The story of the will of the baptized Jew of Cologne¹ is also well known, and there are many others.

But I think the cause of this ill-repute is not so much the Jews' obstinancy and wickedness, as rather their absurd and asinine ignorance and the wicked and shameless life of popes, priests, monks and universities. They give the Jews not a single spark of light or warmth, either in doctrine or in Christian life, but, on the contrary, they alienate the Jews' hearts and consciences by the darkness and the errors of their own traditions and by examples of the worst possible morals, and only impart to them the name of Christian, so that you may justly suppose that Christ's word² was spoken to them, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, who compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." They find fault with the Jews because they only pretend to be converted, but they do not find fault with themselves because they only pretend to convert them; nay, they seduce them from one error into another that is worse. What glory is it, pray, nay, what madness for a teacher if he gives a bright and promising boy only the most pestilential teaching, then shows him in his own life only the most corrupt morals, and afterwards washes his hands and says he learned nothing good from him? Thus a bawd may teach a girl to be a harlot and afterwards charge her with not living in virginity. That this is the way the Jews

¹ Luther refers to this story in the Table Talk (Erlangen, lxii, 371, no. 2915).

² Matthew xxiii, 15.

are converted and instructed by our sophists and Pharisees, your own experience is witness.

But when the golden light of the Gospel is rising and shining, there is hope that many of the Jews will be converted in earnest and be drawn completely to Christ, as you have been drawn and certain others, who are the remnant of the seed of Abraham that is to be saved by faith; for He Who has begun the work will perfect it,¹ and will not permit His Word to return unto Him void.² I thought it well, therefore, to send you this little book to strengthen and assure your faith in Christ, Whom you have lately learned to know in the Gospel; and now that you are baptized in the Spirit you are born of God. I hope that by your labor and example Christ may be made known to other Jews, so that they who are predestinated may be called and may come to their King David, Who feeds and protects them, but Who is condemned among us with incredible madness by the popes and Pharisees, predestined to come into this condemnation. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me.

589. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS GERBEL IN STRASSBURG.

Weimar, xii, 56.

WITTENBERG, (early in June),³ 1523.

Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. Once before I stole our Philip's *Notes on Three Epistles of St. Paul*,⁴ and although he could not be angry at Luther, the thief, he thought himself abundantly avenged upon me, because, through the carelessness of the printers, the book was published with so many mistakes that I myself was almost ashamed, and was disgusted that I had deposited my booty in so poor a place. He laughed at me, hoping, perhaps, that I would learn by experience and abstain henceforth from thefts of that kind. However, I was not moved by his ridicule, and have become bolder than ever, for this time I am not stealing,

¹ Philippians i, 6.

² Isaiah lv, 11.

³ So dated in Weimar. Enders dates it "May or earlier" (iv. 149). On the reasons for the date, *vide* Weimar, xii, 53f; Enders, iv, 151, n. 1.

⁴ Notes on Romans and I and II Corinthians (1522). Luther had sent a student's manuscript to the printers (*cf.* De Wette, ii, 238).

but forcibly taking, against the resistance of the author, his *Notes on the Gospel of John*.¹ I do not want to ornament them with words of mine; they will commend themselves to the reader, and I shall not have to endure his turned-up nose and wrinkled brow again. For he puts little value on himself and his own writings, not from modesty, but rather because he believes, in a true Christian spirit, that nothing is our own, but everything belongs to Christ; and he holds this opinion so obstinately that I truly think he is in error, and² pretends that Christ is farther from his own heart than He really is. Nor does he believe me any longer when I try to persuade him otherwise; so far has he come and so far has he surpassed me—thus “the last shall be first, and the first last.” Then, too, he says that he does not wish to be known as the author of this commentary. Certainly in helping the Church this way, Philip makes too little of himself.³ I, too, should prefer that there were no commentaries at all, but that the pure Scriptures alone should reign and be explained orally; but I do not see how the Church can do without commentaries that at least point to the Scriptures, and Philip’s are of this kind. Who cannot see that the Epistle to the Hebrews is itself almost a commentary? as are also Paul’s letters to the Romans and the Galatians? Who would be able to explain Holy Scripture unless Paul had shown how it must be explained? This kind of a demonstration I call the making of a commentary. That is all that is asked of Philip, but he imagines that something else is asked of him.

Therefore I send you my booty, my dear Gerbel, so that you may do your best to make it known how unwilling the author is. I hope that John Setzer⁴ will print it more correctly and accurately than my former theft was printed. If that inexorable Achilles⁴ had been willing to be rhetorical in this book, he would have added much that was illuminating and graceful; but now if it lacks anything, either in arrangement of matter

¹ Luther had been anticipated, for a student’s notes had already been sent to Basle, where they were published in May, 1523.

² *Est nimis nullus*, “he is too much of a nobody.”

³ Secerius, the Hagenau printer.

⁴ Melanchthon.

or eloquence of style, the wisdom and the truth that are in it will contribute grace and illumination. For this book proves that Philip is a true and a wise man, unless Christ, Whom it breathes and teaches, is not truth and wisdom, though he prefers to be and to be called a fool with Christ. Would that we, too, might be fools with them, that we might boast "The foolishness of God is wiser than men."¹

I am glad indeed that John Oecolampadius is lecturing on Isaiah,² though I hear that many are not pleased, but that is the fortune of Christian teaching. Christ will give us by this man some light upon the prophets, a thing our age greatly needs. Farewell in Christ, my dear Gerbel, and pray for that sinner and fool, Luther. Greet all our friends in the Lord.

590. LUTHER TO THE PRINTERS.

Erlangen³, xiii, 2.

(WITTENBERG, before June 7, 1523.)³

I ask all those who write down and take notes on my sermons, for Christ's sake to refrain from printing and publishing them, unless they have been prepared by my own hand, or first printed here at Wittenberg on my authority. It does no good to publish the Word of God so carelessly and badly that we only cause it to be mocked and detested. I had hoped that people would henceforth pay more attention to the Holy Scriptures themselves, and let my books go, now that they have served their purpose and led men's hearts into and up to the Scriptures, which was my reason for writing my books. What is the use of making many books, and yet always staying away from the chief book? Drink rather from the fountain itself than from the rill that has led you to the fountain. But if it cannot be otherwise than it is, then, in God's name, let no one publish anything under my name without my knowledge and consent. I would to God that I had most of my books back here at home, especially those in which I make

¹ I Corinthians i, 25.

² Cf. *infra*, no. 591.

³ In June, 1522, Luther preached on the Gospel of Dives and Lazarus. The sermon was published, apparently from the notes of one of his hearers. In 1523 Luther then published an authorized edition of the sermon, with this introduction, addressed to the printers. On June 7, 1523, he preached again on the same subject, and referred to the sermon as "already in print." Cf. Weimar, xi, 127ff, and xii, 529ff.

too many concessions to Pope, councils and the like. God give us His grace! Amen.

591. LUTHER TO OECOLAMPADIUS, AT BASLE.

Enders, iv, 163.

WITTENBERG, June 20, 1523.

In addition to the references on Oecolampadius, *supra*, Vol. I, p. 163, cf. A. Büchi: *Kleine Beiträge zur Biographie Oekalampads, nebst 7 ungedruckten Briefen*. In *Festgabe H. Grauert*, 1910, pp. 221-232.

Grace and peace in Christ. First of all I must beg of you, my dear Oecolampadius, that you will not set it down to ingratitude or neglect that I have not written you until now, for I have had no letters from you since you shook off St. Bridget.¹ At the same time I thought that after Christ strengthened your heart by the power of so great a spirit that, conquering superstition and freeing yourself from the yoke of Satan, you had become too great a man for me to hope that you would write to me, or for me to support with letters of my own. Certainly we have heartily approved your spirit and the great thing you have done, and Philip² never stops his daily praise of you to me, and takes unusual pleasure in his recollections of you.

The Lord strengthen you in your purpose to lecture on Isaiah, though correspondents have told me that it does not please Erasmus. Do not let his displeasure trouble you. What Erasmus thinks, or pretends to think, in judging things spiritual, is abundantly shown by his books, from the first to the last. I note the pricks he gives me now and then, but as he does it without openly declaring himself my foe, I act as though I were unaware of his sly attacks, though I understand him better than he thinks. He has done what he was called to do; he has brought us from godless studies to a knowledge of the languages; perhaps he will die with Moses in the plains of Moab, for he does not go forward to the better studies—those that pertain to godliness.³ I greatly wish he would stop commenting on the Holy Scriptures and writing his *Paraphrases*, for he is not equal to this task; he takes up the time

¹ While preaching at Augsburg, in 1520, Oecolampadius entered the Order of St. Bridget, but left it in February, 1522.

² A month earlier (May, 21), Melancthon had urged Oecolampadius to leave Basle and come to Wittenberg (C.R., i, 615).

³ This passage excited Erasmus' indignation. Cf. *infra*, no. 597.

of his readers to no purpose, and delays them in their study of the Scriptures. He has done enough in showing us the evil; to show us the good and to lead us into the promised land, he is, I see, unable. But why should I talk so much of Erasmus, except to keep you from being influenced by his name and reputation? You ought rather to be glad if what you think about the Scriptures displeases him, for he is a man who neither can nor will have a right judgment about them, as almost all the world is now beginning to perceive.

I have not yet seen your translations from Chrysostom.¹ I hope you will take my verbosity kindly, for I know you have no need of such comforters as I. Christ, Who dwells in you and works through you, will not forsake you. But do you pray for me, for I am so taken up with external things that there is danger that I who began in the Spirit may be made perfect in the flesh.² The monks and nuns who have left their cloisters steal many of my hours, so that I am the servant of every man's necessities, to say nothing of the multitude which claims me as its debtor in many ways. Farewell, Oecolampadius, and the grace of Christ be with you. Greet all our friends.

592. HANS VON DER PLANITZ TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

Wülcker-Virck, 488.

NUREMBERG, July 15, 1523.

. . . I would humbly inform your Grace that my gracious Lord, Duke George, will leave here to-morrow. . . . His Grace took me aside and told me he was going away; also that he observed that whenever there was any talk in the Council about Luther, no one took it to heart or remembered the slanders he had heaped upon his Imperial Majesty; his Grace must therefore leave it at that, in God's name. His Grace told me, besides, that he had heard from one, who was not the smallest man in the empire, that there was a plan on foot to take the electorate from the house of Saxony and give it to another house,³ because your Grace tolerated Luther in his lands and

¹ The *Psegmata*; fourteen tracts of St. Chrysostom; published at Basle, March 1523.

² Galatians iii, 3.

³ As was actually done in 1547, when the electoral title and vote were taken from John Frederic and given to Maurice of the Albertine house.

protected and defended him, all against the mandate of his Majesty the Emperor, and the command of the Pope, and in behalf of a cause that would be sufficient reason for the deposition of a pope or an emperor. The same man also said that if it had not been for a desire to spare his Grace, this would have been done long since, but it could not be long postponed; he was afraid it must happen. He commanded me to inform your Grace of this; if he were with your Grace he would tell your Grace of it himself. He was sure my gracious Lord, Duke John, would also be told; and it would be well to disown the monk. I gave his Grace no definite answer and did not discuss the matter with him, except to say that I had no doubt his Grace had seen your defence before; that your Grace had never taken Luther's part or defended him and did not do so now; in my judgment, therefore, your Grace was wrongfully accused of this. . . .

593. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 199.

(WITTENBERG), August 3, 1523.

Grace and peace. I have not yet come to any decision about a tract in reply to the breve of Master Adrian.¹ If anything occurs to me, I will write in such a way that I defend only my own cause. . . . I have been requested to ask you, since the Elector will not appoint a married man to our Bethaven,² that you suggest the calling of Crotus, who is well adapted for the position and could reform things there in a prudent way; so it has seemed to Philip and me, at least. I hope that their abominations will not go on forever,³ but that, if the right men are appointed, the work and the stipends may be put to better use.

Francis Lambert asks through me that you get the Elector to increase the present or the stipend, whichever you call it, that he now receives. He complains of the ingratitude of the students, who pay nothing; he is, therefore, compelled to ask

¹ Not the official breve of December 1, 1522 (*supra*, no. 558), but the breve *Satis et plus quam satis*, which appeared in print in July, 1523 (Erlangen, *opp. var. arg.*, vi, 478ff). It was suspected that it was a forgery and that Cochlaeus was the author.

² The position of dean of the Castle Church had been vacant since February.

³ Cf. *supra*, nos. 563, 577.

for ten florins instead of the six he now gets from the Elector. You know well enough what he wants. He is a poor man and a good one; besides, he is a foreigner, and will not stay here long, so it is said.

The priests of Baal in the Low Countries have got their Jezebel¹ to demand Brother Henry² from the people of Bremen as a prisoner of the empire. What the Bremers will do we do not yet know.³ I advised the collector of Alstedt, when he was here, that he should have nothing to do with the spirit of the prophet Thomas.⁴ I do not know whether anything has been done since then. Certainly I cannot endure that "Spirit," whoever he is. He praises my work, as Thomas himself writes me,⁵ and yet he despises it and seeks other and greater things. Besides, he speaks in such absurd and unusual words and phrases, which are not found in Scripture, that you would think him crazy or drunk. He avoids us and will not meet us, and yet he boasts wonderful things of himself. I have, therefore, asked the collector of Alstedt to urge the man to confer with us about his teaching; I do not know whether he will get him to do it. Our Spirit is not of the kind that fears to be heard and compared with all other spirits, good and evil. Farewell and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

594. THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF SESSA,⁶ HIS AMBASSADOR IN ROME.

Bergenroth, 1509-25, no. 590.

VALLADOLID, August 23, 1523.

. . . The nuncio of the Pope has asked him to publish the edict which he has given during the Diet of Worms, prohibiting the printing and reading of the works of Martin Luther. He has done so, and sends him a letter for the Pope in which he informs him of the measures taken against Luther.

¹ Margaret, Princess Regent of the Netherlands.

² Henry of Zütphen.

³ They refused the demand (Iken, *Heinrich v. Z.*, p. 52).

⁴ Thomas Münzer (cf. Vol. I, p. 324, n. 1), then preaching in Alstedt. The collector of Alstedt was a certain Hans Zeis, who was on friendly terms with Münzer.

⁵ Münzer's letter in Enders (iv, 169).

⁶ Lewis de Cordova, Duke of Sessa.

595. SIR THOMAS MORE TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, 3270. English.

EASTHAMPESTEAD, August 26, 1523.

. . . One Thomas Murnar, a Franciscan friar, who wrote in defence of the King against Luther,¹ is come over to England, having been told by a simple fellow that the King wished to see him. The King desires out of pity that he should return, for he is one of the chief stays against the faction of Luther, and orders Wolsey to pay him £100.

596. LUTHER TO THE CHRISTIANS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Weimar, xii, 77. German.

(WITTENBERG, August 28(?), 1523.)

Eyn brieff an die Christen ym Nidderland. M. Luther. (Sine loco et anno; really printed by Hans Luft, Wittenberg, 1523. A copy of this first edition I (P.S.) purchased at Leipsic for \$7.)

The first martyrs to the evangelical cause were two Augustinians of Antwerp, Henry Voes and John Esch (or von Essen), burned at Brussels, July 1, 1523. An account of the *auto-da-fé* by an eye-witness was printed at once, dated July 10. The most recent account is by O. Clemen: *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, i, (1900), pp. 40-52. This letter in Enders, iv, 196 is dated "Beginning of August," in Weimar, "July or August." The library at Göttingen has a copy of the first edition of this letter, with the following inscriptions, said to be in Luther's hand: "28 Augusti, 1523," and, "prodiit in hoc horribile edictum Caroli imp. 1540 mense sept." P. Fredericq: *Corpus inquisitionis neerlandicae*, iv, (1900), 224. This date cannot be verified, but it is quite probable. It is true Luther speaks of the martyrdom in letters of the last of July, but the thought of writing this public letter does not seem to have occurred to him at once. He also wrote a hymn. The documents are printed in *Bibliotheca ref. Neerlandica*, viii, edita a S. Cramer et F. Pijper, 1911, under the title: *Het martelaarschap van Hendrik Vos en Joannas van den Esschen*.

Praise and thanks be to the Father of all mercy, who at this time lets us see His wonderful light, hitherto hidden on account of our sins while we were compelled to submit to the terrible power of Antichrist. But now the time has come when the voice of the turtle is heard in the land, and flowers appear on the earth. Of what joy, dear friends, have you

¹ Murnar's book was entitled *Whether the King of England or Luther is the Liar*. A new life of Murnar, by T. von Liebenau, appeared in 1913. It is in the series *Ergänzungen und Erläuterungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, hg. von L. v. Pastor.

been participants, you who have been the first to witness unto us. For it has been given unto you before all the world not only to hear the Gospel and to know Christ, but to be the first to suffer, for Christ's sake, shame and injury, wrong and distress, imprisonment and death. Now you have become full of fruit and so strong that you have watered the cause with your blood. For among you those two precious jewels of Christ, Henry and John, have held their lives of no account for Christ's Word. Oh, how miserably were those two souls condemned, but how gloriously with eternal joy will they meet Christ and justly condemn those by whom they were unjustly condemned! What a little thing it is to be put to shame and slain by the world, so long as we know that their blood is precious and their death dear in the eyes of God, as the Psalms say.¹ What is the world compared to God? With what gladness and joy have all the angels in heaven looked on these two souls! How welcome was that fire which helped them from this sinful life to eternity, from this ignominy to everlasting glory! God be praised and blessed forever that we, who have canonized and worshiped so many false saints, have lived to see and hear real saints and true martyrs. We in Upper Germany have not yet been worthy to become so precious and worthy an offering to Christ, though many of our members have not been, and still are not, without persecution. Therefore, my dearly beloved, be of good cheer and be glad in Christ, and let us thank Him for the great signs and wonders that He has begun to do among us. He has given us a fresh illustration of His own life, and now it is time that the kingdom of God shall not be in word, but in power.² Here we learn what is meant by the saying,³ "Be joyful in tribulation." "For a small moment," says Isaiah,⁴ have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee," and in the 91st Psalm God says,⁵ "I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him and honor him, because he hath known my name." Because, then, we see our present tribulation and have such strong and comfortable promises, let us renew our hearts and be of good

¹ Psalm lxxii, 141; cxvi, 15.

² I Corinthians iv, 20.

³ Romans xii, 12.

⁴ Isaiah liv, 7.

⁵ Psalm xci, 14.

courage and joyfully allow the Lord to slay us. He has said,¹ and He will not lie, "Even the hairs of your head are all numbered." And although our adversaries will cry out that those saints were Hussites, Wyclifites and Lutherans, we should not wonder, but rather let this strengthen us the more, for Christ, too, had a Cross and slanderers. Our Judge is not far off, and He will pass a different judgment; this we know for certain. Pray for us, dear brethren, and for one another, that one of us may hold out faithful hands to the other, and all of us, in one Spirit, cling to our Head, Jesus Christ. May He strengthen and perfect you with His grace to the honor of His holy name. To Him be praise and thanks, from us and from every creature, forever. Amen.

597. ERASMUS TO ZWINGLI.

Schuler und Schulthess, vii, 307.

Corpus Reformatum, xcvi, 114.

BASLE, August 31 (1523).

Greeting, my dear Zwingli. I was glad to have your chatty letter. It is rumored here that the third Augustinian also was burned on the day after the Visitation, for the other two were burned the day before.² I do not know whether to deplore their death or not. Certainly they died with the greatest and most unheard of constancy, not because of Luther's doctrines, but because of his paradoxes, for which I would not die, because I do not understand them. I know it is a glorious thing to die for Christ. The godly have never been without affliction, but the godless, too, are afflicted, and he who transforms himself into an angel of light³ is *master of many wiles*⁴ and the gift of discerning spirits is rare. Luther proposes some riddles that are absurd on the face of them: all the works of the saints are sins, which are forgiven by the undeserved mercy of God; free will is an empty name; a man is justified

¹ Matthew x, 30.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 596. A third inmate of the Augustinian house at Antwerp, was arrested along with Voes and Esch, and it was at first reported that he had suffered the same fate. He was imprisoned for a time, but we do not know what finally became of him. If, as Luther says (Enders, iv, 184), he was Lambert von Thorn, he was imprisoned and executed September 15, 1528. Clement: *Beiträge*, i, 48, n.

³ II Corinthians xi, 14.

⁴ This in Greek.

by faith alone, and works have nothing to do with it. I do not see that it does any good to dispute about the way Luther wishes these things to be understood. I see, too, that many of those who are devoted to him are remarkably stubborn, and in Luther's writings there is much malediction, which is often irrelevant. These things make me have some doubts about their spirit, because I wish that spirit which I favor to be pure. They take no advice, and when they are admonished they take the other side and involve a man on the smallest occasion.

You call me a laggard;¹ what, pray, do you wish me to do? What I have written heretofore I have written of my own accord, and even though I am polite, I do not betray the truth of the Gospel, but declare it, as far as may be. I had good hopes of this Pope,² now I fear that he will deceive me. Nevertheless I have admonished him of his duty, politely, indeed, but as I thought expedient. I wrote him a long private letter.³ He does not reply, and I fear he is offended. If you had read it you would not say that I was polite, when the occasion demanded something else; I would have written him even more freely if I had seen it would do any good. It is madness to court destruction if you gain nothing by it. I left the pleasantest region in the world that I might not be involved in the business of the Pharisees,⁴ for I could not live there otherwise, and my health is such that I cannot live just anywhere. The tyranny of the Pope does not please those whom Luther displeases. Who does not see, who does not grieve, that the bishops have been changed from fathers into worldly princes and are in collusion with the monks? This has been said to me in more than one place. What is now going on is leading, as I see, to a revolution, and what the end of it will be I do not know. The world is full of the worst men, the kind that always break out in turbulent times. Though I am a man of no high position, I admonished the bishops and the princes in my book on *The Prince*.⁵ What

¹ *Cunctator*.

² Adrian VI.

³ Probably that in *Opera*, iii, 744.

⁴ Brabant. Cf. Kalkoff, *Anfänge der Gegenref. in d. Nederl.*, i, 65ff.

⁵ *The Institutio principis Christiani* (1515). Vide Emerton, *Erasmus*, 255ff.

more do you wish me to do? Even though I were to despise my own life, I do not see what more could be done. On some points you disagree with Luther; Oecolampadius also disagrees with him; shall I put myself and my books in peril for the sake of his doctrine? I have refused all the offers made me to write against him. The Pope, the Emperor, kings and princes, and my most learned and dearest friends have urged me to it, nevertheless it is sure that I shall either not write at all, or shall write in such a way that my writing will not please the Pharisees. You do not need to cite witnesses to prove that you have a right to admonish me; the admonition of learned men has always been grateful to me. Oecolampadius had proposed certain theses for discussion¹ and had even published them, but was bidden postpone it till another time; now he has been given permission to hold the discussion when he likes. He is a good man, but impatient of advice, even from a friend. Luther has written him² that I vehemently objected to his lecturing on Isaiah, though there is no one I am fonder of than Oecolampadius. He adds that not much attention must be paid me in the things of the Spirit; what that means I do not understand. He said, too, that I, like Moses, have led Israel out of Egypt, but would die in the plains. Would that he were the Joshua who would lead us all into the land of promise. . . .

Oecolampadius held his disputation to-day, with good results, and will dispute again next Sunday. Luther has written Oecolampadius that not much attention must be paid me in those things that are of the Spirit.³ I should like to learn of you, my learned Zwingli, who that "Spirit" is, for I think I have taught almost everything that Luther teaches, only I have not done it so fiercely and have abstained from certain riddles and paradoxes. I hope, indeed, that much fruit may some day come from them, but I prefer present fruit. . . .

Yours,

ERASMUS.

¹ Cf. *Corpus Reformatorum*, xiv, 116, n. 1.

² *Supra*, no. 591.

³ The parts of this letter must have been written at two different times, which would account for the repetition, and for the two references to Oecolampadius' disputation.

598. LUTHER TO THE CHRISTIANS OF RIGA, REVAL AND DORPAT.

Weimar, xii, 147. German.

(WITTENBERG, August 1523.)

In October, 1522, John Lohmüller, secretary of the city of Riga, wrote to Luther (Enders, iv, 10) telling him of the progress of the Reformation in that city, and asking him to dedicate some book to the evangelical Christians there. This is apparently the letter to which Luther refers in his letter to Spalatin of January 22, 1523 (*supra*, no. 570). After long delay, Luther replied with the following letter, which, like that to the Christians of Holland (*supra*, no. 596), is an "open letter," and was sent to Riga in print. The reference to the martyrs of Brussels fixes August as the earliest date for its writing. Literature in Weimar, xii, 146.

Grace and peace in Christ. I have learned from letters and by word of mouth,¹ dear sirs and brethren, how God the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has begun to work wonders among you also and has visited your hearts with the gracious light of His truth, and has so highly blessed you that you receive it as a true Word of God, which indeed it is. The most of us here will neither listen to it nor endure it, but the richer and the greater the grace God offers us here the more madly do the princes, the bishops and all the big scales of Behemoth strive against it, slander it, condemn it and persecute it. They have gone so far as to put many people in prison, and recently they have burned two,² in order that in our days new martyrs might be sent to heaven with Christ. Therefore I joyfully call you blessed, because, at the end of the world, like the heathen in Acts xiv, you receive with all gladness the saving Word, which our Jews in this Jerusalem, nay, this Babylon, not only despise, but will not permit others to hear. "The wrath of God," says St. Paul,³ "is come upon them to the uttermost"; but you are ruled by grace.

Therefore, my beloved, be thankful for God's grace and know the time of your visitation, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. And, first of all, be careful not to become Galatians, who made such a glorious beginning and became

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 570.² The martyrs of Brussels. *Supra*, no. 596.³ I Thessalonians ii, 16.

such fine and pure and good Christians, but were soon led away by deceivers on the erring path of works and were perverted. Beyond all doubt wolves will come among you, too, especially if the good shepherds whom God has now sent you, go away, and they will speak ill of the right way and lead you back again into Egypt, and you will become false worshipers, who serve the devil instead of God. This is the very thing from which Christ, by His heavenly light, has freed you, and is freeing you every day, so that you may come to the knowledge of Him and be sure that He alone is our Lord, priest, teacher, bishop, father, saviour, helper, comforter and reliance in all sins, in death, in necessity, and in every need, temporal or eternal.

For you have heard and learned that if anyone believes that Jesus Christ, by His blood, without our merit, according to God the Father's will and mercy, has become our Saviour and Bishop of our souls, then this faith, without any works, assuredly makes Christ our own and gives as we believe; for the blood of Christ is certainly not mine nor yours in order that we may fast and say mass, but in order that we may believe, as Paul says,¹ "We conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law." This faith gives us a joyful heart, at peace with God, and must make us love Him, because it sees that it is God's will and His kindness to us which causes Christ thus to deal with us. That means that we come to the Father and are drawn to the Father through Christ, and have peace with God, and unconcernedly and gladly await death and all misfortune. Where this faith is not, there is blindness, there are no Christians, nor even a spark of God's works or of His favor.

From this you have gone on and learned that all the doctrines that have been proposed to us hitherto in order to make us righteous and save us by works, by the laying aside of sin and the doing of penance (such, for example, as the appointed fasts, prayers, pilgrimages, masses, vigils, charitable endowments, monkery, nunnery, priestcraft), all such things are devils' doctrine and blasphemy, because they pretend to do for us what only the blood of Christ, through faith, can do.

¹ Romans iii, 28.

Thus they ascribe to man's doctrines and works that which belongs only to the Word and works of God. But the light of faith shows clearly that all this is nothing but thick and terrible darkness, is without God's grace in Christ, and lets go the merits Christ has with God. This is the way to heaven and the chief thing in a Christian life.

Afterwards you heard that such a man owes nothing except love to his neighbor, as St. Paul says,¹ and Christ says,² "This is my commandment, that ye love one another. For Christ's disciples can do nothing for themselves, for their own sins and their own salvation, but Christ's blood has already done everything and accomplished everything, and He has loved them, so that they cannot any more love themselves or seek or wish anything good for themselves, but what they might do and seek for themselves, they must now turn to their neighbor's good and do for others the good works they cannot do for themselves; just as Christ has done, Who did not give and pour out His blood for Himself, but for us. This is the sign, too, by which true Christians are known, as Christ says,³ "By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." This is the second thing in a Christian life.

These things teach and do, my beloved, and let no other wind of doctrine move you, whether it blow from Rome or from Jerusalem. Everything depends on faith in Christ and love to one's neighbor. Indulgences, the worship of saints, and all other works that are applied to ourselves and the good of our souls, these avoid as deadly poison. But if you hold to this pure doctrine and abide in it, you will not escape the Cross and persecution, for the evil spirit cannot endure it that his holiness, which he has established by works and through the clergy throughout the world, should thus be put to shame and brought to nought. But be steadfast, and remember that you have no right to fare better than your Lord and Bishop, Christ, Who also suffered because of this doctrine, for He rebuked the work-righteousness of the Pharisees. Such a Cross is necessary and profitable for you, for it brings you a firm and assured hope, so that you hate this life and wait

¹ Romans xiii, 8.

² John xv, 12.

³ John xiii, 35.

cheerfully for the life to come. Thus you will be perfect in the three things,—faith, love and hope.

Of what is to be said about the sacraments and external things—eating and drinking, dress and demeanor—your preachers will tell you enough. If these three things are right, then Christian freedom in all such external things is also right. May our Lord Jesus Christ make you perfect, strengthen and stablish you for His eternal kingdom with all the fullness of His wisdom and knowledge. To Him be praise and thanks forever. Amen.

I hope you will accept this exhortation from me, dear brethren, for although you know these things already and do not need to hear them from me, I am yet in duty bound to care for you and serve you even in unnecessary things. I commend you to your preachers, and pray, also, for us. God's grace be with you. Amen.

599. LUTHER TO STAUPITZ.

Enders, iv, 230.

WITTENBERG, September 17, 1523.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord, Reverend Father in Christ. Your silence is unjust,¹ and you yourself can easily see what I must infer from it. But even if I have lost your favor and goodwill, it would not be right for me to forget you and be ungrateful to you, for it was through you that the light of the Gospel first began to shine out the darkness in my heart. Nevertheless I must confess it true that I should have been better pleased if you had not become abbot; but now that you have, let us be considerate of one another and each allow the other to hold his own opinion.² I, and the rest of your best friends, have not taken it so ill that you have turned away from us, as rather that you have put yourself into the hands of that infamous monster, your Cardinal.³ The world can hardly endure the things he chooses and permits himself to do in his raging; but you are compelled to bear

¹ Staupitz had not answered Luther's last letter. *Supra* no. 551.

² *In suo sensu abundare* (Romans xiv, 5).

³ Matthew Lang, Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg. *Vide* Vol. I, p. 113 and P. Datterer: *Des Card. und Erzb. von Salsburg, M. Lang Verhalten zur Reformation*, 1519-25. Erlangen Dissertation, Freising, 1890; and: Hauthaler: *Card. Mt. Lang und die religiös-soziale Bewegung seiner Zeit*, 1517-40. Salzburg, 1896.

them and keep silence. It will be a wonder if you do not fall into danger of denying Christ. Therefore it is our earnest hope and prayer that you may be given back to us and be released from the prison of that tyrant; we hope that you are of the same mind. There is no way in which I, who have known you before, can reconcile these two contradictory things, namely, that you are the same man that you were, if you have made up your mind to stay there; or if you are the same man, you do not try to leave. But we will think the best of you and hope the best for you, and hold to the latter alternative with good hope, though it is somewhat dashed by your long silence.

For this reason, then, I have ventured to send you this letter in behalf of Brother Achatius,¹ once a prisoner in your monastery, but now, as I hope, Christ's freedman. If you are still what you were, I venture not only to ask pardon for him, because he fled without permission (this I hope you will give him freely), but to beseech you in his behalf that out of the great wealth of the monastery you will give him some means of entering a better way of life, for the man is poor and in want. He asked me to do this, and though I was doubtful and uncertain about it, I took hope and was inclined to do it, because I still presume the best of you. But if you have become another man toward us, which may Christ forbid! (I speak freely to you), I will not waste many words but only invoke God's mercy on you and on us all.

You see, then, Reverend Father, how doubtfully I write, because by your silence you have left us so long uncertain about your state of mind, though you can be quite certain about what we think and feel, and I am sure that you do not really despise us, though we may displease you every way. I shall not cease to hope and pray that you may be as much against your Cardinal and the papacy as I am; nay, as you yourself once were. May the Lord hear my prayer, and take you and us to Himself. Amen.

Your son,

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Not identified. Cf. Enders, iv, 232, n. 5; Kolde, *Augustinercongregation*, 349, n. 1.

600. LUTHER TO CONRAD PELLICAN.

Enders, iv, 233.

WITTENBERG, October 1, 1523.

This letter was promptly published in a work entitled *Indicium Erasmi Alberi de Spongia Erasmi Roterodami*. The reason Luther selected Pellican as the recipient of this missive is that Pellican had written an introduction to Caspar Schatzgeyer's *Scrutinium divinae scripturae pro conciliatione dissentium dogmatum*. This irenic attempt to show that Lutherans and Catholics might well agree, was in reality written in large part by Erasmus. (K. Zickendraht in ZKG., xxix, 22, 1908). Luther judged it a foolish attempt to reconcile God and Belial, the Bible and the schoolmen. Enders, iv, 103ff.

The name of the person addressed had been removed and the letter "N" substituted. Aurifaber mistook this to mean "Nicholas" and made Nicholas Hausmann the recipient. He was followed by later editors, but *vide* Enders, iv, 236, n. 1.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Do you rather pray for me, my dear Conrad,¹ for you have been granted more leisure than I and surpass me in piety. I hope and pray to the Lord Jesus that He may grant you the gift of tongues, which you seek, to the praise of his Grace.

Your request that I should not be irritated by Erasmus was granted before you made it. I wish that Hutten had not expostulated, and still more that Erasmus had not wiped his expostulation out.² If that is wiping out with a sponge, what, pray, is malediction and abuse? Erasmus hopes in vain to abuse all men of parts with his rhetoric, as though there were no one, or, rather, as though there were but few, who perceived what Erasmus is after. If Erasmus writes thus in his own defence, it would be a good thing if he would write against himself. For in this book he makes incredible boasts about his reputation and authority, and I really pity the man because he never gets to his subject, and raves so, this second time, against the vices of his friends, though he was so gentle with his enemy Lee;³ moreover he himself elsewhere dis-

¹ Text, "N."

² Angered at the treatment he had received from Erasmus in Basle, Hutten had published (June, 1523) an attack upon him, under the title, *An Expostulation with Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Böcking ii, 265ff). Erasmus had replied (August, 1523) with *A Sponge Against the Aspersions of Hutten* (Böcking ii, 325), a bitter invective against Hutten. Cf. Emerton, *Erasmus*, 355ff. In the *Sponge*, Erasmus also attacked Luther. Melancthon expressed a harsh judgment of Hutten in a letter to Oecolampadius of September 23. *Zwingliana*, 1911, p. 450.

³ Edward Lee (? 1482-1544), made Archbishop of York 1531, who had criticised

suades everybody from heaping maledictions upon their enemies, and utterly deprecates the practice. I have always expected that he would come to this, for it is an easy thing to become rhetorical against people's way of living. The private letter I wrote about Erasmus¹ has been published, and afterwards another that I had written to Fabricius.² I am very sorry for it, for although I would not be ashamed of a single word of them, if I had to defend it publicly, nevertheless I am disgusted that what is written privately to one's friends is made public by those importunate tale-bearers, for I do not know what else to call them.

Moreover, what Erasmus writes does not hurt me if it is against me, and I shall not put any trust in it if it is on my side. I have One Who will defend my cause, even though the whole world goes mad against me. This is what Erasmus calls my stubborn assurance. But I see that the man is so far from any knowledge of things Christian (farther even than I thought, though I suspected it now and then) that I will easily endure whatever names he chooses to call me so long as he lets my cause alone. For I have determined not to defend my life or morals, but only my cause, as heretofore; if anyone wishes to assail my life and morals, let him do so. Indeed, it is to these men who so atrociously malign and slander me that I owe my life in the body and a good part of my confident spirit; so far am I from wishing to be upheld by the glory and the reputation of Erasmus. I am downcast and fearful when I am praised, but rejoice when I am maligned and slandered. If Erasmus wonders at this I am not surprised. Let him learn Christ and bid farewell to human wisdom. May the Lord illuminate him and make Erasmus a different man, and preserve and bless us all; this I wish from my heart so far as I can wish for anything. Farewell, my dear Conrad,³ and greet Erasmus for me, if he will let you.⁴ I have no hard feeling for him, but only true

the New Testament of Erasmus, thus precipitating a war of pens. Allen, iii, 203, with references.

¹ To Caspar Borner or Cubito, *supra* no. 549.

² *I.e.*, Capito; January 17, 1522 (Enders, iii, 278).

³ Text, "N."

⁴ Erasmus refers to this letter in an epistle of November 21, 1523, to John

pity; if he will none of that, and if, perhaps, he hopes for something more in accordance with his own ideas, then I shall be quite willing to lose even this wish [*i.e.*, to keep friends with him].

601. HARRY LORD MORLEY TO HENRY VIII.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 390. COLOGNE, October 4, 1523.

Henry Parker, Lord Morley (1476-1556), a professional diplomatist, at this time an envoy to Ferdinand of Austria. DNB.

As to what Morley wrote to the King, that by his letters to the German princes there was some hope of the return of the Germans from Luther, he is now compelled again to forsake that hope, "assuring your Grace that, as we can hear, all the country is like to fall from the right way, for daily nearer and nearer to Flandersward this flame of heresy increaseth, and, without God's help and the assistance of your Grace and other like princes, is like to subvert all aunsient faith. Luther's books goeth abroad in every place, and his followers also mock and scorn the Pope, his cardinals, . . . also abominable pictures, among other one I send to your Highness, which I think your Highness will laugh at, for Dr. Morener [Murnar], your friar and our guide, is one of the sort, your Grace may well see in the picture, which picture I had great business to get here in Coleyn; howbeit in Frankforde and High Almayne as well these as other worse than this may be had in great plenty. This hitherto part I have heard and part seen."

602. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 243.

WITTENBERG, October 12, 1523.

Grace and peace. The Provost Jonas¹ has asked me to see if you can get some game for Monday, for the pastor of Nordhausen,² and one other³ with him, will put on the trap-

Faber, and calls it "the prelude to war," Horawitz: *Erasmiana*, ii, no. 5, p. 601. Soon after this he began his *Diatrobe on the Free Will*.

¹ Jonas was at the time Dean of the Theological Faculty.

² James Oethe, matriculated 1508 at Erfurt, at Wittenberg 1523, later (1545) pastor at Frankenhausen.

³ Caspar Glatz, matriculated at Wittenberg 1523, became rector of the university

pings of Doctor of Theology. Do as you like, for it matters little to me whether game is eaten at these festivities or not, but they want to do honor to the guests from Nordhausen who will be there. The only thing in these shows that pleases me is that they know themselves that there is nothing in them and only decorate themselves this way for the ministry of the Word because of the effect it has on the people. Farewell in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER.

603. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 244.

(WITTENBERG), October 12, 1523.

Grace and peace. I remember perfectly what I wrote the Elector from Borna,¹ my dear Spalatin, and would that he could believe it, for you have been given clear evidences of the hand of God, by which, contrary to everybody's expectations, I am still living after almost two years have passed, and the Elector is not only safe but feels the rage of the other princes far less than he did a year ago. It is not hard for Christ to keep the Elector in safety so far as my cause is concerned, for he was brought into it without any reason and solely by the providence of God. If I knew any way by which I could get him out of the matter without injury to the Gospel, I would not spare my own life to do it. I had expected that within a year I should receive the death-penalty. This was the way by which I expected that he would be let out of it, if, indeed, he would be let out by my death. But we are not able to discover and to understand His providence, and, meanwhile, we shall be safe if we say, "Thy will be done." I have no doubt that the Elector will go unharmed so long as he does not publicly espouse or approve my cause; but why he should be compelled to bear my reproach, God knows; unless it is because there is no loss or peril in it for him, but rather great gain for his own salvation, and that is certain.

I do not care whether our priests of Baal² keep up their

1524; pastor at Orlamünde, a suitor of Catharine von Bora, who rejected him. He turned out rather badly.

¹ *Supra* no. 529.

² The clergy of the Castle Church. Luther had written them on July 12, warning them to stop saying masses for souls and had attacked them from the pulpit.

masses and sacrilegious ceremonies or not (since that is their pleasure), though I should prefer to see them abolished; nevertheless it is my duty to admonish them and denounce them and to turn the people away from them that they may not become partakers in these men's sins, since we are certain that the wrath of God is hanging over them, lest, because of my silence, I, too, may have to share in their punishment. I wish, too, that the Elector had been a little more just in this matter, and had kept his own counsel a little while longer.¹ His plan does not please me. It smacks of a certain unbelief, nay, a certain weakness of soul, such as we find in princes' courts, by which temporal interests are preferred to spiritual. But I leave these things in the hands of God. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

604. LUTHER TO MICHAEL VON DER STRASSEN AT BORNA

DeWette, ii, 422. German.

WITTENBERG, October 16, 1523.

Michael von der Strassen was born at Dresden of a Swiss family. He matriculated at Wittenberg 1503. In 1511 he was a public escort at Borna, where he worked until his death in June, 1531. He was said to have great business ability. He married Margaret Kummer, and three of his sons studied at Wittenberg. Luther was his guest on his return from the Wartburg, March 5, 1522. ARG. viii, 36f.

Grace and peace in Christ. Many of these articles² are good, especially those that speak of compulsory confession and the saying of mass for money. You have had my opinion in the tracts on Confession and the Mass,³ viz., con-

They wrote to the Elector to complain of this on August 3. ARG, xii (1915), pp. 21ff. The Elector replied, August 6, saying he had asked Luther to let the matter rest four weeks till his return. Matthew Beskau wrote the Elector August 23, begging him to command Luther and Jonas to keep still about the disputed point until a council should decide it. On September 4 the Elector wrote the Chapter ordering them to change nothing. A further complaint, September 23, led the Elector to ask them, September 25, to come to Torgau at once to confer about the matter. The general trend of these negotiations, terminating October 13, was to leave things as they were.

¹ Jonas had proposed a plan (August 24; Kawerau, nos. 81, 82) for reforming the worship of the Castle Church, but the Elector had refused to entertain it. His refusal is the "plan" to which Luther refers (C. R. i, 640).

² The "articles" are the teachings of Wolfgang Crucius, pastor in Oelsnitz. They had caused a disturbance there and had been sent to Luther for his opinion by Michael von der Strassen.

³ *Von der Beicht* (Weimar, viii, 129ff), and *Vom Missbrauch der Messe* (*ibid*, 477ff).

fession is a good thing if it is made of one's own free will and not under compulsion, and the mass is not a sacrifice and a good work, but only a testament and a benefit we receive from God. But this preacher is at fault because he is too ambitious at the start, and throws away his old shoes before he has any new ones, and wants to put new wine in old bottles; this is not good. He ought to begin soberly, by teaching the people about faith and love; a year from now would be time enough for these other doctrines, if the people were first brought to know Christ. Why is it that they go at the ignorant people so suddenly? I preached at Wittenberg about three years before I took the matter to the people, and these men want to do the whole thing in an hour. They do us damage enough, these ambitious fellows. Therefore I hope you will tell the collector of Oelsnitz to order this preacher to begin in a sober manner and first preach Christ, or else stop his fanatical doings and betake himself thence; but especially not to forbid and attack confession and absolution, and not to mix up his office of pastor with monkery and canonry. I see that he is a stupid fellow who has seen smoke but does not know where the fire is, and has heard the bells, but does not know where they are ringing. God have you in His keeping.

I shall not refuse your present, when it comes, and thank you kindly for it. Greet your wife for me. The grace of God be with you. Amen. I think this letter will do for the collector of Oelsnitz, too, for I am overwhelmed with writing. I will gladly be at his son's disposal, if he needs me, and I can.

MARTIN LUTHER.

605. LORD MORLEY TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iii, no. 3546. English.

NUREMBERG, November 19, 1523.

. . . And as touching to Martin Luther, we understand that little mention of him, nor of his fautours, shall be spoken of, forasmoche as by the long sufferance of the princes that heresy is so rooted that, without peril to themselves, it is not to be commoned of; which is great pity, forasmuch as that the good religious people be had in derision in all the country,

so that these that be the fathers affirm that after the death of them that now be in the religious houses, they shall stand desolate for any that intend to enter to them any more.

606. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, iv, 261.

WITTENBERG, December 4, 1523.

Grace and peace, dear brother Nicholas. I am sending you the Form of the Mass¹ which I have been able to get up. It is a short and easy book, but I am sending you along with it a burden and a vexation for your Christian charity, i.e., these exiles and brethren in the Lord who are fugitives from the Pope's Babylon, whom I hope you will be able to help by your intercession to get some work by which to support themselves.

It is rumored here that Lee, the King of England's representative at Nuremberg, will make trouble for me. Christ will see what will happen; I am awaiting the wrath of Satan here. The second part of the Old Testament is now finished and will be published at Christmas. I am devoting myself now to the third part, which is the hardest and the longest. Farewell and pray for me, man of God, and greet all our friends.

MARTIN LUTHER.

607. MARIA DA POZO TO FRANCIS SPINELLI.

Brown, 1520-1526, no. 796.

ROME, January 9, 1524.

Yesterday in Consistory Cardinal Campeggio was appointed legate in Germany to go to the Diet at Nuremberg and provide for the affairs of Martin Luther, who is making great progress, according to the statement of the Duke of Sessa's brother, lately returned from those parts. Unless steps be taken, the danger is very great, and with difficulty can provision be made, by reason of the great favor he (Luther) enjoys there. It is said the Pope will make him cardinal to quiet him, provided he choose to accept the grade. These

¹ The *Formula Missae* (Weimar, xii, 205ff), Luther's first attempt at an evangelical liturgy. It was almost immediately translated into German by Paul Speratus, and forms the basis of all subsequent Lutheran Communion Offices. Luther sent it to Hausmann because it was chiefly on his insistence that it had been prepared. Cf. Weimar, xii, 197ff., Koestlin-Kawerau i, 531ff.

Lutheran affairs harass the Pope. Believes this will be the deluge of the Church, but trusts God will not permit such ruin of it and of the great prelates. Those in authority at Rome do not fail to take every precaution.

608. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT NUREMBERG.

Enders iv, 273.

(WITTENBERG, before January 14, 1524).

Luther's work as a hymn-writer began in 1523. In 1524 he published the first evangelical hymnal (the *VIII Lieder Gesangbuch*), which contained four hymns of his own composition, three by Paul Speratus and one by a certain Erhart Hegenwalt. This letter to Spalatin was written while he was gathering material for the book. Cf. Smith, p. 230, Koestlin-Kawerau⁵ i, 536ff.

Grace and peace. There is a plan afoot to follow the example of the prophets and the fathers of the early Church and compose for the common people German psalms, that is spiritual songs, so that the Word of God may remain among the people in the form of song also. We are seeking everywhere for poets, and since you are gifted with such knowledge of the German language and command so elegant a style, cultivated by much use, I beg that you will work with us in this matter and try to translate some one of the psalms into a hymn, like the sample of my own which you have here.¹ But I wish that you would leave out all new words and words that are only used at court. In order to be understood by the people, only the simplest and commonest words should be sung, but they should also be pure and apt and should give a clear sense, as near as possible to that of the Psalter. The translation, therefore, must be free, keeping the sense, but letting the words go and rendering them by other appropriate words. I lack the gift to do what I wish to see done, and so I shall try you and see if you are a Heman² or an Asaph³ or a Jeduthun.⁴ I would make the same request of John von Dolzig,⁵ whose German is also rich and elegant, but only in

¹ Several of Luther's hymns had been printed before this time. Which one he may have enclosed with this letter cannot be known.

² Heman the Ezrahite, *vide* Psalm lxxxviii.

³ *Vide* Psalms lxxiiiiff.

⁴ *Vide* Psalms xxxix, lxii, lxxvii, and I Chronicles xvi, 41.

⁵ The Court Marshal of the Elector of Saxony, then at Nuremberg with Spalatin. *Vide* Vol. I, p. 26.

case you both have leisure, which I suspect is not the case just now.

You have my Seven Penitential Psalms and the commentaries on them,¹ from which you can get the sense of the psalm, or, if you prefer that a psalm should be assigned you, I will give you the first,² *Domine ne in furore*; or the seventh,³ *Domine, exaudi orationem*; to Dolzig I will give the second, *Beati quorum*,⁴ for I have already translated the *De profundis*⁵ and the *Misere mei*⁶ has been assigned.⁷ If these are too difficult take the two, *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore* and *Exultate justi in Domino*, that is Psalms 33 and 34, or Psalm 103, *Benedic anima mea Dominum*. But tell me what we may hope to have from you. Farewell in the Lord.

609. LUTHER TO SPALATIN IN NUREMBERG

Enders, iv, 277.

WITTENBERG, January 14, 1524.

Grace and peace. I have no news to write you, my dear Spalatin, except that I am awaiting your German poems, of which I wrote you recently.⁸ Carlstadt keeps on, as is his wont. A book of his has been published by a new printer in Jena,⁹ and he will publish eighteen more books, so it is said. Eck is not worth answering.¹⁰ This is not only my opinion, but everybody thinks so. They believe that the sophist was among the Lapithae¹¹ and drunk when he spued out this vomit. He is the right defender for the King of England, Defender of the Church,¹² and Emser,¹³ in turn, would be the

¹ Luther's earliest published work in German, published in 1517 (Weimar, i, 154ff). In 1525 he issued a revised and amplified edition (Weimar xviii, 467ff).

² *I.e.*, the first of the Penitential Psalms (Psalm vi).

³ Psalm cxliii.

⁴ Psalm xxxii.

⁵ Psalm cxxx. Luther's versification is one of the best known of his hymns, *Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu Dir*.

⁶ Psalm li.

⁷ To Ehrhart Hegenwalt. *Vide* Wackernagel, *Kirchenlied*, p. 163.

⁸ *Vide supra*, no. 608.

⁹ Michael Buchführer.

¹⁰ Eck had published a defence of Henry VIII against Luther. It was issued at Rome in May, 1523.

¹¹ Possibly an allusion to Cicero *In Pisonem* x, 22.

¹² Henry VIII had received from the Pope the title Defender of the Faith, after the publication of his book against Luther.

¹³ Emser (*Vide* Vol. I, 149, n.) had translated Henry VIII's book *On the Seven Sacraments* into German.

right defender for Eck. Let them defend each other, therefore. I am sending you a poem of Justus Jonas.¹

Ferdinand's legate (or something else) has been here to see what kind of a man I am and what I am doing. He said it was reported at his master's court that I went about armed and with an escort, and spent my time in the taverns with harlots and dice, and that I was adorned with all sorts of other honors at that court. But I have got used to lies. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

610. LUTHER TO LAMBERT THORN.

Enders, iv, 280.

WITTENBERG, January 19, 1524.

Lambert Thorn (or von Thorn) was probably the third of the trio of Augustinians who were arrested at Antwerp and tried for heresy. The other two, Henry Voes and John Esch, were burned at Brussels (*vide supra*, no. 596; Thorn was imprisoned, and it was reported at first that he, too, had suffered martyrdom (*cf.* Erasmus to Zwingli, *supra*, p. 196, n. 2). The text of this letter has rather an interesting history. It was written in Latin, and translated into German, after which the Latin original was lost, but it was retranslated into Latin as early as 1525.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Christ has given me abundant testimony of you, dear brother Lambert, that you do not need my words, for He Himself suffers in you and is glorified in you. He is taken captive in you and reigns in you, He is oppressed in you and triumphs in you, for He has given you that holy knowledge of Himself which is hidden from the world. Not only this, but He strengthens you inwardly with His Spirit in these outward tribulations and consoles you with the double example of Henry and John.² Thus both they and you are to me a great consolation and strength, to the whole world a sweet-smelling savor, and to the Gospel of Christ a special glory. There is little need, then, to burden you with my consolations. Who knows why the Lord was not willing to have you die with the other two? He will preserve you for another miracle.

Therefore I rejoice with you and congratulate you with my whole heart, giving thanks to our faithful Saviour, the

¹ Probably *Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält*, a versification of Psalm cxxiv.

² Voes and Esch.

Lord Jesus Christ, Who has given me not only to know His Word and His Spirit, but also to see in you the rich and splendid increase of His grace. Alas! though I am held up as the first to teach these things, I am the last to share your chains and fires, and perhaps I shall never be found worthy to share them. Nevertheless I shall avenge myself for my unworthiness and console myself with the thought that your chains and prisons and fires are all my own, as, indeed, they are so long as I confess and preach these doctrines and sympathize with you and rejoice with you. But may the Lord Jesus, Who hath begun His glory in you, perfect it unto His own day.¹ And so, my brother, do you pray for me as I for you, mindful that you are not suffering alone, but that He is with you Who says,² "I am with him in tribulation; because he has hoped in Me, I will deliver him; I will protect him, because he hath known My name." But we, too, are with you, as the Lord is, and neither He nor we will desert you. Be a man, let your heart be strong, wait for the Lord.³ He has said,⁴ "In the world you shall have tribulation, but in Me peace; be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." Do not argue with Satan, but fix your eyes upon the Lord, relying in simple faith upon Jesus Christ, and know that by His blood we shall be saved. Our works and the laws of men cannot be the blood of Christ, and, therefore, they can neither take away our sins nor justify us, neither can they condemn us or accuse us.

Here in the duchy of our Elector there is peace, but the Duke of Bavaria and the Bishop of Treves are killing and driving out and persecuting many. Other bishops and princes are abstaining, indeed, from blood, but not from violence and threats, and everywhere Christ has become again "a reproach of men and despised of the people."⁵ You have become a member of Him by the holy calling of our Father. May He perfect His calling in you, to the glory of His name and of His Word. Amen.

Farewell in Christ, my brother. All our friends and our

⁴ John xvi, 33

⁵ Psalm xxii, 7.

whole Church sends you greeting, especially James Propst and the brethren from Antwerp, and they commend themselves to your prayers.

MARTIN LUTHER.

611. LUTHER TO ALBERT OF MAYENCE.

De Wette, ii, 484. German.

WITTENBERG, February 14, 1524.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord, Reverend Father in God, high-born Prince, gracious Lord. Although I hear that it is forbidden by your Grace's officials to write either to your Grace or to the people of Miltenberg about the things that have transpired there,¹ nevertheless I am doing it. I am heartily sorry to do it, and should abstain, if I could do so with a clear conscience. But my conscience will suffer no prohibition, even though it were enforced with the power of all the angels. I am also heartily sorry that now for the third time the seed is sprouting in your Grace's realm. To be sure, some must suffer violence, even though it were at the hands of holy men, not to mention the kind of people who are doing this behind your Grace's back, or stirring up your Grace to do it. They are not so pure that they could cast a stone at the adulterous woman.² Everybody knows that, and the whole land is witness that the people of Miltenberg are not persecuted because of any uprising on their part, but only because of the Gospel and the preaching of it. That such people should do such things under your Grace's rule really hurts me. I have no wish to displease your Grace, and so I will leave this subject, though I would gladly intercede for these poor innocent people, if that might be.

But there is one thing I cannot refrain from. Since these poor people are forbidden to receive letters, I must publish an open letter of consolation, so that my Christ may not say to me at the Last Day, "I was in prison and you visited Me not." In this letter I will spare your Grace all I can, for I am still convinced that your Grace is not of one mind with some of the wolves and lions at your Grace's court. Therefore I am sending your Grace this letter so as to admonish your Grace beforehand, as the Gospel bids us do, on the chance that your Grace may not know what is going on. Then, too,

¹ *Vide* no. 612.

² John viii, 1ff.

if I were not to hit everybody equally and paint things in the brightest colors, your Grace would know that his quarrel was not with me, but with the wolves and lions who do their own sweet will under your Grace's name. I commend your Grace to God's grace, and beg that your Grace will put a gracious interpretation on the letter I must write.

MARTIN LUTHER.

612. LUTHER TO THE CHRISTIANS OF MILTENBERG.

Weimar, xv, 69. German.

WITTENBERG, (about February 14), 1524.

The effort of John Drach (*vide* Vol. I, 343, n. 1) to introduce changes in the worship of the church at Miltenberg on the Main led to a bitter conflict between him and the clergy of the city. The town was in the territories of the Archbishop of Mayence, and Drach's opponents appealed to the archiepiscopal authorities, who excommunicated him. The excommunication caused deep indignation among the people of the city, but when it became evident that the decree of excommunication would be enforced, they persuaded Drach to leave them. October 22, 1523, the archbishop's official appeared in Miltenberg, caused the arrest of numbers of the more prominent citizens, and forced the restoration of Roman forms of worship. It is said that some of the citizens were put to death (Kawerau, in *Realencycl.* v, 13). It was this persecution which caused Luther to publish the following letter, after first writing to the Archbishop and announcing his intention to do so (*cf. supra*, no. 611). *Vide Beiträge zur bayer. KG.*, ix, 193ff., and Weimar, xv, 54ff.

Grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. The holy Apostle St. Paul, when he wished to comfort his Corinthians, began as follows,¹ "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort, Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them that are in tribulation with the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God." In these words he teaches us by his own example that we are to comfort those that are in trouble, but in such wise that the comfort be not of men, but of God. He purposely adds this in order that we may avoid the false and shameful comfort which the world, the flesh and the devil also seek and give, by which all the profit and benefit of suffering and the Cross is hindered and destroyed. But what that

¹ II Corinthians i, 3ff.

comfort is which comes from God he shows in Romans xv,¹ "What has been written was written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." He says "have hope," but hope is for that which we neither see nor feel.² This world's comfort tries to see and feel what the afflicted desire to have, and will none of patience; but here we are told that patience is to abide and that the comfort of the Scriptures is in hope. This is, in fact, what St. Paul does to the Corinthians. For when he has told them of God's comfort, he comes at last to praising them, telling them how they are a letter of Christ, ministered by his office of preaching, and written by the living Spirit.³ Then he begins a psalm of praise to the Gospel, so that when a carnal man reads it he may well think, "Is the man drunk? He wishes to comfort the Corinthians, but only praises himself and his office of preacher, and boasts of the Gospel." But he who regards it rightly perceives that good St. Paul draws God's true and rich comfort out of the Scriptures, and strengthens them and makes them glad by the Gospel.

Accordingly I, too, have undertaken to comfort your hearts in your tribulation with the comfort that I have from God. For I have had full information, from your exiled pastor, Dr. John Carlstadt,⁴ and from others, of how the enemies of the Gospel and murderers of souls have treated you because of God's Word, which, with their outrageous blasphemy, they call Lutheran doctrine, so that they may have the appearance of doing God's service and persecuting man's doctrine. So the Jews did to the Apostles, as Christ prophesied.

It would be a worldly consolation and altogether profitless, nay, hurtful, to your souls, if I were to console you, or we were to console ourselves, with the thought that by rebukes and complaints we would take revenge for the outrages and the wickedness of these blasphemers. Even though we were to kill them all or drive them all out by force, or if we were to rejoice in the punishment that someone else would mete out to them because of our sufferings, that would do no good. For that is a worldly consolation and a worldly joy, and is un-

¹ Romans xv, 4.

³ II Corinthians iii, 5ff.

² Romans viii, 24.

⁴ John Drach was a native of Carlstadt.

worthy of us. It is rather worthy of our enemies, for you see that they have cooled their rage on you and taken their revenge, and are glad for it, and have consoled themselves splendidly. But what sort of consolation is it? Is there any hope in it? Is there any patience in it? Is there any Scripture in it? In place of God they have put violence; in place of patience they have shown vengefulness; in place of hope they plainly give vent to their own will, and they feel that they have got what they wanted. Whence comes such consolation as this? It is not of God, and, therefore, it must certainly be of the devil, and that is the truth. But what is the end of the devil's consolation? Paul tells us, *Quorum gloria in confusionem*,¹ "Their glory will have a shameful end."

Now see what a rich, proud comfort grows up for you out of this tribulation. Be certain, in the first place, that these outrages and ignominies are for the sake of God's Word. What does it matter that they call it heresy? You are sure that it is God's Word, and they cannot be sure that it is heresy, for they will not listen to it. They have not proved, nor can they prove that it is heresy. And yet, on this uncertain ground, they go on to blaspheme and persecute that which they do not know, as St. Peter says;² therefore they cannot have a clear conscience in the matter; but you have the sure and certain knowledge that you suffer for God's sake. Now who can ever tell what a proud and blessed consolation it is when one is certain that he is suffering for God's sake? For who is it that suffers? Whose concern is it? Who will avenge it, if we suffer for God's sake? Well says St. Peter, "Blessed are ye, if ye suffer for righteousness' sake." If a man were emperor of all the world, he ought not only willingly to give up his empire to gain that suffering, but even count himself as dung in comparison with such a treasury of consolation.

Therefore, dear friends, you have no reason to desire revenge or to wish evil to your enemies, but you ought rather to pity them from your hearts. For your revenge upon them—save for that which will come to them at the end—is

¹ I Philippians iii, 19.

² I Peter iii, 14 (?).

already too great; too much evil has come to them already; they have acted only for your advantage, because through their raving God's consolation comes to you; they have done themselves an injury from which they will hardly, and many of them will never, recover. For what matters it that they have injured you for a time in body and goods? That must have an end. And what matters it that they rejoice for a little while in their tyranny? It will not last long. Look rather at your salvation and their misery. You have a good and quiet conscience and a righteous cause; they have a bad and uncertain conscience and a blind cause, of which they themselves do not know how unrighteous it is. You have the consolation of God, out of the Scriptures, in hope; they have the devil's consolation, by revenge, in visible tyranny. If a wish were granted you and you were allowed to choose between their lot and your own, ought you not to flee from theirs as from the devil himself, even though it were a kingdom of heaven that they had, and hasten to choose your own lot, even though it were a hell? For heaven cannot be glad if the devil reigns there and hell cannot be sad if God reigns there.

Therefore, dear friends, if you would comfort yourselves and revenge yourselves proudly and completely (not only on your persecutors according to the flesh, but rather on the devil, who rides them) treat him thus: Be glad and thank God that you have been counted worthy to hear and learn His Word and suffer for it, and be satisfied with the certainty that your cause is God's Word and your consolation is from God; and lament over your enemies because they have not a good conscience in their own cause, and have only the sad and wretched devil's-consolation that comes from their outrages, their impatience, their vengefulness and their temporary tyranny. Believe for certain that with such gladness of spirit, praise and thanksgiving you will hurt their god, the devil, more than if you killed a thousand of your enemies. For he did not bring this to pass in order to comfort them and do you bodily harm, but what he wished to do was to make you sad and sorrowful, as people for whom God has no use. Be all the more glad, therefore, and mock him, so that his attempt may fail and he be angry.

I will show you another way to tickle him. It is the thing he fears the most. He knows very well that there is a little verse in the Psalter which says, *Ex ore infantium et lactantium fundasti virtutem, ut aboleas inimicum et ultorem*, "Thou hast laid a strong foundation by the mouths of babes and sucklings, that Thou mayest make an end of the enemy and the avenger."¹ This verse threatens him not only with sorrow and misery, but with destruction; and that not by great power, which would be an honor, but by weak sucklings, who have no strength. It bites and hurts this proud and mighty spirit that his great power, his fearful raging, his wild revenge shall be cast down without the use of force, by the weakness of children, and he not be able to prevent it. Let us help this good work in earnest. We are the babes and sucklings, if we are weak and allow our enemies to be strong and mighty over us, and do and say what they will for their cause; but we must keep silent about our cause and suffer as though we could neither do nor say anything, while they act like mighty heroes and giants. But meanwhile by our mouths God speaks His Word, which praises His grace. That is a rock and a sure foundation against which the gates of hell can do nothing. Where it remains, it happens at last that some of our enemies are converted. They are the devil's scales, and when these scales are stripped off him by the Word of God, he is naked and becomes weak. Thus it comes to pass, as this verse says, that it makes an end of the enemy and the avenger. That is a joyful victory and conquest, won without sword and fist; therefore it pains the devil. For it only pleases him if by his servants he can move us to wrath, vengefulness, impatience and sadness; but if the result is joy and praise of God and glory for His word, that is the devil's true hell.

"But," someone will say, "it is forbidden to mention the Word of God on pain of death and confiscation." Well and good! If a man is strong, let him not keep this commandment, for they have no right to make such a prohibition. God's Word ought not, and must not, and will not be bound. But if anyone is too timid and weak, I will give him other counsel. Let him be joyful in secret, thank God and praise His Word,

¹ Psalm viii, 2.

as has been said above, and pray God for strength to speak of it in public also, that the enemy and the avenger may be destroyed. To this end I shall present you with the 119th Psalm¹ in German, and a brief explanation of it, that you may see how God comforts you with His Scriptures, and how you are to pray against the false blasphemers and raging persecutors.² . . .

See, now, dear sirs and friends, I have undertaken to write you this letter of condolence, though another might have done it better and with greater reason, but because my name is involved, and you are persecuted as Lutherans, I think it was right for me to take this duty upon myself. To be sure I do not like doctrines and people to be called Lutheran, and must only endure it at their hands when they slander God's Word by giving it my name, nevertheless they shall not overthrow Luther and Lutheran doctrine and Lutheran people and prevent them from coming to honor, just as they and their doctrine will be destroyed and put to shame, even though the whole world were sorry and all the devils were angry. In a word, they will not be rid of us unless they submit to us and surrender to us of their own accord, and their wrath and their raving will not help them, for we know Whose Word it is that we preach, and they shall not take it from us. This is my prophecy, and it will not fail. God have mercy on them.

May God, in His grace and mercy, keep you, dear friends; and pray to God for me, poor sinner. I commend you to your preachers, who preach Christ and not the Pope or the temple-knights of Mayence. The grace of God be with you. Amen.

613. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 299.

WITTENBERG, February 23, 1524.

All is well with us. We have so much trouble in translating Job, on account of the grandeur of his sublime style, that he seems to be much more impatient of our efforts to turn him into German than he was of the consolation of his friends. Either he always wishes to sit on his dunghill, or else he is jealous of the translator who would share with him the credit of writing his book. This keeps the third part of

¹ *I.e.*, Psalm cxx.

² There follows an exposition of the Psalm.

the Bible from being printed. Write sometimes and tell us what you and the world are doing. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

614. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, iv, 305.

WITTENBERG, March 14, 1524.

Grace and peace. Lucas¹ has brought me the package of your letters, from which I have learned all I wished to know. I have read² Carlstadt's monstrosities with grief. God withstood the Jews a long while and prevented them from killing His Son; but when they were unwilling to desist, He gave Him into their hands, not only to be killed, but to be condemned to the most shameful death, so that the iniquity of the Amorites might be full³ and His wrath against them perfected. This long time now Christ has withstood Carlstadt by us, but he does not leave off, and hastens on to bring destruction on himself. I fear that in compelling us to pray against him he will at last earn God's permission to cast himself away. May Christ prevent him with His grace. Amen. The man is consumed with an unconquerable desire for name and fame. I hope you, too, will pray for them. We shall first, in the name of the university, recall him from that place to which he has not been called, to the ministry of the Word, which he owes here at Wittenberg;⁴ then, if he does not come, we shall bring charges against him before the Elector. Perhaps I shall also write him a letter of admonition. This is a relic of the Cross and the true fortune of the Word,

¹ Cranach.

² Or "I have read of." There is some doubt about just what Luther means by "Carlstadt's monstrosities." They are either Carlstadt's latest writings (*On the Sabbath, On Confession*, etc.) or they are the radical innovations which Carlstadt is introducing into the church at Orlamünde. Barge (ii, 104) adopts the former, Enders (n. 2) the latter interpretation.

³ Genesis xv, 16.

⁴ Carlstadt was archdeacon of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, and his support was provided for by a nominal incumbency of the parish of Orlamünde, which was administered by a vicar. In the summer of 1523 he received permission to take personal charge of the parish, as vicar, however, not as pastor. The situation was complicated by the fact that the right to nominate the vicar belonged to the University of Wittenberg. Carlstadt's radical reforms and doctrinal vagaries aroused Luther's ire, and the regularity of his position was attacked. Barge, ii, 95ff; Smith, 153f. The sequel has just been brought to light by some letters published by W. Friendsburg in ARG, xi, 1914, 69-72. On May 22, 1524, Carlstadt asked the Elector whether he wished him to remain at Orlamünde, but em-

that one who has eaten Christ's bread should lift up his foot against Him;¹ but Christ lives, and is Lord even of Satan.

Those men who brag about the laws of Moses² are to be despised. We have our civil law under which we live. So, too, neither Naaman the Syrian, nor Job, nor Joseph, nor Daniel, nor any other Jews outside their own land kept their own laws, but the laws of the peoples among whom they were living. The laws of Moses were binding only upon the Jewish people in that place which he had chosen; now they are a matter of liberty. If these laws are to be kept there is no reason why we should not be circumcised too, and observe the whole ceremonial law. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

615. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 490. German.

WITTENBERG, March 23, 1524.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most serene, high-born Prince; most gracious Lord! Your Grace doubtless knows that by the favor of God there are fine youths here, hungry for the wholesome Word, coming from abroad and enduring poverty to study, so that some of them have nothing but bread to eat and water to drink. Now I have proposed to Melancthon to lecture on the Bible, as he is richly endowed by God's special grace, even better than I myself. Although I would willingly give the lectures, I cannot do it because of my work in translating the Bible. I propose that he lecture on the Scriptures instead of on Greek, which is what the whole university earnestly desires. He avoids it with this excuse only, that he is commanded and paid by your Grace to teach Greek, which he must do accordingly. Therefore I humbly beg for the good of the youth and the furtherance of the Gospel, that your

phatically refusing to return to Wittenberg. On May 26 the Elector replied that another pastor would be sent to Orlamünde, but that he hoped Carlstadt would take up his work at Wittenberg. On June 8 Carlstadt sent the Elector his resignation to both parish and archidiaconate, refusing to return to Wittenberg on the ground that it was against his conscience to participate in the Lutheran mass. Frederic accepted his resignations on June 10 and informed the university of them on June 11.

¹ John xiii, 18.

² The radical reformers (Münzer, the Zwickau Prophets, even Carlstadt) aimed, among other things, at the reintroduction of the forms of the Old Testament theocracy.

Grace may see fit to pay him his salary for lecturing on the Bible, as there are young folk here who can very well teach Greek, and it is not fitting that he should always devote himself to an elementary subject and neglect a more important one in which he would accomplish what could not be bought with money or salary. Would to God we had more such who could lecture so; there are enough, alas! who rant and use up time and their audience, as much as God permits them in His grace. The day will come again, as it did before, that we shall have to close the university for lack of men, which would be a pity. We must look about us for men while we can, and do the best for posterity, and if your Grace sees fit to do so, I pray you strictly to command Melanchthon to lecture diligently on the Bible, and give him even a larger salary to persuade him to do so. I commend your Grace to God's mercy.

Your Grace's humble subject,

MARTIN LUTHER.

616. PAUL ZIANI, A FRANCISCAN FRIAR, TO THE FRANCISCAN FRANCIS MAREM, VICAR OF THE PROVINCE OF ST. ANTONIO, PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1520-1526, no. 813.

NUREMBERG, March 29, 1524.

We [*i.e.*, the writer and the Legate Campeggio] arrived at Nuremberg on the Wednesday in Passion week. The Archduke [Ferdinand] is at a monastery five leagues distant for his devotions. The Elector of Saxony, having heard of the coming of the Legate Campeggio to oppose the Lutheran opinion, departed in great wrath; and the Duke of Bavaria, a very Catholic person, on entering Nuremberg after our arrival, and finding it so Lutheran, went away in extreme anger, praising God for his escape from heretics.

In these parts the sincere faith of Christ is utterly cancelled; no respect is paid either to the Virgin Mary or the saints. On the contrary, it is said that those who employ their aid sin mortally. They deride the papal rites, and call the relics of the saints bones of those who have been hanged. In Lent they eat meat openly, saying they do not consider

it prohibited. Confession is neglected, as they say it should be made to God, and that auricular confession is a buffoonery. They generally communicate under both forms. They make a laughing-stock of the Pope and cardinals, and other ambassadorial ecclesiastics, by means of paintings and other caricatures. In short, they consider Martin their illuminator, and that until now they have been in darkness, and the indulgences are held by them like bread sold in the market place. In proof of all this, the legate [Campeggio], to avoid scorn, did not enter Nuremberg, as Legate *ut moris est*, neither did he give the blessing and absolution, but came in like a mere horseman, though he was accompanied by a most noble escort of all the princes and part of the nobility, who (with the exception of the Elector of Saxony and Palatine) are sincere Christians. Some of the noblemen and the mass of merchants are all tainted, nay, obstinate and unconvertible, so that at present, neither the Legate's authority nor the will of the princes, nor even the ability and erudition of my master, can stem so strong a current.

Martin is not at Nuremberg, nor will he make his appearance there, but, unless the Almighty stretch forth His arm, it will doubtless come to pass that as the princes and part of the nobility remain staunch Catholics, whilst the people persist in their errors, they will some day cut each other to pieces. The Legate will remain at Nuremberg until October, perhaps to hold another diet in Germany, *cum dieta dietam subinvocat*;¹ but in this matter diets profit little, because the free towns are really not subject to anyone, so they cannot be curbed, and they are the abettors of Lutheranism, especially Nuremberg and Augsburg, the asylums of all converts. In the other towns belonging to the princes less open confession is made, but, in short, all are Lutherans, publicly or secretly.

617. STAUPITZ TO LUTHER.

Enders, iv, 314.

SALZBURG, April 1, 1524.

This is Staupitz's last letter to Luther. He died December 28. It is a reply to Luther's two letters of June 27, 1522, and September 17, 1523 (*supra* nos 551, 599).

¹ Probably a pun on Psalm xix, 2: "Day unto day uttereth speech"; literally, "One diet leads to another."

Greeting. You write me often, dear Martin, and suspect my constancy. To which I reply: My faith in Christ and the Gospel keeps whole, even if I need prayer that Christ may help my unbelief, and that I may divorce all human interests and embrace the Church warmly. My love for you is most constant, passing the love of women, always unbroken. Spare me if, on account of the slowness of my mind, I do not grasp all your ideas and so keep silent about them. It seems to me that you condemn mere externals which profit nothing to faith and righteousness, but are indifferent, and, when done in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, do not burden the conscience at all. Why, therefore, should simple hearts be disturbed, and why should the monastic garb be a stench in your nostrils, when many wear it in the holy faith of Christ? Alas, abuses creep into all things human, and there are few who measure all things by faith, but there are some, nevertheless, who do, and the substance of a thing is not to be condemned on account of some accidental evil which is found in it. You abrogate all vows at once, for the sake of a very few, or, perhaps, only one. Therefore I pray you, dearest friend, to remember the little ones, and not disturb fearful consciences. Please do not condemn what is indifferent and can exist along with sincere faith. Cry out and never cease against what is really repugnant to faith. We owe you much, Martin, for having led us from the husks of swine back to the pastures of life and the words of salvation. The Lord give you increase as far as the Gospel is served thereby. This we see to be the case, and many tell us of it, howbeit I see the Gospel message abused unto the liberty of the flesh. But the wind bloweth where it listeth; we owe you thanks for planting and watering, saving the glory of God, to Whom alone we attribute the power of making sons of God. I have written enough; I wish that I could talk to you even one hour and open the secrets of the heart.

I commend to you, brother, the bearer¹ of this letter, that you may make him your disciple in industry and ability, and that he may receive the master's degree and so return to me. I hope he may bear good fruit to the honor of the University

¹ A certain George Führer given an M.A. on April 30.

of Wittenberg in future. I hope my unworthy request may prevail with you, as I was your precursor in the evangelical doctrine, and still hate the Babylonian captivity. Farewell, and greet Melanchthon, Amsdorf, Dr. Schurff and my other friends.

618. THE CITY COUNCIL OF LEIPSIK TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 640. German.

LEIPSIK, April 7, 1524.

. . . The printers, too, have made many strong complaints against us, both now and many times heretofore, saying that their business has gone to pieces completely, and if things continue long in their present condition, they will lose house, home and living, because they are not allowed to print and sell the new things that are produced at Wittenberg and elsewhere. The books that are in demand and that people want to buy, they cannot have in their possession or sell; but these of which they have large stocks no one wants, even if they were willing to give them away. They have so far obediently observed your Grace's command, but other people print these books at Wittenberg, Zwickau, Grimma, Eilenburg, Jena and other places in the neighborhood, and they are then smuggled among the people; thus the profits are taken from our booksellers and given to others, who are glad to get them. For this reason the printers, type-setters and their employees, a great many of whom have heretofore made a living here at this trade, are ruined and they and their children are in want, so that some of them have been compelled to work on the walls as day-laborers, and in this way the book-trade is being diverted from here altogether. They humbly ask that we inform your Grace of these facts, so that your Grace may look into the matter. . . .

619. THE SECRETARY OF THE BISHOP OF TRENT¹ TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 817.

TRENT, April 13, 1524.

Has received letters from Nuremberg, where the inhab-

¹ Bernard von Cles (1485-1539), studied at Bologna and Verona, made Bishop of Trent 1514, and held many offices under Ferdinand. Spoken of Vol. I, p. 463, as at Worms. ADB. Who his secretary was, or to whom this letter was directed, I cannot ascertain.

itants communicate *in both kinds according to the accursed Lutheran custom*.¹ It has, moreover, been ordered there, that for the future the relics of the saints are not to be exhibited publicly in the churches, but to be kept concealed; and all the images in the churches are to be destroyed.

620. LUTHER TO ERASMUS.

Enders, iv, 319.

WITTENBERG (about April 15), 1524.

Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ. I have been silent long enough, excellent Erasmus, having waited for you, as the greater and elder man, to speak first; but as you refuse to do so, I think that charity itself now compels me to begin. I say nothing about your estrangement from us, by which you were made safer against my enemies, the papists. Nor do I especially resent your action, intended to gain their favor or mitigate their hostility, in censuring and attacking us in various books. For since we see that the Lord has not given you courage or sense to assail those monsters openly and confidently with us, we are not the men to exact what is beyond your power and measure. Rather we have tolerated and even respected the mediocrity of God's gift in you. The whole world knows your services to letters and how you have made them flourish and thus prepared a path for the direct study of the Bible. For this glorious and splendid gift in you we ought to thank God. I for one have never wished you to leave your little sphere to join our camp, for although you might have profited the cause much by your ability, genius and eloquence, yet as you had not the courage it was safer for you to work at home. We only fear that you might be induced by our enemies to fall upon our doctrine with some publication,² in which case we should be obliged to resist you to your face. We have restrained some who would have drawn you into the arena, and have even suppressed books already written against you. We should have preferred that Hutten's *Expostulation* had not been written, and still more that your *Sponge* had not seen the light.³ Incidentally I may remark,

¹ In Latin.

² Erasmus's *Diatribes on Free Will* was published September, 1524. Melanchthon, Jonas and others had tried to get Erasmus not to attack Luther. See Zickendraht; *Der Streit zwischen Erasmus und Luther*, 1909, pp. 20ff.

³ Cf. *supra*, no. 600.

that, unless I mistake, when you wrote that book you felt how easy it is to write about moderation and blame Luther's excesses, but how hard, or rather impossible, it is to practice what you preach except by a special gift of the Spirit. Believe it or not as you like, but Christ is witness that I heartily regret that such zeal and hatred should be roused against you. I cannot believe that you remain unmoved by it, for your fortitude is human and unequal to such trials. Perhaps a righteous zeal moved them and they thought that you had provoked them in various ways. Since they are admittedly too weak to bear your caustic but dissembled sarcasm (which you would have pass for prudent moderation), they surely have just cause for indignation, whereas if they were stronger they would have none. I, too, am irritable, and quite frequently am moved to write caustically, though I have only done so against hardened men proof against milder forms of admonition. Otherwise I think my gentleness and clemency toward sinners, no matter how far they are gone in iniquity, is witnessed not only by my own conscience, but by the experience of many. Hitherto, accordingly, I have controlled my pen as often as you prick me, and have written in letters to friends, which you have seen, that I should control it until you publish something openly.¹ For although you will not side with us, and although you injure or make sceptical many pious persons by your impiety and hypocrisy, yet I cannot and do not accuse you of willful obstinacy. What can I do? Each side is greatly exasperated. Could my good offices prevail, I should wish my friends to cease attacking you with so much animus and to allow your old age a peaceful death in the Lord. I think they would do so if they were reasonable and considered your weakness and the greatness of the cause which has long since outgrown your littleness, especially as the cause has now progressed so far that it has little to fear from the might—or rather the sting and bite—of Erasmus. You on your side, Erasmus, ought to consider their infirmity, and abstain from making them the butt of your witty rhetoric. Even if you cannot and dare not declare for us, yet at least you might leave us alone and mind your own

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 591.

business. If they suffer from their bites, you certainly will confess that human weakness has cause to fear the name and fame of Erasmus, and that it is a very much graver matter to be snapped at by you than to be ground to pieces by all the papists together. I say this, excellent Erasmus, as an evidence of my candid moderation, wishing that the Lord might give you a spirit worthy of your reputation, but if He delays doing so, I beg that meanwhile, if you can do nothing else, you will remain a spectator of the conflict, and not join our enemies, and especially that you publish no book against me, as I shall write none against you. Remember that the men who are called Lutherans are human beings like you and me, whom you ought to spare and forgive, as Paul says, "Bear ye one another's burdens." We have fought long enough, we must take care not to eat each other up. This would be a terrible catastrophe, as neither one of us really wishes harm to religion, and without judging each other both may do good. Pardon my poor style and farewell in the Lord. . . .

MARTIN LUTHER.¹

621. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN IN ZWICKAU.

Enders, iv, 329.

WITTENBERG, April 26, 1524.

Grace and peace in the Lord. No answer is to be made to Emser,² my dear Nicholas, for he is that man of whom St. Paul speaks, "subverted and condemned in his own judgment and to be shunned,"³ for he is committing a sin which is unto death.⁴ A little more, and I shall pray against him that the Lord will reward him according to his works.⁵ It is better that he should die than continue to blaspheme Christ, against his own conscience. Let him alone, therefore; the miserable

¹ Erasmus answered on May 8, *infra* no. 624. To Pirckheimer he wrote June 3, 1524 (*Opera*, 1703, iii, appendix, ep. 327): "Luther wrote me in his own manner, promising to overlook my weakness if I would not write expressly against his dogmas. I answered him briefly, but, as is my habit, courteously." In another letter he says: "Martin Luther wrote me kindly, sending the letter by Camerarius. I did not dare to reply with equal kindness on account of sycophants."

² After the publication of the *Formula Missae*, which was dedicated to Hausmann (*vide supra* no. 606). Emser published (February 29, 1524) a work entitled *Missae Christianorum contra Lutheranam Missandi Formulam*, etc., which he, too, dedicated to Hausmann.

³ Titus iii, 9f.

⁴ I John v, 16.

⁵ II Timothy iv, 14.

man will all too quickly be restrained. But do not stop praying for him. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

622. JOHN MATTHEW GIBERTI TO MELCHIOR LANG IN ENGLAND.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 296.

(ROME, about the last of April, 1524.)

This is not dated in the State Papers, but the time is approximately given by the allusion to the Recess of the Diet of Nuremberg calling for a national council at Spires to settle the religious question. This recess was passed April 18, 1524, see Kidd, no. 64.

Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543) was Bishop of Verona and Datary under Clement VII. A good deal about him in Pastor-Kerr, vol. ix. In 1523 he was made Governor of Tivoli. *Biographie Générale*.

Melchior Lang was nuncio in England at this time.

. . . Lutheranism is increasing, to the peril of Christendom, and it will be necessary for Lang to discourse on that subject when presenting the breves. The Diet of Nuremberg has proposed to hold a diet at Spires to discuss the doctrines of Christianity. The Pope has written to the Emperor to warn him that the Germans are endeavoring to annul his edict at Worms. Would God that all other princes had from the commencement taken this matter as much to heart as the King of England, who has declared both his mind and his piety to all the world, not only by taking precautions that this plague should not enter his kingdom, but also by his most learned and Christian volume in defence of the sacraments; and who has gained no less glory with the pen than with the arms which he has constantly taken up against the enemies of the See Apostolic. The Pope, therefore, looks to him for aid, and would desire him to write warmly to the Emperor to send a man of authority into Germany with commission to resent the affront offered to religion and to his Majesty, and to prohibit the proposed diet at Spires. If simple remedies will not suffice, the Emperor should use fire and the sword. Should the diet take place, it would become the King's piety to send thither as his ambassadors some learned and prudent men, of whom he possesses as great abundance as any other

Christian prince; and they would do much good either by protesting that Germany alone has no right to interfere with questions relating to the faith without license from the See Apostolic, or else by confuting with the King's authority their wicked and malicious arguments, which evidently tend to the universal ruin of the Christian faith. The Pope expects great results from the King's assistance, considering the recent efforts of the Cardinal of York to prevent this horrible plague from planting its foot in his kingdom. The King has gained great honor by being the first to oppose this monster. The Pope is the pilot of the ship, which will perish with him if his warnings be not regarded; for, although Luther strikes only at the See Apostolic, he is working the ruin of all Christian princes, who, owing to these dissensions, will be unable to resist the Turk.

623. HENRY STROMER OF AUERBACH¹ TO ERASMUS.

Gess, i, 665.

LEIPSIC, May 1, 1524.

. . . There are some men who are trying to impose on you, saying that you are in bad odor with Martin and Philip. Their purpose is to cause discord between you with their lies, so that they do some harm to the majesty of the Gospel. Pray do not lend an ear to tale-bearers like them. Philip was with me at Leipsic after Easter. He has a very different opinion of you from that which these good-for-nothing fellows are spreading, and, unless I am mistaken, Martin, too, is being slandered to you. How is it possible that he should be persecuting you with his hatred, when he loves and honors all the champions of the Gospel, of whom you are one; nay, of whom you are the foremost and the best? . . .

624. ERASMUS TO LUTHER.

Enders, iv, 335.

BASLE, May 8, 1524.

I do not admit that you have any greater desire than I for the purity of the Gospel. For its sake I, too, endure some things and I still seek every opportunity to make the Gospel the common property of all men. But what you call weak-

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 196, n. 2.

ness or ignorance¹ is partly conscience, partly good judgment. When I read some of the things you have written I greatly fear that by some of his arts Satan has managed to deceive you; other things, again, so grip me that I could wish my fears ill-grounded. I am not willing to assert anything of which I am myself not yet persuaded, much less anything with which I do not agree. Hitherto I have consulted the interests of the Gospel better than many of those who brag about the Gospel. I see that occasion has been given for the rising up of wicked and seditious men; I see friendships broken off, and I fear that bloodshed may come out of it. If you are really sincere, I pray that Christ may favor what you are doing. So far as I am concerned, nothing will corrupt me into abandoning the Gospel from any human motives. Hitherto I have written nothing against you. I could have earned the great applause of princes by so doing, but I saw that it could not be done without great injury to the Gospel. On the other hand, I have repelled those who were trying in every way to persuade the princes that I am in league with you, that I agree with you in everything, and that everything you teach is in my books. Even now it is scarcely possible to get this idea out of their minds. I do not greatly care what you may write against me; so far as the world's opinion is concerned that would be the best thing that could happen to me. I desire to return this soul to Christ pure, and I wish everyone to have this same feeling. If you are ready to render to every man a reason for the faith that is in you, why do you take it amiss if anyone argues with you in order that he may learn? Perhaps Erasmus writing against you would do more for the Gospel than certain dullards writing in your behalf. They will not allow anyone to be an onlooker at this tragedy (would that it might not have a tragic end!), but they push me over to the other side, even if the princes were not already forcing me there. These men's dishonesty makes the Gospel distasteful to the prudent, and the princes will be compelled to put down their seditious uprisings; not, I fear, without injury to the innocent. They listen to nobody, not

¹In Luther's letter of the month before (*supra* no. 620), with which this reply to it should be compared throughout.

even to you; they fill the world with their raving books, and, because of them, they think it right to despise the older orthodox writers. But if I were to write of these things, it would be a long story. I pray that God may turn everything to His glory.

In the *Sponge* you notice a lack of moderation, although I did not say a single word in the *Sponge* about Hutten's life, his high-living, his harlots, his damnable dice, about his foolish boasting (intolerable even to a patient friend), about his spendthrift habits, about the money he extorted from the Carthusians, about the two preachers whose ears he cut off, about the highway robbery which he committed against three abbots on the public road (for which crime one of his servants was beheaded), nor about his other evil deeds, which are known to everybody, though, without provocation by a single word of mine, he betrayed our friendship to earn the favor of a single worthless knave and accused me of such a manufactured catalogue of crimes as only one buffoon can think up against another. I do mention the letter to the Archbishop of Mayence,¹ which he treacherously published, suppressing his own name, but concerning another perfidy that he practiced against me I am silent. He extorted from me many letters of recommendation to the imperial court, though he had conspired against the Emperor; but his purpose was to use the name of the Emperor for the purchase of a wife. With such provocation from one who owed me so much, I might have been much harder on him and yet have been within my rights; and yet I am called immoderate. What has Otto² to do with Hutten? I never injured him with a single word; why does he rave? You call these men my likes; I am so far from recognizing the likeness that I think them not men at all, but furies. Is it by prodigies of this kind, forsooth, that the Gospel will be restored? Is the reborn Church to have such pillars as these? Shall I enter into the alliance of these men? But this is more than enough about these things.

Joachim³ pleased me very much. It is too bad that there

¹ Vide Vol. I, 238ff. and 279.

² Otto Braunfels, who published a reply to the *Sponge* (Böcking, ii, 325ff).

³ Camerarius, who brought Luther's letter to Erasmus.

was no chance to see Melanchthon.¹ The Lord Jesus direct your mind to ways worthy of His Gospel.

625. ADOLPH, BISHOP OF MERSEBURG,² TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 664.

MERSEBURG, May 13, 1524.

. . . We would also have your Grace know that at Leipsic we were told that Dr. Auerbach³ gets everything that is printed at Wittenberg by Martin or Philip, and keeps it at his house. He then distributes it to the young instructors in the university and to men and women of the city, secretly and by night. We did not wish, however, to say anything to him or do anything about it without your Grace's knowledge. It was also told us that if your Grace did not put a stop to this business and also forbid the young instructors in the university to lecture on theology, it would be difficult, almost impossible, indeed, to put down Martin's movement there and wipe it out, for the young instructors are constantly mingling the opinions of Martin and Philip with their lectures, and thus the young students are being poisoned and led into great errors. . . .

626. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO ERASMUS.

Gess, i, 673.

DRESDEN, May 21, 1524.

. . . I wish that God had put it into your mind three years ago to separate yourself from the Lutheran faction, so that by publishing some book against them you might have shown clearly that you had nothing in common with them and were opposed to this grave dissension. How much easier it would have been to quench a spark than to put it out now, after it has become a great conflagration. The fault, therefore—to speak out just what I think—is yours more than anyone's else; for if, when there was still time, before so many people had been seized by this malady, you had taken the position toward Luther that you now show, and had entered the lists and played the part of a true and serious contestant,

¹ Melanchthon was then on a visit to the Rhinelands.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 90, n. 1.

³ Henry Stromer.

we would not be in our present trouble. But because you have hitherto fought against him as though you did not intend that there should ever be open war between you, and only aimed hidden blows at him, and that so gently as almost to make it appear that you are not willing to take the trouble to hit him, men's opinions have been divided; some have thought you Luther's enemy, others that you are in collusion with him, that you really agree with him and that your differences are only a sham. If you wish this mistaken opinion of you to be dispelled, you must come out into the open and show yourself at last, and by attacking Luther publicly make your own opinion known to the world, and, at the same time, defend the Church against a foul heresy. If you fail to do this, everybody will cry out with one voice that you have been false to the dignity of the Church and of the pure Gospel and have had no idea of your own duty. . . .

627. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 832.

BURGOS, June 1, 1524.

The Pope has written to the Emperor from Rome, in date of the 10th May, urging him to ponder the great preparations making by Sultan Solymán, and announcing that the Lutherans have summoned a council in a certain town¹ in Germany, for the purpose of confuting the arguments adduced against Luther's tenets. This distresses the Pope greatly, and he earnestly requests the Emperor to apply a remedy, as such a demonstration is at variance with the edict issued by him at Worms [April, 1521].

The Emperor replied that he would take such steps as due, expressing himself in general terms without descending to any particulars.

628. LUTHER TO DUKE JOHN FREDERIC OF SAXONY.

DeWette, ii, 519. German.
Enders, iv, 354.

WITTENBERG, June 18, 1524.

In this letter, which was apparently written about the same time with his well-known tract *On Trading and Usury* (*Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher*, Weimar, xv, 293), Luther summarizes his views on the ques-

¹ Spires.

tion, much debated in the 16th century, whether the taking of interest was permissible. It had been forbidden by the Canon Law, but the prohibition was rapidly becoming a dead letter. For a full discussion of Luther's views *vide* Eck's introduction to the above-mentioned tract in Berlin, vii, 494ff. De Wette, followed by Erlangen (liii, 244), dates the letter May 21, and assumes that it was addressed to the Elector; for date and address as here given, *vide* Enders, iv, 353, n. 1; 354, n. 1.

. . . To the question whether a prince can allow the taking of usurious interest, I reply: It would be a fine thing if tithes of all property were paid to the government every year, as was the custom in the ancient world. That would be the kind of interest most in accordance with God's will, for that would lay not hardship on those who had to pay; if God gave much or little the tithe would be reckoned accordingly. Indeed it would be both tolerable and desirable that all other payments should be abolished, and a fifth or a sixth were collected from the people, as was done by Joseph in Egypt, but since there is no such orderly arrangement in the world, I must despair of this remedy and say that it is highly necessary that the taking of interest should be regulated everywhere, but to abolish it entirely would not be right either, for it can be made just. I do not advise your Grace, however, to protect people in their refusal to pay interest or to prevent them from paying it, for it is not a burden laid upon people by a prince in his law, but it is a common plague that all have taken upon themselves. We must put up with it, therefore, and hold debtors to it and not let them spare themselves or seek a remedy of their own, but put them on a level with everybody else, as love requires, even though it be at loss to themselves, until God puts it into the hearts of the princes to agree to some change. In the meanwhile, let the burden rest on the consciences of those who take unjust interest. In saying this I am speaking only of the interest which does not exceed four or five per cent. This is usurious not because of the amount, but because it is a fixed income and is invested without risk, as it ought not to be. But if the rate exceeds five per cent, every prince should take measures to reduce it to four or five per cent and to secure some reduction of the capital proportioned to

the length of time it has been invested. This should be done mildly, so that it might be a beginning toward regulating the whole business and bringing it, in the course of time, to a just basis. . . .

629. MELANCHTHON TO JOHN MEMMINGEN AT TORGAU. ARG., x (1913), pp. 283ff. (WITTENBERG, soon after July 5, 1524.)

The date of this letter is given by the reference to the death of William Nesen, who was drowned in the Elbe on the evening of July 5, 1524. The letter, just published, is remarkably interesting as showing the attitude of Melanchthon at this time. He was strongly attracted to the Catholic Church and to Erasmus, at the same time that he was repelled by the excesses of Münzer and other radical evangelical sects. On this subject see further Kawerau, in *Deutsch-evangel. Blätter*, 1903, pp. 29ff.

John Oeder, of Memmingen, studied at Wittenberg and in 1521 became master of the Elector's boy singers at Eilenburg and later at Torgau. In 1529 he became M.A. at Wittenberg and rector of the school at Grimma. He died 1538.

Greeting. Recently I received a sharp wound in the loss of the good man Nesen, and while I was uncommonly prostrated by this fatality your rather long letter was brought to me, which increased my mental uneasiness. For, although I saw that your irritation was due to your zeal for piety, I regretted that you were angry rather at the new doctrine, as it is called, than at the fury of those who abuse all good things. I ask you, John, in such obscure matters not to seek any other teacher than Him whom Peter bids us follow, when he says, "*We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, etc.*"¹ If you weigh all dogmas by this rule neither Münzer nor Luther will be able to impose on you *or to beguile*² you. I defend neither of these men. Münzer I do not sufficiently know. In Luther you severely censure the dogma of the Word changing hearts. Please write me carefully how you wish your opinion to be taken. I will merely set down carelessly both what I myself approve and

¹ II Peter i, 19. The words in italics in this letter are in Greek in the original.

² Καταπαθεῖν. This is not the correct meaning of the Greek word, but it was doubtless so understood by Melanchthon, for it is so translated in the Vulgate, Colossians ii, 18, *seducat*.

what Luther thinks. He teaches that by the operation of the Holy Ghost in our hearts, we recognize in the Word both the mercy and the justice of God; that is, that our hearts by a certain terror of conscience feel the force of the divine judgment and again receive comfort and are quieted in spiritual joy. Luther thinks that he who *unfeignedly* experiences this is at last truly Christ's. Let the tenth and eighth chapters of Romans¹ prove this. Should I reject this, I should lie; rather I have *in the spirit* found it true. In friendship I exhort you not to reject it before you rightly understand it. It is impiety to pronounce rashly about any part of Christian doctrine. Moreover, in those who are thus renewed by the Holy Spirit, the law written by the finger of God, as Jeremiah says, impels to do good works.

Concerning those who are weak as children (and most of us are that way) Paul has left a rule, which do you diligently inculcate on children, as I also do. The law is a schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.² For that sort is to be ruled and coerced by the law. I could wish that this were more frequently taught by those who advertise themselves by Luther's label. Thus God demands not only interior righteousness, which is properly Christian, but external righteousness also, by which He wishes the wicked to be coerced and bridled. And we, who are *schoolmasters*, ought to take care to keep weak childhood and the weak common people within these walls. I see that you are offended by scandal; I also am vehemently moved by the agitations among the common people and by the rashness of base preachers. But these things assail my faith that sometimes I may win more strength from them. I see Satan rage and do his best by these scandals to pull down weak consciences. I also see God permit many such things thereby to prove us and to stimulate our care. Saul began well, Solomon began most happily, and Gideon in most holy wise. But the end does not agree with the beginning. Thus I am often wont to fear lest, however good were the beginnings of Luther's ministry, there may be a tragic end. What will you do about it? The mind should be elevated by prayer. Believe me, John, our warfare is with

¹ Romans x, 9ff; viii, 3ff.

² Galatians iii, 24.

a wicked spirit. He incites all sorts of scandals in order to suppress a teaching not foreign to piety. I have the highest respect for and the greatest faith in Erasmus, but *not beyond reason*.¹ But why should you so praise him to me, when he has not yet clearly shown in any writings in what things he thinks true piety *and the righteousness of God* consist? So great a doctor ought to show the world his opinion, especially since Christ commanded every creature to preach the gospel. I do not ask from him, as is commonly done, that he should write against the Pope or against the monks,—for I myself hate these controversies—but that he should teach what Christian righteousness *essentially* is.

Neither does Luther disapprove the baptism of infants, and when I see circumcision enjoined on the seed of Abraham, which, according to Paul, was a sign of the gospel, I feel that our *opponents* rely on extremely slight arguments. . . . Three years ago, when certain men began to dispute on this question, I was gravely perturbed. But the originators of these questions are certain *vainglorious and profane men*, whose life is not approved by me and of whose madness the surest signs have arisen. . . .

630. THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF SESSA, HIS AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

Bergenroth, 1509-25, no. 662.

BURGOS, July 18, 1524.

. . . Has received the breve of the Pope, in which his Holiness speaks of Luther, and of the decision of the Diet of Nuremberg to convoke a new diet of the whole German nation in Spire, in which the affairs concerning Luther, the war with the Turks, and other affairs are to be settled. Is very sorry that a diet has been convoked at Spire, as new and greater errors and calamities will be the only consequence of the debates which will take place. Has, therefore, sent letters to the Infante (Ferdinand), to the Regents of the Empire, to the Princes Electors, the Estates General and

¹ Μέχρι βωμῶν Plutarch; περί δυνωπίας 6, Aulus Gellius: *Noctes Atticae*, i, 3; Erasmi *Adagia*, Basle, 1536, p. 672. Under the adage *Usque ad aram amicus* Erasmus explains that when Pericles was asked to commit perjury to help a friend he remarked he was "his friend only up to the altar," i.e., he would do anything lawful for him, but not commit a crime.

Provincial, and to other persons. Encloses copies of these letters and authorizes him to show them to the Pope. Fears, however, that these letters will have no greater effect than his solemn edict given at Worms, and that the diet will assemble in spite of them. The evil, it is to be feared, will increase so much that it will be found impossible to eradicate it afterwards.

Two remedies only present themselves to him: either he must go to Germany, and punish the heretics with severity, or a general council must be convoked. As it is impossible to go soon to Germany, he begs the Pope to decide what he ought to do. Promises his Holiness, as a good son of the Church, to stake his person and his states to suppress a sect which is evidently dangerous to all religious authority. As the Germans have asked the Legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to propose to the Pope a general council to be held in Germany, it would be well if his Holiness would anticipate the conventicle at Spire by the convocation of a general council at Trent. The Germans consider Trent as a German city, although it is, properly speaking, Italian. Although the council ought to be convoked at Trent early next spring, it can afterwards be prorogued and transferred to another city in Italy; Rome, for example, or wherever the Pope likes. Promises to obey the orders of the Holy Father.

631. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC AND DUKE
JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 539. German.

(WITTENBERG, July), 1524.

Enders, iv, 372.

Weimar, xv, 199ff.

From the town of Allstedt, where he had settled in the spring of 1523, Thomas Münzer was proclaiming the doctrines of the radical Reformation. He taught that the old forms of worship must be abolished and the Mosaic law substituted for the law of the land, and asserted the right of armed revolt for the correction of social ills, resting his teaching upon the claim to immediate inspiration by the Holy Ghost. The spread of his doctrines had already given Luther deep concern (*cf. supra* no. 593). This letter is dated by De Wette "August 21," but Münzer had seen it before August 3 (Förstemann, *Neues Urkundenbuch*, p. 248); it must therefore have been written in July.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Saviour. God's holy

Word, when it arises, always has the good fortune to excite Satan with all his might against itself. At first the devil rages with his fist and wicked power, then, if that does no good, he attacks with false tongues and extravagant spirits and doctrines, so that what he could not crush with power he may suffocate with venomous lies. . . . Now Satan knows that the rage of Pope and Emperor will accomplish nothing against us; yea, he feels that, as is the way with God's Word, the more it is oppressed the more it spreads and grows, and, therefore, he now attacks it with false spirits and sects. We must, therefore, consider and not err, for it must be so, as Paul says to the Corinthians,¹ "There must also be heresies among you that they which are approved may be made manifest." And so, as Satan driven out has now wandered two or three years through dry places, seeking rest and finding none, he has at last settled in your Grace's electorate, and made himself a nest at Allstedt, and thinks under our peace, protection and guardianship to fight against us. For Duke George's principality, although it is our next neighbor, is, as they themselves boast, too favorable and gentle for such a bold and dauntless spirit, so that the sectaries cannot there show their courage and confidence, wherefore the bad spirit cries out and complains terribly that he must suffer much, although no one has yet attacked him with sword or tongue or pen, and they only dream that they are bearing a cross. So frivolously and causelessly must Satan lie, though he can thereby deceive no one.

Now it is an especial joy that our followers did not begin this heresy, as the sectaries themselves boast that they did not learn it from us, but directly from Heaven, and that they hear God speak to them immediately as to the angels. It is a simple fact that at Wittenberg only faith, love, and the Cross of Christ are taught. God's voice, they say, you must hear yourself, and suffer and feel God's work in you to know your own weight; aye, they make nothing of the Scripture, which they call "Bible-bubble-Babel."² To judge by

¹ I Corinthians xi, 19.

² Agricola speaks of Münzer saying: "Was Bibel, Bubel, Babel, man muss auf einen Winkel kriechen und mit Gott reden." Kawerau: *Agricola*, p. 48.

what they say their cross and passion is greater than Christ's and more to be prized. . . .

The sole reason for my inditing this letter to your Graces is that I have gathered from the writings of these people, that this same spirit will not be satisfied to make converts by word only, but intends to betake himself to arms and set himself with power against the government, and forthwith raise a riot. Here Satan lets the cat out of the bag, that is, makes public too much. What will this spirit do, when he has won the support of the mob? Truly here at Wittenberg I have heard from the same spirit that his business must be carried through with the sword. I then marked that their plans would come out, namely, to overturn the civil government and themselves become lords of the world. But Christ says His kingdom is not of this world, and teaches the apostles not to be as the rulers of the earth. So, although I am aware that your Graces will understand how to act in this matter better than I can advise you, nevertheless it is my humble duty to do my part, and humbly to pray and warn your Graces to fulfill your duty as civil governors by preventing mischief and forestalling rebellion. Your Graces may rest assured in your consciences that your power and rule was given and commended to you by God, that you might preserve the peace and punish those who break it, as St. Paul teaches in Romans.¹ Therefore your Graces should neither sleep nor be idle, for God will demand an answer and reckoning from you for a careless or spiritless use of the sword. Moreover your Graces could not excuse yourselves before the people and the world if you allowed rebellion and crimes of violence to make headway.

If they give out, as they are wont to do with their swelling words, that the spirit drives them on to attempt force, then I answer thus: It is a bad spirit which shows no other fruit than burning churches, cloisters, and images, for the worst rascals on earth can do as much.

Secondly, their boasting about the spirit counts for nothing. for we have the saying of St. John,² bidding us "prove the spirits, whether they be of God." Now this spirit has not yet

¹ Romans xiii, 4.

² I John iv, 1.

been proved, and goes about with turbulence and makes a disturbance according to his own sweet will. If he were a good spirit he would first humbly submit to be proved and judged, as does the Spirit of Christ. It would be a fine fruit of the spirit, by which he could be proved, if he did not creep into the corners and flee the light, but would stand out publicly before his enemies and opponents and make his confession and give his answers. But the spirit of Allstedt shuns that sort of thing as the devil shuns the Cross, and yet in his own nest he speaks the most unterrified language, as though he were full of three Holy Ghosts, and this unseemly boasting is a fine proof of who this spirit is. For in his book¹ he offers to make answer in the presence of a harmless assembly, and to stake life and soul upon it, but not in a corner, in the presence of two or three persons. Tell me, who is this bold and confident Holy Spirit who sets himself such narrow limits and will not appear except before a "harmless assembly," and will not make answer in a corner before two or three persons? What kind of a spirit is that who is afraid of two or three people and cannot endure an assembly that may do him harm? I shall tell you. He smells the roast; he has been with me once or twice in my cloister at Wittenberg and has had his nose punched; so he does not like the soup and will not appear except where his own followers are present who will say Yes to his swelling words. If I, who have no spirit and hear no heavenly voices, had used such words against my papists, how they would have shouted Victory, and stopped my mouth!

I cannot boast or shout defiance in such lofty words. I am a poor, miserable man, and did not begin so splendidly, but with fear and trembling, as St. Paul himself confesses that he did,² though he too might have boasted about a voice from heaven. How humbly I attacked the Pope, how I besought him, how I made requests of him, as my first writings show! In poverty of spirit I did what this world-devouring spirit has never tried to do, but right manfully and like a knight

¹ An apology, containing an attack on Luther, which Münzer had published earlier in the year under the title, *Von dem getichteten Glauben*, etc.

² I Corinthians iii, 6.

he has so far avoided doing them and fled from doing them; and now he boasts of his timidity as a high and knightly deed of the spirit. I went to Leipsic to debate before a highly dangerous assembly. At Augsburg I appeared without safe-conduct before my worst enemy. I went to Worms to answer to the Emperor and diet, although I well knew that they had broken my safe-conduct and planned all manner of wiles and treachery against me. Weak and poor though I was there, yet this is what was in my heart: if I had known that there were as many devils aiming their shafts at me as there were tiles on the roofs, I would have ridden in; and yet I had never heard of voices from heaven, or the "talents and the works of God," or the Allstedt Spirit. Again, I have had to appear in a corner, before one or two or three, others deciding who and where and how. My poor, troubled spirit has had to stand free, like a wild-flower, determining neither time nor person nor state, nor manner nor measure, and be ready and willing to give every man an answer, as St. Peter teaches.¹ But this spirit, who is as high above us as the sun above the earth, and looks on us as scarcely worms, chooses for himself only harmless, friendly and safe judges and hearers, and will not make answer to two or three in special places. He feels uncomfortable and tries to scare us with swelling words. Ah, well! we can do nothing except what Christ gives us power to do; if He will leave us, the rustling of a leaf will scare us; if it is His will to uphold us, this spirit will learn something about his boasting. . . .

I have said these things to your Graces, so that your Graces may not be afraid of this spirit or delay action, but enjoin them strictly to refrain from violence and stop their destroying of monasteries and churches and their burning of saints,² commanding them, if they wish to prove their spirit, to do so in a proper manner, and first submit to investigation, either by us or by the papists, for, thank God! they consider us worse enemies than the papists. They use and enjoy the fruits of our victory, take wives and abolish papal laws, though they have not won this victory and have not risked their lives for it, but I have had to win it at jeopardy of life.

¹ I Peter iii, 15.

² *I.e.*, the images.

I must boast, as St. Paul too had to boast,¹ though it is folly and I would rather not have done it, if the lying spirits had let me. . . . I know and am certain, by God's grace, that I am more learned in the Scriptures than all the sophists and papists, but so far God has graciously preserved me, and will preserve me, from the pride which would make me refuse to give answer to the most insignificant Jew or heathen, or anybody else. . . .

. . . . To sum it up, gracious Lords, your Graces must not interfere with the office of the Word. Let them go on boldly and confidently preaching what they can and against whom they will; for, as I have said, there must be divisions, and the Word of God must take the field and fight. . . . If their spirit is true, he will not fear us and will hold the field; if our Spirit is true, He will not be afraid of him or of anybody. Let the spirits fight it out. If some are led astray, that is the fortune of war; when there is a battle some must fall and be wounded, but he that fights bravely will receive the crown. But if they will fight with anything more than the Word, if they will break and smite with the fist, then your Graces should interfere, whether it is we or they who do it, forbid the offenders the land, and say: "We shall gladly look on and allow you to fight with the Word, that the true doctrine may be preserved; but keep your fists to yourselves, for that is our affair; or else get out of the land." We, whose concern is with the Word of God, must not fight with the fist. It is a spiritual battle that wins hearts and souls from the devil. . . . Our duty is to preach and to suffer, not to strike and defend ourselves with the fist. Christ and His Apostles destroyed no churches, and broke up no images, but they won men's hearts with God's Word and the churches and images fell of themselves. . . .

Now I will close for this time, having humbly prayed your Graces to act vigorously against their storming and ranting, that God's kingdom may be advanced by word only, as becomes Christians, and that all cause of sedition be taken from the multitude (Herr Omnes) which is more than enough inclined to it already. For they are not Christians who would go beyond the Word and appeal to force, even if they boast

¹ II Corinthians xi, 16.

that they are full of holy spirits. God's mercy eternally strengthen and preserve your Graces. Amen.

Your Graces' obedient

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.¹

632. LUTHER TO BARTHOLOMEW VON STARENBERG.

Enders, v, 10. German.

WITTENBERG, September 1, 1524.

Weimar, xviii, iff.

Starenberg (1460-1531) an Austrian noble, 1507 regent of Lower Austria, 1519 ambassador of the Estates to Charles V and Ferdinand in Spain. He was a zealous Lutheran. His wife, here mentioned, was Magdalene von Lofenstein. De Wette (ii, 397) and Erlangen (liii, 202) date this letter 1523, but *cf.* Enders, v, 13, n. 1.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honored Sir! Vincent Wernsdorfer, moved by Christian fidelity, has urged me to write this letter to you who are personally unknown to me. Wherefore I first beg pardon for the liberty I am taking. He told me that you, grieved by the departure of your dear wife, greatly exercise yourself with service to God and sundry works, particularly with masses and vigils for her soul. This, he said, she richly deserved by her love and loyalty to you during her life, and he begged me to write you a letter on the subject, hoping that it might be profitable to you. I should not have written without his request, and so I again humbly beg you to take this letter in good part.

Let me first remind you of what Job says: "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as it seemed good to the Lord so hath He done." You should sing the same song to a true, dear God who gave you a true, dear wife, and has now taken her away. She was His before He gave her, she was His after He had given her, and she is still His now that He has taken her away, as we all are at all times. Wherefore, if it does grieve us that He has taken His own from us, yet should His good will comfort our hearts more than all His gifts. His will should be esteemed better than the best and noblest wife. Our weakness cannot feel it so, but faith feels it. God grant you joy in this rich, immeasurable gain, that instead of a dear, tender wife, you have the dear, tender

¹ An elaborate discussion of this letter, particularly of Luther's sources of information about Münzer, will be found in *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte Köstlin gewidmet*, 1896, O. Albrecht, *Luther's Briefwechsel im Jahre 1524*.

will of God, or, rather, God Himself.

Secondly, honored Sir, I beg you to leave off those masses and vigils and daily prayers for her soul. It is enough to pray God once or twice for her, as He has said to us: "Whatsoever ye ask, believing, ye shall receive." If we keep always praying for the same thing it is a sign that we do not believe that our first prayers are answered, and unbelieving prayers only anger Him. If we pray often for what has not been granted us it is praying against God's will. It is true that we ought at all times to pray, but in faith, certain that we are heard, otherwise the prayer is lost. And we always have something new to pray for.

More especially I beg you to leave off the masses and vigils for her soul, for they are unchristian things which greatly anger God. Anyone can see that in vigils there is no serious faith but merely a useless mumbling. We must pray differently to be heard by God. Such services are a mockery to God, for He intended the mass to be a sacrament for the living, not an offering for the dead; and it is a terrible, fearful thing that men should so pervert an institution of God. You should guard against this and not be a participant in this horrible error, which priests and monks have set up for their bellies' sake. A Christian should do nothing wittingly except what God has commanded. The clergy have no such command about masses and vigils, which are their own little invention to get money and property without helping either the dead or the living. You may inquire further about this from the aforesaid Vincent Wernsdorfer, who wishes you well, and, therefore, asked me to write to you. May it please you that I have done so and may you not err in those matters which are without God's command, a mere prattle and doctrine of men. May Christ enlighten and strengthen you in the right faith and love of your neighbor. Amen.

I am, honored Sir, your devoted MARTIN LUTHER.

633. ERASMUS TO MELANCHTHON.

CR., i, 667.

BASLE, September 6, 1524.

At the end of August, or beginning of September, 1524, Erasmus issued his long-awaited attack on Luther. He chose as his subject the

doctrine of the freedom of the human will, which Luther had denied and Erasmus here affirmed. The work (*De libero arbitrio Diatribe sive Collatio*; best edition by von Walter, Breslau, 1910, *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Protestantismus*, no. 8) is brief and moderate in tone, but is unmistakably directed against Luther. It was hailed with delight by Luther's Roman opponents and translated into German by Emser and Cochlaeus. Luther's answer (*De servo arbitrio*, Weimar, xviii, 600ff.) did not appear till December, 1525. Cf. Smith, pp. 207f, Emerton, *Erasmus*, 380ff. This letter and the following, to Duke George, were written almost simultaneously with the publication of the book.

. . . You will wonder why I have published the book *On the Free Will*. I had against me a triple array of enemies. The theologians and haters of letters were leaving no stone unturned to destroy Erasmus, not only because they had been attacked in my books, but because I had entered their flourishing University of Louvain and infected that whole region with the languages and culture. This is what they said. These men had persuaded all the rulers that I was in league with Luther, and so my friends, seeing that I was in danger, held out the hope to the Pope and the princes that I would publish something against Luther. For a time I, too, cherished the same hope. In the meanwhile, however, those men began to assail me with books, and there was nothing left for me to do except to publish what I had written; otherwise I should have made enemies of the rulers, to whom I seemed to have given my word, and those uproarious fellows would have clamored that I was afraid and would have raged more fiercely than ever because of their disappointed expectation. Finally, now that Luther's letter¹ is in their hands, in which he promises to withhold his pen from attacks on me if I will keep silent, it would have appeared that I had agreed with him not to publish. Besides, those men at Rome who made a profession of profane literature, themselves worse than heathen, rage against me wonderfully, out of hatred for the Germans, so it seems, and so if I had published nothing, I should have given the theologians and the monks and the Roman seal-mongers (whose Alpha I think is Aleander)² a handle, and they could more easily have per-

¹ *Supra*, no. 620.

² Text "N." Aleander is certainly what Erasmus wrote, as is seen by compar-

suaded the rulers what they are trying to make them believe. Finally, the rabid evangelicals would have been more bitter against me than they are, for I handled the subject very moderately. I have written nothing that I do not believe, though, to be sure, I will gladly desist if I shall be convinced that it is better to do so. Meanwhile, you say, I am putting it into the minds of the tyrants to use cruelty. I reply that no one ever discouraged cruelty more than I, and even if I had been heart and soul with the papal party, I should still have dissuaded them from cruelty, for that is the way the evil is spread. Julian¹ saw this and forbade the execution of the Christians. The theologians believed that if they burned one or two men at Brussels, everybody would change his way of thinking; the death of those men made many Lutherans. But some of them are shouting that the Gospel is going to ruin, if anybody opposes their madness; the Gospel is not given us that we may sin with impunity, but that we may not sin, even though we might not be punished. . . .

634. ERASMUS TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 734.

BASLE, September 6, 1524.

Greeting, most illustrious Prince. There have been two special reasons, among many others, why I have not heretofore obeyed the exhortations of your Highness:² in the first place, I saw that, because of my age and my temperament,³ I was not suited to this dangerous business; then, too, because of the remarkable sensitiveness of my nature, I abhor gladiatorial combats like this, for what else are these pamphlets doing that are flying around everywhere, except the same thing that is done by gladiators in the arena? In the second place, I thought Luther and his doctrine, such as it is, to be a sort of necessary evil in the corrupt state of the Church, and although the medicine was somewhat bitter and violent, I hoped that it

ing his letter to J. M. Giberti, Datary of Clement VII, September 2, 1524, *Epistolae*, London, 1642, xxi, 5.

¹ Julian "the Apostate," Roman Emperor 361-363.

² *I.e.*, to write against Luther. Cf. *supra* nos. 555, 626.

³ *Ingenio*.

would produce some health in the body of the people of Christ. Now, however, since I find that many people are interpreting my moderation as collusion with Luther—with whom I have never had any secret agreement—and since I see, besides, that under cover of the Gospel a new people is growing up, wordy, shameless and intractable, such people, in a word, as Luther himself cannot endure (though, to be sure, they revile Luther as much as they despise the bishops and princes), I have gone into the arena at almost the same age as Publius the playwright¹ went on the stage. I do not know whether my entrance will have a happy result; certainly I hope it will turn out well for the Christian state. I am sending your Highness a pamphlet *On the Free Will*; I have seen your own learned letter on the same subject.² The Serene King of England³ and Clement VII⁴ have also given me the spur in their letters, but I have been far more influenced by the audacity of some of those brawlers who will destroy both the Gospel and literature unless they are put down. It was my hope that the tyranny of the Pharisees might be done away with, not merely changed; but if it must be kept, I prefer popes and bishops to those low Phalarides,⁵ who are more intolerable than all the rest. I await the criticism of your Highness, to whom I wish all good things.

¹ Publius Syrus, a Roman mimeographer of the I Century B.C., whose *Sententiae* had been printed by Erasmus in 1518.

² To Henry VIII (Gess, i, 504).

³ Two letters of Erasmus to Henry VIII, one dated November 4, 1523 (*Epistolae*, London, 1642, xx, 36), and the other probably written early in 1524 (*ibid.* xx, 49, dated 1523, which, according to the old style, might mean any time before March 25, 1524) shows that he was planning to write the *Free Will* in hopes of pleasing Henry VIII.

⁴ Erasmus sent a first draft of his work to Rome early in 1524, cf. Ennius Filonardus to Erasmus, April 14-15, 1524, Förstemann-Günther: *Briefe an Erasmus*, 1904, nos. 23 and 24. In reward for this Clement sent him 200 gold florins, April 3, 1524. P. Balan: *Monumenta Saeculi XVI historiam illustrantia*, Innsbruck, 1885, pp. 10ff. That this date is correct may be seen by Erasmus's letter to Pirckheimer, July 19, 1524, speaking of Clement's present, *Epistolae*, xxx, 36. He sent Clement a copy on September 2, *ibid.* xxi, 5. It was received October 24, and the messenger given ten ducats, Pastor-Kerr, x, 337.

⁵ Phalaris of Agrigentum (c. 60 B.C.) roasted his subjects alive in a brazen bull. Erasmus is here punning on the name of the Swiss Reformer, William Farel, whom he calls "Phallicus" in contemporary letters, and with whom he had a savage quarrel. Hutten wrote a book called *Phalarismus*, 1519, also alluded to in this place by Erasmus.

635. CHARLES CONTARINI TO ANZOLO GABRIEL.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 872.

VIENNA September 18, 1524.

Yesterday, at the — hour when there were not 30 persons in the market-place, the Lutheran merchant¹ was at length burnt, whereupon 4000 persons came instantly to rescue him, but he was already consumed; so it is thought his Majesty² will thus render himself very odious to the people, and that one day or other there will be some grave tumult.

636. ERASMUS TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 745.

BASLE, September 21 (1524).

A facsimile of the original appears in G. Mentz: *Handschriften aus der Reformationszeit*, 1912, no. 1.

Greeting, most illustrious Prince. I received your Highness' letter of May 22 on the day before St. Matthew's Day,³ when I had already sent you the pamphlet *On the Free Will*, together with my letter,⁴ which I hope has been delivered by this time. I see that both my letters to you and yours to me have been intercepted, for a certain friend of mine in Nuremberg⁵ has written me that the Lutherans have intercepted a letter of mine to you, and your letter,⁶ a copy of which I have now received, was never delivered. I am now answering both your letters, but briefly, so that it may go by an uncertain⁷ messenger, who is leaving sooner than he said.

The books you sent me I received most gratefully, though they were already in common circulation here, but I regret that I know nothing of this language,⁸ for my work has been with Greek and Latin authors. Your Highness expresses the wish that I had been minded three years ago to separate myself from the Lutheran faction and to prove it by publishing a book; but I did this more than five years ago, when Luther's books first came out and were still in favor with everybody,

¹ Caspar Tauber, cf. *infra*, no. 645.

² *Quella Maesta*; it is not certain whether the Emperor or Ferdinand is meant.

³ *I.e.*, September 20. The letter referred to is that of May 21 (*supra* no. 626).

⁴ Of September 6 (*supra* no. 634).

⁵ Probably Pirckheimer.

⁶ Of January 25, 1523 (*supra* no. 571). The Duke had enclosed a copy of it with no. 626.

⁷ MS, *neque*; Gess, *usque*.

⁸ *I.e.*, German (cf. *supra* no. 555).

and I have given evidence of my views in six hundred published pamphlets and letters. Not only did I separate myself from this faction, but, what is more, I have always held carefully aloof, even though I could not yet guess what monsters that faction would produce, and not only did I hold aloof myself, but I urged everyone I could to do the same. As for the fact that I have not refuted any of Luther's dogmas with a special book, how long was Hilary¹ silent, while the Arians were capturing the world? Even if I had had the leisure, I had good reasons to know that it was neither necessary nor expedient for me to do otherwise than I did; nevertheless I did not fear to teach in my books things very different from the deliverances of Luther. I wrote to Pope Adrian² telling him how this matter could be put down in such a way that it would not come up again; and what has been accomplished by the clamors and the books against Luther, by the censures and the edicts? If it had been decided to do away with this evil by means of irons and burnings and confiscations, then there is no need for me to do anything toward it. And yet, though I am neither born nor trained for these gladiatorial fights, nevertheless, so far as in me lies, I have never failed, nor will I fail the Church of God, especially when I see that the princes of the Church are moved by a sincere desire to win glory for Christ and salvation for His flock. Even though I shall not see this, certainly I shall always be, as I have always been, far from Luther's faction. Farewell, your Highness.

637. MELANCHTHON TO ERASMUS.

CR., i, 674.

(WITTENBERG), September 30, 1524.

You are quite right in your complaints of those who profess the Gospel these days, my dear Erasmus. Those who have railed at your dignity seem to me to have forgotten both humanity and religion. Of the republic of letters and of this age you have earned better thanks than this, and those who with seditious speeches are rousing the multitude against the churches are preparing themselves a kingdom; they are not teaching Christ. Luther is altogether different from these

¹ Hilary of Poitiers (died 367), "the Athanasius of the West."

² This letter, undated, in *Epistolae*, 1642, xviii, 20.

men, and he often laments that the name of religion has been made a pretext for private ambitions, even by the men who wish it to appear that they are waging war against the Pharisaical kingdom of the Pope. Though he is greatly moved by these evils, nevertheless he says that he ought not to draw back or desert the public cause, since he judges these scandals the work of the devil for the purpose of oppressing the Gospel in every way.

You seem, however, to have taken such offence at the faults of certain bad men that you are angry with the cause and the doctrine. Perhaps you think this reasonable, but I fear that by this way of reasoning the Gospel may be imperiled. . . . Therefore I ask, my dear Erasmus, first, that you do not believe that Luther is acting with those men whose manners you rightly reprehend; and, second, that you be not unjust to doctrine because of anyone's foolishness or rashness. It is impossible to guess at Luther's opinion about anything, for, to say nothing of the matter of the Pope, he now stoutly declares how much he abhors cruelty and flattery, and, at great risk of life and reputation, he is opposing a certain faction of sanguinary teachers.¹

. . . I cannot condemn Luther's teachings with a clear conscience, though I shall do it boldly if the Holy Scriptures compel me. That other people interpret this as superstition or folly, gives me no concern. Certainly I shall not suffer myself to be recalled from this way of thinking either by human authority or by any offence it gives.

So far as the *Diatribes on the Freedom of the Will* is concerned, it has been received here very calmly. It would be tyranny to forbid anyone in the Church to speak his mind about religion. Everyone ought to have the right to do that so long as private motives do not enter in. Your moderation has given great pleasure, though here and there you do sprinkle in some pepper, but Luther is not so irritable that he can swallow nothing. Moreover he promises that in his answer he will use equal moderation. Perhaps it will be to the advantage of many people to have the topic of the freedom of the will threshed out, and if it helps their consciences, what

¹ *I.e.*, Münzer and the "heavenly prophets."

place have private feelings in such a public matter? Indeed, if hard feeling begins to enter into the differences of opinion, I do not see how anyone can do justice to so great a subject. I observe that Luther is well disposed toward you, and this makes me hopeful that he will only answer you. On the other hand, it is your duty, my dear Erasmus, to beware lest you make the case more difficult by any ill will, since it is clearly supported by Holy Scripture; then lest you condemn yourself as one who seems to act against his own conscience by too vigorous an opposition. Finally, you know that prophecies are to be tested, not despised.

You can safely trust me with whatever you write. I would rather die than betray a confidence. I wish to convince you also that we honor you and love you. . . . Luther reverently salutes you. I do not wish to burden you with a longer letter, else I should have written more. Farewell.

638. MELANCHTHON TO SPALATIN.

CR., i, 673.

(WITTENBERG, September, 1524.)

Greeting. Erasmus has written on the free will. We have sent you the book. He seems to have treated us without abuse. I had a letter from him yesterday, which you will see; it will come to you by this same youth. I greatly wish that this subject, which is surely the chief thing in the Christian religion, may be threshed out diligently, and for this reason I am almost glad that Erasmus has taken up the battle. I have long hoped that Luther might have some wise antagonist in this matter, and if Erasmus is not that, I am greatly deceived. . . .

PHILIP.

639. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 32.

(WITTENBERG), October 3, 1524.

Grace and peace. The book on my acts at Jena and Orlamünde¹ pleases me greatly, because it shows that these in-

¹ The *Acta Jenensia* containing an account of the interview between Luther and Carlstadt at Jena, August 24, 1524, and of the relations between Luther and the church at Orlamünde. Its author was Martin Reinhard, pastor at Jena, a friend and sympathizer of Carlstadt, whose conduct is put in the most favorable light. The *Acta* is printed in Erlangen, lxiv, 385ff, and Walch², xv, 2028ff.

sincere men, who have a bad conscience, were afraid of themselves and sought to anticipate me with this book and snatch the glory in advance, and thus injure my reputation, as is usual with men of this spirit. But since Carlstadt is going to come out against me, and this book, with its mixture of lies and truth, is published anonymously, it must be overcome and swallowed up by patience, lest I should seem to be seeking glory or revenge, and lest, in writing about our own affairs, we fall into mere contention, and the chief cause of the controversy be lost sight of. The writing of such books teaches nothing and does no good; its only purpose is to win glory and to work on the common herd, which is quite characteristic of Carlstadt. I should like nothing better than to prepare such a book, but in the end Christ will judge His own cause. I, too, must bear with my Absalom.¹ Farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

640. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO ERASMUS.

Gess, i, 753.

LEIPSIC (between October 3 and 8),² 1524.

Kind greetings, learned Erasmus. We have received your letter,³ with the book *On the Free Will*, and since you await our criticism of it, we cannot but confess that it pleases us greatly, and we do not doubt that it will be a permanent contribution to the glory and the good of the Church. But what kind of fruit it will bear among our opponents we cannot yet be sure, for we fear that they will have hardened their ears and will not listen to the voice of the snake-charmer; they say, too, that they have answered it perfectly already. But the cause is safe, because the discussion of this matter does not depend upon them. But in order that you may know that our criticism is sincere, we are sending you with this a copy of this Luther's book *On Monastic Vows*. He has written this unspeakable book in German also, and it is wonderful how many souls he has caused to stumble and driven out of the monasteries into the brothels. We are sending it to you in order that some help may be given to these people and

¹ Cf. II Samuel xviii. A suggestion of lingering personal regard for Carlstadt.

² Between these dates George is known to have been in Leipsic, where the letter was written. Cf. Gess, *l. c.* n. 1.

³ *Supra*, no. 634.

to others who still take the vows, but have some doubt about them. We exhort you urgently to defend against this book the opinion of the ancients and of the Catholic Church, which has been held for so many centuries, and to vindicate and uphold it against impious and wicked aspersions. Without doubt God Himself will aid you in this, and all good and pious men will persevere to the end, but the perverse you will either recall to reformation and repentance, or else put to silence. . . .

641. JOHN FRANCIS CONTARINI¹ TO NICHOLAS BOLDU.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 883.

VIENNA, October 9, 1524.

"Tell the most noble Messer Marin Sanuto that here one cannot even speak of Luther, still less have his works, as this Prince [Archduke Ferdinand] makes the Bishop of Vienna search for Lutherans, and if found woe betide them; so he must excuse me in this matter."

A painted caricature has been found on the door of the cathedral, representing an ass soiling Cardinal Campeggio, the Archduke holding the ass's tail; and beneath was written much abuse of the Archduke, the Cardinal, and Salamanca, purporting that they had come to suck the blood of one person and the other, and that unless they departed they would be cut to pieces speedily. The paper was removed and taken to the house of the Archduke's Lord Steward.

642. LUTHER TO JEROME BAUMGÄRTNER AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, v, 34.

WITTENBERG, October 12, 1524.

Baumgärtner (1498-1565) studied at Wittenberg 1518-21. In 1523 he visited Wittenberg again and learned to know Catharine von Bora, with whom, when he left, he had an understanding, though not a formal betrothal, that he would return and marry her. When he did not do so Catharine became ill, and hence Luther's letter. In January, 1525, Jerome married Sibylla Dichtl. He took part in the diets of Augsburg (1530) and Spire (1544). Enders, *loc. cit.*

Grace and peace in the Lord. I am compelled to ask your help, Jerome, with the many poor. The youth who brings this letter to you, one Gregory Keser, is looking for work, and asked me for an introduction to some citizen of Nuremberg.

¹ Brother of Charles Contarini.

I gave him little hope, as I know that all positions are full everywhere, yet I dismissed him in the name of God, who provideth for the ravens.

If you want your Katie von Bora, you had best act quickly, before she is given to someone else¹ who wants her. She has not yet conquered her love for you. I would gladly see you married to each other. Farewell.

643. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 884.

VALLADOLID, October 16, 1524.

Am informed by the Florentine ambassadors that the Pope has complained to the Emperor, that in the letter written by him to Germany against Luther at his Holiness's request, mention is made of calling a council, which, under existing circumstances, the Pope considers impossible. The Emperor says that he inserted the paragraph about a council for favoring the papal cause and diminishing the power of Luther, it appearing to him that this hint of a council might somewhat estrange the Germans from the Lutheran creed and reconcile them to the Romish Church, but that he was willing to write in any form the Pope pleased, and when forwarding the letter to the Archduke Ferdinand he desired him not to present it until acquainted with the wish of his Holiness.

644. A SPY TO PAUL NANI, BAILIFF OF VERONA.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 889.

BOLZANO, October 24, 1524.

The only news here is that the Archduke Ferdinand at Vienna has issued proclamations prohibiting all persons from following Martin Luther, or believing in him, under penalty of prosecution and being beheaded. Some persons, scorning to be afraid, were discovered, and he caused two or three great personages to be beheaded; so he is shut up in a town, not daring to quit it, and the country is in confusion, as generally reported here.

645. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN IN ZWICKAU.

Enders, v, 52.

WITTENBERG, November 17, 1524.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I have not forgotten you, my

¹ This "someone else" was Caspar Glatz. He was at this time a member of the Wittenberg Faculty and had been its Rector.

dear Hausmann, though it is true that my memory is somewhat weakened by the variety of subjects and cases with which I have to deal, and also by advancing years.¹ I shall answer Erasmus,² not for his own sake, but for the sake of those who abuse his authority for their own glorying against Christ. I am putting off the book on the Eucharist, which you advised me to write, until Carlstadt shall have spread abroad his poison, as he promised me he would do,³ when he accepted a gold piece from me;⁴ though, to be sure, I am already in possession of the greater part of his silly proofs. Zwingli of Zürich and Leo Juda, among the Swiss, hold the same opinion as Carlstadt; so widespread is this evil, but Christ reigns; nay, He fights.

I hope for a German Mass,⁵ but can scarcely promise it, for I am unequal to the task, which calls for music as well as the spirit. Meanwhile I grant anyone permission to use his own judgment until Christ shall give us something else. I do not think it well to hold a council of our party for the purpose of establishing unity in ceremonies. It would set a bad example, however zealous and well-meant the effort were, as all the councils of the Church, from the very beginning, prove. Even the Apostolic Council⁶ dealt almost more with works and traditions than with faith, but in the later councils there was no discussion of faith, but always of opinions and questions, so that the very word "council" is to me almost as suspicious and distasteful as the word "free will." If one church does not wish to imitate another in these external things, why should it be compelled to do so by decrees of councils, which are soon converted into laws and snares for souls? Let one church, therefore, imitate another of its own accord, or else let it be allowed to use its own customs; only let the unity of the Spirit be preserved in faith and Word, however great the diversity and variety in the flesh and in the elements of the world.

I believe you have seen the history of Caspar Tauber,⁷ the

¹ Luther had just passed his forty-first birthday.

² *I.e.*, Erasmus's book on the Freedom of the Will.

³ *Vide supra*, no. 639.

⁴ *Cf.* Smith, p. 154.

⁵ The German Mass appeared in 1526.

⁶ Acts xv.

⁷ Caspar Tauber, a merchant of Vienna, was beheaded and his body burned,

new martyr of Vienna. They write that he was beheaded and burned for the Word of God. The same thing happened to a certain George,¹ a bookseller at Buda, in Hungary. He was burned with his books piled around him and suffered bravely for the Lord. Blood toucheth blood;² it will smother the Pope with kings and their kingdoms. Farewell, and pray for me a sinner.

MARTIN LUTHER.

646. LUTHER TO THE CANONS OF WITTENBERG.

De Wette, ii, 565. German.

(WITTENBERG), November 17, 1524.

Despite all of Luther's protests (*cf. supra* no. 563, 603) the clergy of the Castle Church in Wittenberg persisted in their adherence to the old faith and the old forms of worship. Luther finally carried out the threat contained in the following letter, and after Christmas Day, 1524, the worship of the Castle Church was reformed. *Cf. Köstlin-Kawerau*², ii, 527f. The immediate occasion the letter was the administration of the Eucharist in one kind to a woman of the city (*cf. infra*, no. 647).

Grace and peace in Christ, reverend and dear Sirs. It has again come to my attention that in your church the sacrament is administered in one form, contrary to the agreement, and especially to the promise, that was made to me by your reverend dean. Since, therefore, I perceive that the great patience with which we have hitherto endured your devilish life and the idolatry in your church is insufficient, and only increases and strengthens you in your outrageous and defiant conduct, so that you shamefully despise God's Word, which is offered you, and run from it, and will not hear it; moreover, since I observe from your administration of the sacrament in one kind that you intend, if possible, to divide our church and rend its unity and to introduce factions and divisions, which may finally lead to uprisings; therefore I am forced, as one who is called, by the grace of God, to be pastor of this church, to take counsel and measures against all this so that I may

September 17, 1524, because of his refusal to recant Lutheran opinions with which he was charged. *Supra*, 635.

¹ A marginal note on the original manuscript of this letter, by Conrad Cordatus, says that the name of this bookseller was John, not George. He adds further, "He was the servant of my brother, Martin Cordatus, and the books he was trying to sell had been bought with my money." Enders, v, 54, note 9.

² Hosea iv, 2.

clear my own conscience, and, so far as I may, to quench the fire which now glows in the tinder.

Since, then, you know the mind of my gracious Lord, that his Electoral Grace is not offended if you do what is right; and since, moreover, you ought to know and do God's will; and since, therefore, you cannot excuse yourselves either by getting behind the Prince or by pleading ignorance, but are possessed by the devil's power, with nothing else than defiant self-will; therefore it is my kindly request and earnest desire of you that you put an end to all this factional and sectarian business, like masses and vigils, abolish everything that is contrary to the Holy Gospel, and accept such rules that our conscience can stand before God and our good name before the world, as those of men who are minded to avoid and to flee your devil's-communion.

But if you refuse to do this, you may well imagine that, by God's help, I shall not rest until you are compelled to do it against your will. From this you will know how to act. I desire a straight, direct and binding answer, yes or no, to this before next Sunday, so that I may be guided accordingly. God give you His grace to follow His light. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER,
Preacher at Wittenberg.

647. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 74.

(WITTENBERG), November 27, 1524.

Three of the canons of the Castle Church entered formal protest with the Elector against Luther's proposed interference. This resulted in an order to Luther to abstain from any extreme measures, which called forth this angry reply. On the same day Luther preached the sermon *Against the Abomination of the Mass*, which led to the abolition of the masses in the Castle Church. Jonas was provost of the chapter and shared Luther's desire to reform it.

Grace and peace. What has come over you, my dear Spalatin, that you write so threateningly and imperiously? Have not you and your prince treated Jonas¹ with enough contempt, or are you going on to stab this good man through and through? Surely there is no need that you should hold

¹ As provost of the Castle Church, Jonas sided with Luther in his controversy with the canons.

good men so cheap and thrust them aside so disdainfully; perhaps they will get too much of it and go elsewhere. If my testimony is worth anything, he is innocent in this case. I am rolling this stone all by myself. But you, who bear an old grudge against him, give immediate credence to whatever those lying and sacrilegious canons write, and direct your suspicion against him, and convict me of sedition. But the Elector's propensity to hold men cheap is well known. This is the way we honor the Gospel. We cannot give one of its ministers a single paltry benefice to live on, but we make no difficulty about granting riches to other people, to support them while they blaspheme our God. Worst of all, and most deceitfully of all, you bid him go away, and yet wish it to appear that this is the last thing you would do; and then you think that Christ does not see this knavery. Why do you not either plainly bid him leave, or else simply bear with him? Only tell us, and we shall cure your sickness, if we are so repulsive and nauseating.

Jonas is the man who ought to be bought with a great price and kept in the land, but you hold him cheaper than stubble and seagrass.¹ But God is just, and because of this injustice of yours, He compels you to support ungrateful scoundrels and dangerous hypocrites in luxury. I do not think that we have done or are doing the Elector any harm, and I will not speak of the services we have done him. Unless, indeed, you think it is no service that through us the Gospel has been brought to light, by which your souls are saved and no small measure of this world's goods has begun to flow, and is daily flowing, into the Elector's purse, so that even if we have earned the hatred of others, we certainly ought to have earned from you better treatment than this that we have received. Unless, of course, the saying must be fulfilled,² "They rendered evil for good," or that other saying,³ "No prophet is accepted in his own country." Nevertheless the Lord will feed us so that we shall not want, even though you take away our living and your paltry, accursed money. If you undertake to do anything in

¹ Virgil, *Eccl.* vii, 44; Horace, *Sat.* ii, 5, 8.

² Psalm xxxv, 12.

³ Luke iv, 24.

this matter, you may indeed wish to see it done, but you neither can nor ought to hope for it.

I will put an end to those masses, if the Lord will, or else I shall try something else. If you wish to protect them, then protect them. I can no longer endure the fraud and the wiles of those two and a half canons against the unity of our whole Church. I see what they are doing because you defend the deed of one woman.¹ Therefore, my dear Spalatin, I beg that you will either treat us poor exiles of Christ more kindly, or else speak out your intentions roundly, so that we may know where we are going. Only let us not be compelled to confound ourselves because of this ambiguous order, of which you afterwards take advantage, so that if we are compelled to go away, we may not be able to blame anybody but ourselves, and you may remain with all honor, as those who have both kept us and driven us out. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

648. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 76.

WITTENBERG, November 30, 1524.

Grace and peace. As to giving up your office at court, dear George, my opinion is as follows. There is some cause for resigning such an office as yours when the Word is not heeded, as the Wise Man says, "Waste not your words where they are not listened to." But one should not stop preaching as long as anyone listens; otherwise I should have stopped long ago on account of the great contempt of the Word. Unless you have some other reason than the wickedness and malice of men, this is not sufficient to make you desert your place and vocation, or, indeed, to make you do anything at all. I cannot imagine what other reason you have for wishing to resign, unless your desire to marry weighs with you. You are so experienced and know the court so well that you can be of great value to those about the Elector, whereas if a novice came in your place, think how long it would take him to get used to the court! Even supposing that he would be as serviceable as you in the end, it would be a great while before he could obtain the credit and good opinion of the

¹ Cf. 646 *ad init.*

Elector that you have acquired. Therefore remain, or, if you must go, let it be for no less a reason than to take a wife. Perhaps you fear to give this as a reason, and prefer some excuse in its place—a course of conduct of which I fail to see the advantage, as the real cause would come out as soon as you married.

I thank Argula¹ for what she wrote me about marrying, nor do I wonder at such gossip when so many other things are said about me; please give her my thanks and say that I am in the hand of God, a creature whose heart He may change and rechange, may kill and make alive, at any hour or minute, but that hitherto I have not been, and am not now inclined to take a wife. Not that I lack the feelings of a man (for I am neither wood nor stone), but my mind is averse to marriage because I daily expect the death decreed to the heretic. However, I shall not ask God to bring my labors to an end, nor shall I strive in my heart, but I hope He will not let me live long. Farewell and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

649. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 81.

WITTENBERG, December 2, 1524.

Grace and peace. About giving up your office² I am of no other opinion than before. The reason you give does not satisfy me, viz., that there are others who have better command of languages and greater gifts than you. I know of no one, unless you wish Philip himself or Bugenhagen or Jonas to be your successor. I have no one in our flock whom I should prefer to you. But beware lest this be a temptation that will afterwards, if you leave your office, inflict on you an irremediable regret. Satan is a knave. Therefore I now strongly advise you to keep on, so that you may try the spirit, whether it be of God or whether it be merely a temptation that is assailing you. For why will you desert the Elector when he is perhaps very near the grave,³ and trouble his last days with a new minister? If it should happen that you were

¹ Argula von Stauff.

² Cf. *supra* no. 648.

³ Frederic died the following year.

to retire, and he were to die soon afterwards, you would never cease to regret that you had not held on till the time of his death. This is my opinion; take it, therefore, in good part. Farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

650. ERASMUS TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Gess, i, 777.

BASLE, December 12, 1524.

Greeting, most illustrious Prince. I have received three letters from your Highness; that written May 21, with which was enclosed a copy of the one that I answered, unless I am mistaken, in my first letter, and the third, recently delivered, in which you acknowledge the receipt of the pamphlet *On the Free Will*.¹ The earliest letters show some indignation that I did not enter the lists against Luther sooner, as though, if I had done so, the matter would not have gone as far as it has. I answered them at the time briefly and hurriedly,² but since we have found that letters are frequently intercepted. . . . I will repeat a summary of my argument.

When Luther first took up this matter the whole world applauded him with common consent, and, I think, your Highness, too, was among those who did so. Certainly the theologians approved of him, though he now counts them his bitterest enemies, as did also some of the cardinals, to say nothing of the monks, for he took up a good cause against the corrupt morals of the scholars and of the Church, which had gone so far that there was no good man who thought the conditions tolerable, and against a kind of men at whose deplorable wickedness the whole Christian world was sighing. Who would have dreamed at that time that the business would go so far as it has? Even if some Daniel had prophesied it, I should not have believed him. I do not think that even Luther himself expected an outcome of this kind. Nevertheless, before Luther had published anything except his axioms on papal indulgences, and when only a few paltry pages of his were being circulated among his patrons, I urged against his undertaking, judging that the teaching of Luther, who now by fighting has become a fighter, was inadequate to the work

¹ The three letters given *supra* nos. 626, 571, 640.

² *Supra* no. 634.

that had to be done, and divining that the affair would lead to seditions and tumults. Although I was at that time on terms of familiar intimacy with those who earnestly applauded the beginning of his work, no one could persuade me to approve of his attempt. Certainly I openly and steadily disapproved the progress of the affair in whatever company I was, so much so that when I found, while I was living in Brabant, that Froben,¹ at the instigation of certain scholars, Capito among them, had printed certain books of Luther's, I wrote him a letter telling him he could not retain my friendship if he continued to defile his press with such books. Not content with this, I added a note to my book of *Colloquies*, which was then in press at Louvain, in which I clearly testified that I was altogether out of sympathy with the Lutheran party. Meanwhile I privately admonished even Luther himself, who had written to me now and then, to conduct the case with an open mind and with that moderation which was proper in a professor of the Gospel.² Even the Emperor did not yet shrink from Luther's doctrine; it was only certain monks and indulgence-sellers whose profits were apparently falling off, that were making a disturbance. The chief result of the wild tumults they were raising, was that the little spark became a great fire. The more I urged Luther to moderate measures, the more he raged, and when I tried to pacify the other party the thanks I got was the charge that I sympathized with Luther.

You say, "Why did you not enter the conflict after the evil had become acute?" I answer that it was my belief that no one was less fitted for an affair of this kind than I, and I do not think that I was mistaken in my opinion. The men who were making an outcry to the Emperor and to the other princes that I was the best man to suppress Luther were two-faced, for these same men were, and still are, proclaiming it abroad that I know nothing of theology. What else were they trying to do than set Erasmus unarmed to fight the wild beasts and thus put the onus of the whole business upon him? What reputation should I have gotten out of it? I should only have put myself forward as the scribe of the

¹ Cf. Vol. I, p. 161.

² Cf. Vol. I, p. 192.

theologians who had already appropriated the glory of learning and had granted me only that of rhetoric. I should never have satisfied them unless I had revelled in railing and abuse, had filled the world with tumult and raged against Luther with my pen as much as they burned with hatred of him. They tried to make it appear that I had at first agreed with Luther and would now recant. For this was their proposition, "You have written in behalf of Luther; now write against him." It was a fair condition; first I was to lie about myself and then put my pen at the service of certain peevish and crazy fellows, who were, besides, my own bitterest enemies, which they will never cease to be until they cease to hate letters. This they will do "at the Greek calends,"¹ as the saying is. Unless I had defended all their positions, I should have incurred their enmity; I know that kind of men. What else, then, was Erasmus to be, except their executioner? Nor is there any doubt, either, that it would at once have had the same result that we now see; all who favored Luther—and there are many everywhere who do favor him—would either cease to be our friends, or, as I have already found in the case of many of my intimates, they would be turned from friends into bitter enemies. There is no part of the world where my writings have not made me many friends, and I thought myself sufficiently happy in having them, no matter how slender was my fortune. This dearest of all possessions was not lightly to be thrown away, especially since the consequence would be that I should put myself defenceless and without the help of friends, at the disposal of men who hate letters, or rather should offer myself to be torn in pieces by both parties.

You will comfort me on this point by saying that I should have the protection of the Popes and the Emperor; but will they save me when they cannot by the use of force prevent themselves from being the target of whole books of slanders and accusations? So far as wealth is concerned, I have enough to feed this poor body, and one who would give honors to a man in my health and of my age would be putting, I do not say a pack-saddle on an ox, but a load on an old, broken-

¹ *I. e.*, Never.

down horse; he would fall under it. To be sure, I hear some people saying that the life of the Catholic faith is at stake, but I am afraid of the example of Uzzah,¹ who had bad fortune when he tried to support the toppling ark. It is not for everyone to put his shoulders under the tottering faith. Even Jerome when he fights heretics narrowly avoids falling into heresy; what should I have to fear, who am not only born for other things, but have never been trained for this arena?

Besides, I had no doubt that from all the hosts of theologians and the colleges of bishops men would come forward who would be willing to take up so difficult a matter and able to accomplish something, and I was not mistaken in this surmise. You see how many and how great men have arisen against Luther. Pray tell me what they have accomplished. Then came a terrible bull of the Pope, a still more terrible edict of the Emperor, after that prisons, confiscations, recantations, faggots; I cannot see any results from them except that the evil is spreading wider all the time. Would a pigmy of an Erasmus, leaping into the arena, have moved them even a little bit, when they pay no attention to these giants? Apart from his extreme doctrines, there is in Luther's books a bitterness, joined with an arrogance, that offends me (though, to be sure, others are now following him beside whom Luther might seem modest), and I have scarcely ventured to trust my own judgment when I have thought how many thousands of men agree in their support of Luther. Even though I were not moved by the number of them, there are among them very many whom I know to be of good mind and possessed of great judgment, not affected by the popularity of any teaching, and who have always seemed to me heretofore to be upright and pious men. I have often wondered what they saw in Luther's writings to make them embrace them so eagerly and hold them so tenaciously. I have never found any of these men who has quite satisfied me when a friendly discussion has arisen, therefore I feared sometimes that it was my stupidity which prevented me from seeing the things they held, with such confidence and such common agree-

¹ II Samuel vi, 6f.

ment, as clear. There is no reason, therefore, why anyone should reproach me with delay, for I have not delayed as long as St. Hilary¹ before he unsheathed his pen against the Arians. His long silence was not due to collusion, but to religious scruples, and I, too, was moved by a religious motive, though of another kind.

I often sigh to myself when I consider to what depths Christian piety had fallen. The world had been numbed by ceremonies, bad monks reigned unpunished and had caught men's consciences in snares that could not be loosed. Theology! to what trite sophistries had it descended? Audacity in making definitions had gone to the extreme. I shall not speak here of the bishops or the priests or of those who practiced tyranny under the name of the Roman Pope. And so I thought to myself, What if our diseases have deserved this unpleasant healer to cure with cuttings and cauteries the evil that cannot be cured with poultices and salves; what if it be God's will to use Luther as of old He used the Pharaohs, the Philistines, the Nebuchadnezzars and the Romans? It seemed that so much success could not be won without His favor, especially since a good part of the business was done by base men of prodigious folly. Thus I arrived at the decision to commit the outcome of this tragedy to Christ, doing only one thing meanwhile, viz., keeping everyone I could from taking sides, and soliciting both parties to come together, if possible, on fair terms, so that little by little peace might be restored.

I believed that my first attempts to accomplish this were not badly thought out. It was tried first at the Diet of Worms; soon afterwards I urged the same course in a letter to the Emperor, then to Adrian VI and Clement VII,² and, last of all, to his legate, Cardinal Campeggio.³ The heads of the Lutheran party were approached to see if they could yield something, but I found them very stiff, and so averse to giving up anything they had undertaken that they were constantly adding still harsher things to the harsh things that had gone before, and the princes of the other party thought best to decree that the dissension should be settled by force.

¹ Hilary of Poitiers.

² Vol. I, p. 416.

³ Vol. I, p. 316.

Thereupon, even though this plan may have been just and true, I perceived that my work was useless, for even though it may be right to cast to the flames a man who sets himself against articles of faith, or any other teachings which have such wide approval in the Church as to be of equal authority with them, nevertheless it is not just to punish any and every error with fire, unless it is accompanied by sedition or some other offence which the law punishes with death. The Gospel ought not to be a valid pretext for men to sin without receiving punishment, but neither ought sin to be committed even though the law may allow it. On the subject of the power of the Pope the theologians of Paris differ at many points from those of Italy, and one party or the other must be in error, but neither invokes the fire against the other. Those who follow Thomas differ on many points from those who adhere to Scotus,¹ and yet the same school tolerates both parties. I now greatly fear that by these vulgar measures, *i.e.*, recantations, prisons and burnings, the evil will only become worse. At Brussels two men were burned, and then the city began to take Luther's part. If the plague had remained confined to a few it could have been checked, but now it has spread so far that I believe even the rulers are in danger. Who is moved by these recantations that are extorted by fear of the fire? When one and another is executed, what other effect has it than merely to irritate the minds of a large faction? Assuming that the evil can be put down by these measures, what is the use of putting it down when it sprouts up again more vigorous than ever? I had hoped that the Pope and the princes could be brought to accept fair terms, and that even Luther would yield something, but now I see that there are some Lutherans of whom I have no hope that they will listen to any just laws. Therefore I am doing the only thing that is left to do, and, with a clear conscience, seeking occasion to make what contribution I can to the patching up of a public peace, and even if the best outcome cannot be secured, nevertheless I shall not

¹ The Thomists and the Scotists were the two great schools of medieval theologians. The former adhered to the theology of Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), the latter to the theology of Duns Scotus (died 1308).

cease to entreat Christ with continual prayers for what is best. Would that not the owl of Minerva but the dove of Christ would deign to fly to us and give some people's overboldness a happy outcome. This is my whole-hearted effort and desire. Whichever party wins I shall not enjoy the victory, for I shall shortly leave this world, but I shall go with a quieter mind if I see the cause of Christ victorious. Luther has offered the world a violent and bitter medicine. Whatever the remedy, I have wished that the body of the Church, everywhere corrupted by so many ills, might gain some health.

There are other things which it is not safe to commit to writing. If your Highness had known them, he would not have written me two such letters, which are very different from those that the Pope and the Emperor and Ferdinand and the King of England write. And yet I am not offended at your frankness; someone has persuaded you that that was the truth, and your ardor for the Catholic faith dictated your course. Otherwise your words would be hard to bear, when you say:¹ "I wish that God had put it into your mind three years ago to separate yourself from the Lutheran faction and in such wise that by publishing some book," etc. What your most illustrious Highness advises was done for years and much more was done than you ask. I never joined that faction, and preferred to lose many friends rather than mingle never so little with that faction, though it was at that time in favor everywhere. In how many books, in how many letters have I testified that I had nothing in common with Luther? In how many places do I make it clear that I disagree with him? To be sure, I did keep up my old friendship with scholars, so far as I could, but I did it such a way as not to assent to their teachings. Even Pope Adrian and Cardinal Campeggio have praised my civility in this respect, perceiving that it helped the cause. Perhaps there will be some men who will slander the moderation I have shown in the *Collatio*,² though it is strongly approved by many scholars and by the King of England and this Cardinal.³ Its modera-

¹ *Supra* no. 626.

² *I.e.*, the work *On the Free Will*.

³ Campeggio.

tion annoys Luther more than any abuse. There are some who think I have entered the arena late; I hope my entrance may be as fortunate as slow. . . .

So much for your two earlier letters; I now come to the last.¹ I am very glad that your Highness approves of the *Collatio*. Letters are coming in from many quarters congratulating me on my work; even the Wittenbergers write that it has been received calmly.² Here, however, they are raving; Oecolampadius is taking flings at the book in all his speeches. I have received the book *On Vows*,³ and have begun to read it. I see that it is very long-winded, but Clichthove,⁴ the Parisian theologian, has already answered it fully. I think my book *On the Manner of Prayer* is already there, otherwise I should have sent it, and shall send it, perhaps, if the bearer of this is willing to undertake the burden. I hope the Lord Jesus may long preserve your most illustrious Highness.

651. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS GERBEL IN STRASSBURG.

Enders, v, 37.

WITTENBERG, December 17, 1524.

In Enders and previous editions this letter is dated October 22, because the date of the original was read, *sabbato post Lucae*, the day of St. Luke the Evangelist being October 18. As Barge has shown, however, (ZKG., xxviii, (1907), pp. 45-48) in all probability the date should be read *Sabbato post Luciae*, the day of Saint Lucia being December 13, and the next Saturday falling on the seventeenth. The letter to Catharine Zell, written on the same day, is dated the same way, and the letter to Spalatin, December 14, *feria 4 post Luciae*. The letter was evidently written at the same time as the one immediately following, in answer to the letter of Gerbel of November 22 (Enders, v, 56), just as the following one to the Strassburg Christians was writ-

¹ *Supra*, no. 640.

² So Melancthon, *supra* no. 637.

³ Which the Duke had sent him in October. *Vide supra*, no. 640.

⁴ Josse Clichthove (c. 1472-1543) of Nieupoort, Flanders, went to Paris in 1488, where he studied under Lefèvre d'Étaples. Given a D.D. by the Sorbonne 1506, he received a benefice at Tournay 1519, and a canonry at Chartres c. 1525, where he remained until death. He wrote much against Luther. On him see P. Feret: *La Faculté de Théologie à Paris*, vols. i and ii, and Allen, iii, 2. Von der Haeghen: *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Josse Clichthove*, 1888. Abbé Clerval: *De Judoci Clichthovei neoportuensis vita et operibus*, 1894 (thesis of Paris) p. 40. Clichthove was called "Christopher" by his colleagues. In all probability he is the person alluded to by Glarean, *supra*, p. 44, note 6, which should be corrected accordingly. At first favorable to the Reformation, he turned against it in 1520. See E. Lavis: *Histoire de France*, Tome V, partie 1, par Lemmonier, 1903, pp. 350 and 352.

ten in answer to the epistle of the Strassburg preachers of November 23 (Enders, v, 59ff.). These letters, with some books of Carlstadt, were brought to Luther by a deacon in Zell's church, named Nicholas, who took Luther's letters back, arriving in Strassburg January 9, 1525. Barge, *loc. cit.*

Both this letter and the following are concerned with Carlstadt's doctrine of the Eucharist. Carlstadt had been forced to leave Wittenberg by Luther's advent in March, 1522, and had gone as parish priest to Orlamünde. There in the latter part of 1523 he had composed his first work on the sacrament, *The Priesthood and Sacrifice of Christ*, in answer to Luther's *Adoration of the Sacrament*.

Carlstadt held that the body and blood of Christ were not present in the communion bread and wine, as was maintained by both the Catholics and Luther. On August 22, 1524, Luther and Carlstadt had a friendly conference at Jena (*supra*, no. 639), at which Luther gave the other permission to set forth his opinion in writing. In response to this Carlstadt composed four tracts on the subject, maintaining his position chiefly by exegetical arguments. Immediately after finishing his pamphlets he left Saxony for South Germany and Switzerland. At Strassburg he saw Bucer and Capito, the latter writing an irenic on *The Schism between Luther and Carlstadt*. Gerbel stood out for Luther, writing Melanchthon that his opponent had brought multitudes into hell fire, and writing Luther, November 22, that no Faber, Eck or Emser had hurt him so much as his former colleague. Urban Rhegius was also for Luther, but Cellarius and the other Strassburgers were either Carlstadtian or tried to take a middle position. Barge: *Karlstadt*, ii, 151-233. Smith, 153ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. Why should we wonder, my dear Gerbel, at the things that are done under the prince, nay, under the god of this world? They are worthy of such a god, and we know that it is not falsely or in vain that He Who lieth not, ascribes so much power to Satan that He calls him the prince and the god not of any one people, but of the whole world. He does this because He would have us on our guard. Nor is it wonderful either that under such great tyranny it is possible for only a small remnant to survive; those namely who believe aright and are saved—for thus the wonderful work of the true God shines forth with the greater splendor.

Carlstadt, therefore, is doing right. He was long since given over to Satan, and now, at last, he is revealing the mysteries of his god. That which has driven the man to it is nothing else than an unconquerable lust for vain glory, which Christ has often hindered, but which burns in his heart with

an inextinguishable flame. It is our part, then, to act fearlessly and "be careful for nothing," as St. Paul bids us, knowing that the Lord is at hand, only seeing to it that our prayers and thanksgiving are made known unto God. For we shall not fight or conquer any better if we are anxious and fearful, nor will things be worse for us if we are glad and joyful. Let us leave sadness and worry to the spirit of Carlstadt, and let us fight like men who are fighting another's battle. The cause is God's, the care is God's, the work is God's, the glory is God's; He will fight and conquer without us. If He deigns to take us for His weapons, we shall be ready and willing.

I write this in order to exhort you, and others through you, not to fear Satan and not to let your heart be troubled.¹ If we are wicked, what is more just than that we should be oppressed? If we are righteous, God, too, is righteous, and will bring forth our righteousness as the noonday.² Let fall what falls, let stand what stands; the cause is not ours, for we seek not the things that are our own. Farewell, my dear Gerbel, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

652. LUTHER TO THE CHRISTIANS OF STRASSBURG.

Enders, v, 83.

(WITTENBERG, December 17, 1524.)

De Wette, ii, 574. German.

De Wette dated this letter December 14, Enders, 15; Albrecht (in *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte D. Köstlin gewidmet*, 1896), the 16th. Barge has, however, shown with great probability that it was written on the 17th, ZKG., xxviii, 45-48. This letter is the answer to one from the Strassburg clergy, Capito, Zell, Hedio, Althiesser, Schwarz, Firn and Bucer to Luther, of November 23, 1524, Enders, v, 59ff. On the circumstances of writing and sending it, see introduction to the last letter. On Bucer *vide* Vol. I, p. 80; T. M. Lindsay in *Quarterly Review*, January, 1914, pp. 116ff; G. Anrich; *M. Bucer*, Strassburg, 1914. In 1522 Bucer married Elizabeth Silbereisen, who died 1542, immediately after which Bucer married Capito's widow.

Grace and peace in God our Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ. Dearest brethren, I greatly rejoice and thank God the Father of all mercy for His rich grace in calling you to His wonderful light and to the fellowship of His Son Jesus Christ. For now through His wholesome Word you know Him and

¹ John xiv, 27.

² Psalm xxvii, 6.

joyously call Him Father Who has freed us from the horrible darkness of the Antichrist and from the iron furnace of Egyptian sin and death and has led us into a large, safe, free, good and promised land.

See now and consider what you once were, and be not found unthankful for God's great mercy, as some are who thereby awaken His wrath again. Rather stand fast, exercise yourselves and daily increase in the knowledge and grace of Jesus Christ. This is the right way of salvation which cannot fail you. Look to it that you stand fast in one mind and show brotherly love one to another, thereby proving that your faith is not false, sluggish and void, lest the enemy once driven out return again and find his house empty and garnished, and so take possession of it with seven spirits more evil than himself and the last state be worse than the first.

If you are slandered and persecuted for your faith, blessed are you. Have they called the master of the house Beelzebub, and shall they not call His servant the same? The servant is not greater than his lord. What can it hurt you that miserable men who pass away like smoke slander you when you are certain that thousands of thousands of angels and God Himself with all creatures rejoice over you and praise and commend you? Your faith and good conscience in the Holy Ghost feels this and bears witness that you have believed well and have Christ truly living and reigning in you, in which case such sufferings profit us and make for our salvation.

There is great danger that schism and sects and errors arise among Christians, and that the comfortable knowledge of the truth may lead them astray, taking them from the hidden grace of the spirit into outward ceremonies and works, as the false apostles did, and after them the heretics, and, last of all, the Pope. We must guard against this with all our might. I have no doubt and am certain that our Gospel is the right Gospel, wherefore it is necessary that it must be proved and tried and tempted on both sides; on the left hand by the open injury and hate of adversaries, and on the right hand by division and schism. Paul says, "For there must also be heresies, that they which are approved be made manifest."¹ Christ must

¹ I Corinthians xi, 19.

not only have Caiaphas among His enemies, but Judas among His friends.

Knowing this, we should be armed and ready, like men who expect attack on either side, and we must not be surprised or terrified when schism arises in our midst, but must steadfastly consider that it must and will be so, and pray God to stand by us and keep us on the right track. Moses says, God proves us to find out whether or not we depend on Him with all our heart.

I say this because I have learned how new "prophets" have arisen, and because certain of your clergy have written me that Dr. Carlstadt has raised an outcry among you with his ranting about the sacrament and images and baptism, as he has done elsewhere, and that he reviles me as though I had driven him out of the land.

Now, dearest friends, I am not your preacher, and no one is bound to believe me; let every man search for himself. I may warn; I cannot control. I hope you have seen in my writings how simply and certainly I treat the Gospel, the grace of Christ, the law, faith, love, the cross, doctrines of men, the Pope, and monastic vows; in short, the main heads of Christian doctrine. In these I think I am found blameless, and cannot deny that, though unworthy, I am an instrument of God by which He has helped many souls.

Of these main articles of faith Dr. Carlstadt has not rightly set forth one, nor can he. Now that I look into his writings, I am simply shocked to find out, what I never suspected before, that the man is still in such deep darkness. It looks to me, when he falls on outward ceremonies with such violence, as if he thought the whole of Christianity lay in breaking images, subverting the Lord's Supper and hindering baptism. He is like to darken the sun and light of the Gospel and our Christian faith with his smoke and fog, so that the world will forget all that it has hitherto learned of us. What he teaches is not genuine Christianity. Breaking images, denying the sacrament and punishing infant baptism are arts which any rascal can learn, but which never made a Christian. Such a spirit is a gross devil who has little in common with me.

Therefore my true warning and advice is that you be on

your guard and keep to essentials, and be not led astray by side issues. Answer any proposition by asking, Does it make a Christian or not? If not, do not exaggerate it into an article of faith, and do not fall to it with all your might. If anyone is too weak to follow a certain good practice, let him have time and wait to see what we and others say about the matter. I have taught truly and well the chief articles of faith, and whoso contradicts me must be no good spirit. I hope I shall not go wrong in regard to outward ceremonies, which are the only things those "prophets" prate about.

I freely confess that if Carlstadt or any other could have convinced me five years ago that there was nothing in the sacrament but mere bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. I was sorely tempted on this point, and wrestled with myself and strove to believe that it was so, for I saw that I could thereby give the hardest rap to the papacy. I read treatises by two men who wrote more ably in defence of the theory than Dr. Carlstadt and who did not so torture the Word to their own imagination. But I am bound, I cannot believe as they do; the text is too powerful and will not let itself be wrenched from the plain sense by argument.

But even if it could happen that to-day anyone should prove on reasonable grounds that the sacrament was mere bread and wine, he would not much anger me. (Alas, I am too much inclined that way myself when I feel the old Adam!) But Dr. Carlstadt's ranting only confirms me in the opposite belief. Even if I had no opinion on the subject to start with, his light, unstable buffoonery, without any appeal to Scripture, would give my reason a prejudice against whatever he urged. I hope everyone will agree with me now that I answer him. I can hardly take him seriously, but am inclined to think God has blinded him or made him mad. For one cannot take him seriously when he mingles such ridiculous propositions with his argument, juggling with Greek and Hebrew, of which everyone knows that he has not had much to forget.

I might stand his raging iconoclasm, for I have been more iconoclastic by my own writings than he by his ranting. What is not to be borne is that he should say that all who did not do as he bade were not Christians, thereby binding freedom and

conscience. We know that a Christian is not made such by any outward work, much less by his attitude to such things as images and the Sabbath, which are left free in the New Testament like the rest of the ceremonial law. St. Paul says, "We know that idols are nothing in the world." If they are nothing, why should we bind and torture Christian consciences for the sake of nothing? If it is nothing, let it be nothing, no matter whether it stand or fall, as Paul says of circumcision.

I can bear the imputation of Carlstadt that I drove him out of the land. Were it true I would answer to God for it. I *am* glad that he has left us, but sorry he is with you, and should like to give him a little warning. I shall take care that my apology will be hard enough for him to answer. Guard yourself from the false spirit who acts as he does; I warn you there is nothing good in it.

He himself persuaded me at Jena that I should not confound his spirit with the seditious, murderous spirit of Allstedt.¹ But when, on the behest of the Elector, I went to see his "Christians" at Orlamünde, I saw what seed he had sown, and was glad to escape safe, being driven thence with stones and mud, the inhabitants giving me their blessing in these words, "Go hence in the name of a thousand devils lest you have your neck broken before you leave." They clean forgot the excuses they had previously written me. If the ass had horns, that is if I were Elector of Saxony, Dr. Carlstadt should not be exiled; I begged the Elector not to do so, but only to prevent Carlstadt from doing harm.

I hope, dear friends, that you will be wiser than we, for we are fools to write of our own deeds. I see the devil only seeks a pretext to make men write and preach against us, no matter how good or how bad we are, that thereby men may be kept still about the chief things of Christ and their mouths be filled with gossip. Let everyone look only to the straight path, and to the nature of the law, the Gospel, the faith, the kingdom of Christ, Christian freedom, love, patience, the doctrines of men and such things. In the meanwhile, if you refrain from breaking images you do no sin; even if you

¹ Münzer.

do not go at once to the sacrament you can yet be saved by the Word and by faith. It is the devil's business to keep us in this perilous night and lead us off the path with his will-o'-the-wisps.

I beg your preachers, dear brethren, to leave Luther and Carlstadt, and point only to Christ, and not as Carlstadt does, only to the work of Christ, and the example of Christ, which was the least part of His work, in which He is like other saints, but to Christ as a gift of God; or, as Paul says, the strength of God, wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption given unto us; which these "prophets" have never felt nor tasted nor understood, but juggle with their "living voice from heaven," and with their "ecstasy," "illumination," "mortification," and such bombastic words, which they themselves do not understand, though by them they make consciences doubtful, unquiet and heavy, while men wonder at their great art, and forget Christ.

Pray, dear brethren, that God the Father may not let us fall into temptation, but strengthen us according to His infinite mercy, and uphold and accomplish His work begun in us, as He has commanded us to ask confidently through Jesus Christ our Saviour. This is an advantage we have over the "prophets," For I know and am certain that they never sought God's counsel nor prayed about their undertakings, for they have not a good enough conscience so to do, but they began in their own presumption and continue thirsting for their own glory until they shall come to a shameful end. God's grace be with you all. Amen.

653. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR FREDERIC.

De Wette, ii, 581. German. (WITTENBERG, before December 24, 1524.)

Grace and peace in Christ, serene and high-born Prince and Lord. Your Grace allowed us this year to have some wheat from the collector, and now the collector duns us every day, and we cannot pay for it, because we are not getting and have not been getting our revenues. I therefore humbly petition your Grace to excuse us for the last time from paying

the said collector for this wheat, for I believe and hope that it will not be necessary any more.

Moreover, gracious Lord, since I am now alone in the monastery with the prior¹ (except for the exiles² whom, out of Christian love, we keep with us), and I have now kept the prior here for more than a year serving me, and cannot and will not keep him longer, because his conscience compels him to change his manner of life;³ since, besides, I cannot endure the misery of dunning people every day for the revenues; therefore we are minded to hand over the monastery, with all that belongs to it, to your Grace, as the ultimate heir. For if the prior leaves, there is nothing left here for me, and I shall have to see where the Lord will support me.

But in order that we, who are the last inmates, may not go away entirely empty-handed, I humbly ask that your Grace will graciously grant and convey either to the prior or to me in my own name, the plot adjoining the hospital which our monastery bought for N. gulden. Not that I wish to have from your Grace a public grant or deed, for I know very well how much importance your Grace attaches to that;⁴ but I wish your Grace to wink at it, so that we may take possession with a clear conscience, and by a secret grant. Thus we could use my name to resist or defend ourselves against anyone who wanted to be grasping or otherwise too shrewd, and then appeal to your Grace as though petitioning for a grant and permit yet to be issued. To be sure, a public grant would be pleasing to God.

Duty and love compel me to make this request, for the prior has had to give up his paternal inheritance, which lies in the jurisdiction of Trier,⁵ because he was persecuted for the Gospel's sake; otherwise he would be rich enough. God's grace keep your Grace. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Brisger.

² Whom their adherence to the evangelical cause had rendered homeless.

³ Brisger married in the following year (July 25, 1525).

⁴ In accordance with the Elector's consistent unwillingness to seem to favor Luther. As a matter of fact the Elector gave Luther the whole monastery in 1532.

⁵ At Mühlheim, near Coblenz.

654. JOHN BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 995.

ELTHAM, January 5, 1525.

John Longland (1473-1547) graduated at Oxford, D.D., 1511, made Bishop of Lincoln 1521. A staunch Catholic. DNB.

Mentioned Wolsey's proposal for making a secret search in several places at once, and that Wolsey would be at the Cross with the clergy, and have a notable clerk to preach against Luther and those who brought Lutheran books into England; after which, proclamation should be made for all who possessed copies to bring them in by a certain day, on which sentence of excommunication should be fulminated against all who disobeyed, and those convicted compelled to abjure or condemned to the flames. Besides which Wolsey would bind the merchants and stationers under recognizances never to import them. The King approves of the plan, especially as to the recognizances, which many would fear more than excommunication, and thought my lord of Rochester¹ would be most meet to make the sermon. "His highness is as good and gracious in this quarrel of God as could be . . . as fervent in this cause of Christ, His Church, and maintenance of the same, as ever a noble prince was."

Told him what a great name he had made for himself throughout Christendom by his notable work against Luther, which this suppression of Luther's adherents would increase. Begs that Wolsey will encourage him in this matter when he sees him. "The world is marvelously bent against the faith, and it is the King's grace and you that must remedy the same."

655. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 103.

WITTENBERG, January 13, 1525.

Grace and peace in the Lord. At last I am returning to you the book of Urban Rhegius,² along with Matthew Busch's³

¹ John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

² The *Warning against the new Error of Dr. Andreas Carlstadt concerning the Sacrament*, published at Augsburg, 1524. On December 29 Luther had written Spalatin that he should send it to him (Enders, v, 89).

³ Matthes Busch (Pusch) was bailiff of Buchholtz, a village near Annaberg on the border of Ducal Saxony. His activity in behalf of the Reformation was a cause of great annoyance to Duke George.

letter. I have put with them a letter to Hartmann Ibach,¹ which you will easily send him; I have no messenger. Justus Kern² has gone to Allstedt with a letter of commendation from me and is not coming back as yet; what he is doing or suffering, I do not know.

Friends write me from Basle that Carlstadt's printers have been put in prison and it wanted little but his books would have been burned; also that he has been there himself, but secretly. Oecolampadius and Pellican write that they agree with his opinions, and Anémond de Coct³ is so obstinate that he threatens to write against me unless I give up my opinion. Behold Satan's portents! But so far as I can gather they are none of them convinced by Carlstadt's proofs, but rather by their own way of thinking. They previously held this opinion about the matter in question, but now they venture to speak it out more freely since they have found the author and a leader of this doctrine. Christ will preserve me and all that are His. I am not convinced by his proofs, but rather strengthened in my own way of thinking; nor have I remained in that error, though I have been grievously tempted.⁴ It is certain that our view is the true one, no matter whether I or they or everybody else shall desert it. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

656. PETER ALBINIANUS TRETIUS TO LUTHER.

UNPUBLISHED. Text in Appendix I. VENICE, January 13, 1525.

Pietro Albiniani (or Albignani) Trezzio was a jurist of some repute. He had spent much of his early life at Trino, where he studied Canon Law under Alexander de Nevo. Later he lived at Venice. He must have been an old man at this time, as his first work was published in 1475, and he had a son, John Baptista Tretius, at this time a dean at

¹ An evangelical preacher who had a somewhat checkered career. He was at this time chaplain of the Saxon knight John von Minkwitz at Sonnenwalde.

² Kern, a former monk, had married in Nuremberg and come from there to Wittenberg (Cf. L. to Spalatin, Enders v, 86). He afterwards became Münzer's successor in Allstedt. His matrimonial entanglements were a source of considerable trouble at the time of the Visitation of 1533. Cf. Enders, v, 87, n. 1.

³ Anémond de Coct (died 1525), "the French Hutten" (Baum, *Bucer*, 267), a knight of Dauphiné, driven out of his own land because of his evangelical opinions, lived a wandering life, chiefly in Switzerland. In 1523 he spent some time in Wittenberg. He was in turn a Lutheran, a Zwinglian, an Anabaptist and again a Zwinglian.

⁴ Cf. *supra* no. 652.

Emoricum. Early in 1524 he completed a work against Luther entitled, *Tractatus aureus Petri Albiniani Tretii ad Sanctiss. Dominum nostrum Clementem VII . . . De Pontificia Potestate*. This was gratefully acknowledged by Clement in a breve to the nuncio at Venice, Thomas Campeggio, dated June 4, 1524. It was first printed at Venice in 1545, and was reprinted in the large collection known as the *Tractatus illustrium in utraque tum pontificii cum caesarei juris facultate Jurisconsultorum*, Venice, 1584, Tomus xiii, Pars i, pp. 130ff. In this (at Union Seminary) I have read it. On Tretius cf. Pastor-Kerr, xii, p. 540; Lauchert: *Die Italienischen Gegner Luthers*, 1912, pp. 381ff.

It is extremely difficult to say whether this letter really belongs in 1524 or in 1525. According to A. Giry: *Manuel de Diplomatie*, Paris, 1894, pp. 106 and 127, from time immemorial until 1797 the Venetians dated their public acts by a calendar beginning the year on March 1. But from about 1520 the custom of beginning the year on January 1 in dating private acts was introduced. If, therefore, Tretius considered this a private letter, and took up with the new custom, the date M.D. xxiiiij would mean 1524. But if he used the old style, it would mean 1525. There is no decisive internal evidence. He quotes from his *Tractatus*, which, as we have said, Clement acknowledged on June 24, 1524. He quotes from Luther's *Theses* (1517), and *Resolutions* (1518) and speaks of the burning of the Canon Law December 10, 1520. As far as I can see there is no later date spoken of either in this letter or in the *Tractatus*. As probably Tretius would prefer the old style, and as the *Tractatus*, which he speaks of in this letter as completed, was not finished much before Clement acknowledged in June, 1524, I have preferred the date 1525.

In translating this letter I have condensed by omitting most of the very numerous references to the Canon Law, for which see the text in appendix, with notes.

Here happily begins the pious, charitable and wholesome epistle of Peter Albinianus Tretius, J.U.D., to Friar Martin Luther, a German, of the order of Augustinian Hermits.

Our Redeemer Jesus Christ said to His apostles, "Ye also are without understanding,"¹ and again, "If ye, then, being evil,"² and to Peter, the prince of the apostles, "Get thee behind me, Satan,"³ and after His resurrection He upbraided them with their unbelief⁴ and hardness of heart, and said to His disciples, Luke the Evangelist and Cleophas, as they were going to Emmaus, "O fools and slow of heart to believe,"⁵ and again, before His passion, "Ye are clean, but not all."⁶ If

¹ Matthew xv, 16. In our version a question.

² Luke xi (not xxi) 13.

³ Matthew xvi, 23.

⁴ Mark xvi, 14.

⁵ Luke xxiv, 25.

⁶ John xiii, 10.

Christ could say these things to the Apostles, who were filled with the Holy Ghost—according as He said to them, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins ye remit,” etc.¹—may I not then justly, rightly, freely and lawfully say to you:

Ah, Martin Luther, what madness has seized you? Are you insane? For you sin far more, incomparably more, than did the apostles and disciples in the texts just quoted, in that by your own,—I cannot say authority, for manifestly you have none,—but of your own rashness and arrogance, you have not blushed to burn the sacred Book of the Canon Law in public, and with a great oration, showing contempt for the keys of the Catholic faith and of the papal power. Unless I am mistaken, this book should be kept with no less devotion, piety and faith than was the ark of the Lord in which were hidden the tables written with the finger of God, which, as Lyra says, were “witnesses between God and the people, being commandments received from Him.”² When Uzzah the Levite, the carrier of this famous ark, saw the car tipping and put his hand on it to prevent it falling, he was immediately smitten and died.³ The Book of Decretals is full of authorities drawn from the Old and New Testaments, and of treatises of theologians, and of sacred canons established by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as the text says.⁴ These, forsooth, are greater than, or at least equal to, the things contained in the ark of the Lord, since they are more edifying and profitable to the salvation of souls than are the covenants of the Lord between Himself and His people. Because the precepts in the aforesaid parts of the Book of the Decretals are divine and are by the same author from whom the said covenants proceeded, and are as edifying. Wherefore it is said, “Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.”⁵ And the blessed Augustine says⁶ that he who neglects

¹ John xx, 22ff; Matthew xvi, 19 and xviii, 12.

² Note of Nicholas de Lyra to Exodus xxv, 16. See *Biblia Latina cum postillis Nic. de Lyra*, Nuremberg, Koburger, 1487, 4 vols. (Union Seminary).

³ II Samuel vi, 6f; it is interesting to note that Tretius quotes this from the Canon Law, not from the Bible direct.

⁴ Fourteen references to the Canon Law to support this, here omitted in translation. See text.

⁵ Luke xi, 28.

⁶ *Fifty books of Homilies*, no. 26, as quoted in the Canon Law.

to hear the Word of God sins no less than he who lets the Body of Christ fall on the ground.¹ For, preaching converts some and causes punishment, whereas only venial sins are remitted by eating the Body of Christ, as is said in the gloss.² The same must be said of the aforementioned covenants, and, perhaps, it is less true of them than of the eucharistic sacrifice, for they were shut up in an ark, but the Body of Christ is taken by the faithful. At any rate the said Decretals are equal to the said covenants, as they proceed from the same author. Moreover, in this book of Decretals are found the answers of the supreme Pontiffs by which, as is well established, the book of the Decretals was made the Canon Law. For the supreme Pontiffs are presumed to have all the laws in the casket of their hearts,³ for both Popes and Emperors are guided by the advice of the wise and prudent. The same appears in the Institutes,⁴ in the third chapter of Nehemiah,⁵ and in the commentary of Felinus Sandeus.⁶ Nay, I should prefer to say that the power of legislation resided only in the supreme Pontiff and had been usurped and abused by the Emperor.⁷ Pope Innocent IV attests this, and if you do not believe him you will be forced to do so willy-nilly by the divine authorities he cites. For, beginning with the foundation of the world, he says: "Thus God created heaven and earth and all that in them is, angelic and human nature, things spiritual and things temporal, and He personally rules them as a maker rules what he has made, and He gave to man, whom He had made, laws, and He im-

¹ From the time of Tertullian, at least, it was considered a very terrible thing to let the eucharist bread or wine fall on the floor. See Srawley, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, v, 549. In 1280 the Synod of Cologne decreed that if any of the consecrated wine was spilt the priest should lick it up. Du Cange, *s. v. ablingere*. The Lutherans inherited the same superstition. In the sixteenth century the fingers of a Lutheran priest were actually cut off for accidentally spilling the wine. Richards, *Melanchthon*, 363f, 391; RGG., i, 77.

² *I.e.*, the commentary on the Canon Law. The Council of Trent, on the contrary, stated that "pleased by this oblation the Lord remits even enormous sins and crimes." Session XXII, cap. 2, Mirbt: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*³, 1911, p. 240.

³ *In scrinio pectoris*, a famous phrase. One is tempted to translate "in their chests." Supported by a citation from the Civil Law.

⁴ Institutes, ii, 25.

⁵ *Passim*.

⁶ A jurist (1444-1503) who lectured at Bologna, and was Bishop of Penna. Schulte, *Quellen des kanonischen Rechts*, ii, 350.

⁷ Quotation from Innocent IV to prove this.

posed a penalty for their violation, and when they sinned He Himself punished them, that is, Adam and Eve. Likewise He punished Lamech, Cain, and certain others, as is read in Genesis, chapters four and five. Thus from the time of Noah until our time God rightly began to rule His creatures through ministers, of whom the first was Noah. In what manner he was the ruler of the people appears from the fact that God gave him the government of the ark, by which the Church is signified. How God gave the government and the law to Noah and his sons is related in Genesis ix. Although Noah is not said to have been a priest, yet he exercised the function of a priest immediately after entering the ark, and before he gave laws to the people.¹ To this vicariate succeeded the patriarchs, judges, kings, priests and others, who for a time governed the Jewish people. This lasted until the time of Christ, our natural Lord and King, of whom the psalm says, "Give the king thy judgments, O God."² Christ Himself constituted Peter His vicar and His successor, when He gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and when He said, "Feed my sheep."³ And although the offices and governments differ in many things, yet it is a legal necessity to have recurrence to the Pope, because there is no superior judge, or else because lesser judges cannot actually execute their sentences, or will not give justice as they ought. These are golden words of Innocent, quoted by the Abbot,⁴ who says that they please Hostiensis.⁵ They are proved by the words of Isaiah, "For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us."⁶ They are also proved by that chosen vessel, Paul, who wrote the Hebrews, "For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also in the law."⁷ These words were received into the Canon Law in the chapter

¹ Genesis viii (not ix), 20.

² Psalm lxxii, 1.

³ John xxi, 16.

⁴ "The Abbot," as he was called, was Nicholas de Tudeschis (†1453). See note to text in appendix.

⁵ Hostiensis was Henry de Segusia, a celebrated jurist, who died 1271. See note to text in Appendix.

⁶ Isaiah xxx, 22.

⁷ Hebrews vii, 12.

translato de constitutionibus,¹ where the gloss to the word *translato* expounds it to apply to Peter by those words, "Feed my sheep." Others apply it to the words, "Go and teach them," in the last chapter of Mark.² For as the law and the observation of the law has been changed, it is not among the Jews but with Peter and his successors. And that the priesthood is transferred from Christ to Peter is proved by the Canon Law and the gloss thereto.³ These things are proved by the authority of Paul the Apostle, who, in setting forth or declaring that the plenitude of power rests with the Church, says, "Know ye not that ye⁴ shall judge angels? How much more things that pertain to this life?"⁵ And Nicholas de Lyra, in his commentary on the first chapter of Judges and the first chapter of I Samuel, says that God ruled and governed the people of Israel in three ways: First, by judges to King Samuel;⁶ secondly, by kings from Saul to the Babylonian migration; thirdly, by pontiffs from the return from the Babylonian captivity to the time of Christ, when John Hircanus, a descendant from the Macabees, first, after the Babylonian rule, placed on his head the royal diadem. In the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, we read how God ruled the people through kings, and these kings were anointed, as we read in I Samuel xv [1], where Samuel anointed Saul king.⁷ The Archdeacon⁸ says that priests and kings are anointed and that this unction is spiritual. The psalm, moreover, "Give thy judgments unto the king, O God,"⁹ is expounded by Nicholas de Lyra¹⁰ to mean, "Do Thou, God the Father, give Christ the judicial

¹ Decretals 1, 2, 3. Full references in notes to text.

² Mark xvi, 15. Further citations of Canon Law omitted here.

³ Citations in text; see notes there.

⁴ So our text, for "we shall judge."

⁵ I Corinthians vi, 2. Further citations from Canon Law omitted.

⁶ So the text unmistakably, probably by a slip of the author's or of a copyist's pen. Lyra on Judges i, writes, "primo per judices usque ad Saulem regem."

⁷ Citations from Canon Law omitted.

⁸ Guy de Baysio, Archdeacon at Bologna, died 1313. See note to text.

⁹ Psalm lxxii, 1.

¹⁰ *Gallatus exponitur per Nicholam de Lyra*, which I was inclined to interpret to mean the *Prologus Galeatus* of Jerome to the Vulgate with Lyra's notes thereon. However, the *Prologus Galeatus* of Jerome was not commented on by Lyra, at least not in the edition of 1487, which I have consulted, though Jerome's other prefaces are there. It is impossible to see in *Gallatus* an allusion to Paul's epistle *ad Galatas*, as there is nothing pertinent in it or in Lyra's comments on it. The riddle in the text, therefore, remains unsolved.

power." This was done in John v [22], "The Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son." "And thy righteousness unto the king's son,"¹ means that the execution of the said power is given to the king's son in Christ, who as God is the eternal Son of the King His Father, and as man is a son of King David,² and in both characters the whole judicial power is given to Him. Although the power of the Father and of the Son is not the same in divine matters, nevertheless the Son has it and a like substance from the Father; and, according as Christ is a man the judicial power is also given unto Him. Because in the last judgment He will appear in the human form in which He was judged by Pilate,³ albeit that He appeared before Pilate in a form capable of suffering, but at the last judgment He will appear in a glorified form. So says Nicholas de Lyra in expounding the said psalm [lxxii], "Give the king thy judgments, O God, judge thy people," etc. The psalm continues with the prediction, "Give thy righteousness to the king's son." Moreover Christ exercised a judicial jurisdiction when He sat down, as a judge does, and absolved the adulteress from the charges brought against her.⁴ Also when He made a scourge of small cords and cast out of the temple those who bought and sold.⁵ And through Daniel He judged the two old men, inveterate in evil days.⁶ Moreover Moses gave the law to the Jews,⁷ and in this law Moses commanded one taken in this kind of adultery to be stoned. And in John vii (19), "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you keepeth the law?" And in Luke ii (22), it is said, "And when the days of her purification were accomplished according to the law of Moses." Now the Pope is the successor of Moses, as is seen by the gloss to the Canon Law⁸ and by other laws cited by me in my book

¹ The rest of Psalm lxxii, 1, just quoted.

² Quotes Matthew i, and Romans i, 3.

³ Matthew xxvi, 64.

⁴ John viii, 11, quoted in Canon Law.

⁵ John ii, 15 and Luke xix, 45, as quoted in Canon Law. It is interesting to note that this learned jurist seldom cites Scripture save from the Canon Law, or from Nicholas de Lyra.

⁶ Daniel xiii, Apocrypha.

⁷ Exodus xx; Leviticus xx, 10; Deuteronomy xxii, 22; John viii, 5.

⁸ Full reference in text and notes to it.

on *The Papal Power*.¹ Wherefore if it were permitted to Moses to make a law, *a fortiori* it is permitted to Peter, the successor of Christ, and to his successors, as is proved by the words, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do," in Matthew xxiv.² Furthermore, inasmuch as the priesthood has been transferred, it is needful that the law should be transferred.³ Augustine expounds these words by saying: "It is thus because both were given at the same time and by the same man and under the same guarantee; wherefore what is said of one must necessarily be understood of the other."⁴ From which words of the apostle the doctors gather and infer that the power of making laws now and formerly has rested with priests, as was said above, and thus one sees how indistinctly that text speaks. This power of making law was original with priests and not with laymen, and thus the laity never has the function or power of legislation. And although before the coming of Christ the Emperor received the power from the people, yet that power was, in fact, abusive and usurped.⁵ Wherefore it was necessary to have it confirmed by the Church as far as it was exercised, as is noted in various passages in the Civil and Canon Laws,⁶ from which it is evident that in the primitive Church all causes were brought to the bar of the Church. These are the words of Butrigarius, of John of Imola,⁶ of the said Abbot,⁶ and of my most illustrious preceptor in Canon Law, Alexander de Nevo.⁶ These doctors say that sacerdotal orders and the other sacraments are found neither among the Jews nor among other unbaptized persons. Wherefore if any Jew or other unbaptized person is ordained he does not receive the priestly character. Even were Aaron alive he could not confer the priesthood in that form and by those words with which he once conferred it, for they have not the same force which they had before the advent of Christ, because the priesthood to-day is not with the Jews but with

¹ On this see note at the beginning of this epistle.

² Rather, Matthew xxiii, 3.

³ Hebrews vii, 12.

⁴ Augustine, *City of God*, book xxvii, chap. 6.

⁵ Several quotations from the Civil Law are given fully in notes to the text in appendix, q.v.

⁶ For these jurists see notes to text in appendix.

the Christians. To prove this I allege in addition to those already cited the fact that Christ arising from the synagogue entered into Simon's house,¹ which means that having left the old Mosaic law He entered into the new law instituted by Christ Himself, and founded upon Simon, whom He called Peter.² Many similar texts are cited by me in my treatise on the Papal Power and the Treasury of the Church. Nor do we read that after Christ entered Simon's house He returned to the synagogue.

From what has been said we have laid an unbreakable and immovable foundation for the true and legal view, namely, that the power of legislation rests with Peter and his successors even unto the end of the world,³ and consequently that the law, no matter how hard, must be kept. Therefore it is very plain to me that you have committed a grave, indeed, the gravest of crimes in detracting from the papal power, which is boundless, and in burning the book of the Decretals, worthy of all praise. By this crime you have declared yourself a heretic and a despiser of the Catholic faith. Because Christ did not come to destroy the law but to fulfill.⁴ But you, in burning the book of the Decretals, which consists of laws, destroyed and tore up laws, so that you may even be called the Antichrist and false Christ.⁵ By burning this you sinned worse and more grievously than Judas Iscariot, the Jews and Pilate in killing Christ, because the death of Christ hurt only those who slew Him, but your writings and that burning hurt you and almost innumerable others even unto the death of their souls. Nay, rather, the slayers of Christ did a pious and praiseworthy act, because by the death of Christ the doors of the heavenly kingdom, which were formerly shut, were opened, so that His slayers would have deserved a reward and praise had they done it with good mind and intention. For God is the rewarder of adverbs, not of nouns; that is, he rewards not the deed, but the mind and heart with which it is done, for God questions the heart. And because Judas through avarice, the

¹ Luke iv, 38; Matthew viii, 14.

² John i, 42; Matthew xvi, 18.

³ Matthew xxviii, 20. Citations from Canon and Civil Laws omitted.

⁴ Matthew v, 17.

⁵ Matthew xxiv, 24.

Jews through hatred, and Pilate though timidity and with evil mind [put Christ to death], therefore they deserved not reward but punishment. But your writings have closed the gates of the celestial kingdom and have opened the gates of hell to those who follow¹ your false doctrine. You should, therefore, weep for the almost innumerable souls of the faithful which your false and heretical doctrine and your counterfeit eloquence has led to hell to remain for eternity without hope, where there is weeping, gnashing of teeth, crying and much wailing, for from hell there is no redemption. The value that God puts on one soul is declared by the parable of the shepherd who left the ninety and nine sheep to seek for the one lost and wandering in the desert. And having found it he put it on his shoulders rejoicing, and he called together his friends and neighbors, saying, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost.² Wherefore I beg and exhort you, Martin Luther, and as one desirous of your salvation I ask you to recognize your error and to weep inwardly for burning the book of the Decretals, and to retract your aforesaid writings, both heretical and repugnant to truth and to the Catholic faith. In this you would imitate Augustine, who wrote a book of retractions³ disproving some of his writings, and the emperor who said that he did not blush to emend and to change his writings which were not quite right.⁴ Nay, the gloss to the Canon Law even says that a particular Church can err.⁵ It is an act of great prudence for a man to retract what he has said, nor is he who returns to the truth called unstable. Otherwise you will undergo punishment in this world and heavier punishment in the next, for you will be judged a heretic and schismatic; nay, you are already so judged. You ought not to take what I have written ill, for, says the wise man, when you heal wounds pain is the medicine of pain, and better are the wounds of a friend than the kisses of an enemy.⁶ Farewell, and be not incredulous but faithful, lest a worse

¹ Reading *sectantibus* for *sectantes*.

² Luke xv, 4-6.

³ Augustine's well known work. Numerous extracts from it are translated in the Post Nicene Fathers.

⁴ This is quoted from the Digest, for which see notes to text.

⁵ Various citations omitted in translation.

⁶ Proverbs xxiii, 6, quoted from Canon Law.

thing befall you, and you be burned, as you have burned the book of the Decretals.

657. CASPAR GLATZ TO LUTHER.

Enders, v, 107. German.

ORLAMÜNDE, January 18, 1525.

Caspar Glatz was Carlstadt's successor in the parish of Orlamünde, taking charge in September, 1524. The occurrences described in this letter took place on the occasion of Luther's visit (August 24, 1524), which resulted in Carlstadt's expulsion. Cf. Barge ii, 130ff., Müller, *L. und Karlstadt*, 229ff.

. . . In order that you may know the other tricks that Carlstadt practices here, I will tell you some of them that have been told me, for many of the citizens here are against him because of his rebellious spirit. Two or three days after you left Kahla, Carlstadt had all the bells of Orlamünde rung for more than an hour, so that many of the peasants came in from the neighboring villages to hear what this great spirit would have to preach. He began this way (and this is the truth), "Lamentation to God in heaven! the man (he meant you) has a great reputation throughout the world; what he says is supposed to be true. But sad to say, I have observed, by the Spirit of God, that he does not use the pound and talent, which God has given him, as a true servant, puts the Gospel under the bench. O dear brothers and sisters, God's citizens, do not be terrified; endure to the end, and you shall be saved. God has given him up, and he perverts the Scriptures to suit his own opinions. O shame, shame, that we here on the Saale, who are taught by the living voice of God, must see the misery that is wrought by this monk and scribe! Pray God, pray God, good Christian, that you may keep the Word that I have preached!"

Again, you know that he pretended to have a spirit who made revelations to him, and so I want to tell you this. He had a monk for chaplain, a wicked rogue. When he had people at his house for supper in the evening, the supposed chaplain went around in disguise, throwing stones and boards about the house, as he himself now confesses. Then Carlstadt said, "I see what the spirit wants. He is angry because I do not come to him, but sit here drinking so long. Since he must speak with me, please excuse me while I go and hear what

he has to say." A little while later Carlstadt came back from the spirit (that is, from this crazy monk) and told the biggest lies, saying, among other things, that Luther's doctrine is not of God, and, therefore, must be shunned like the plague, and many other clumsy stories.

Then, again, this same monk hid himself in the church, and rang the great bells at an unusual time. When the people came running together and begged Carlstadt to ask the spirit what he wanted, or what he meant by ringing the bell, he is said to have replied, "He says the spirit cannot rest until they have taken away the pictures, the altar, the pulpit, the font and the pix, and burned them to powder."

I think we can call this fanaticism. It is nothing but the truth, and if he replies to this I will write you of other, far worse things, that will make his eyes smart, for some of the citizens who gladly hear the pure doctrine of faith, love and the Cross, keep nothing back from me. I have some psalms, too, which he has translated from the Hebrew and taught the people to sing in German. They are the lamest things and marvelously bad parodies. You will see from them how much Hebrew he knows. I have not had time to write them out, and must send them another time. Hastily, farewell.

GLATZ, Minister of the Gospel.

658. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, III.

WITTENBERG, January 29, 1525.

Grace and peace, my dear Spalatin. I thought my request had long since been granted, that our debt for wheat, which we contracted with the collector of Wittenberg, should be remitted as a final gift¹ before we dispersed, especially after we asked you to intercede for us because you were at court. But the collector continues to press us for payment, and says he will not desist until, to use his own words, *he sees the red wax of the court*.² Therefore I ask again that you will, if possible, secure this favor for us, and relieve him of responsibility. But if it cannot be done, let us know, and we shall see to it that he is satisfied, even though we have to sell whatever property

¹ *Vide supra* no. 653.

² This in German.

we have left. I do not wish him to run any further risk, and us to be any longer annoyed.

I am sending a letter from our friend Glatz¹ that you may see with what monstrous doings Dr. Carlstadt has been and still is occupied. This is what I have always been afraid of. "There is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed," says Christ.² Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

659. CHARLES CONTARINI TO THE STATE OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 938.

INNSBRUCK, February 20, 1525.

Very great disturbance in Germany. The Elector of Saxony is in the field with many of the free towns, and intends to attack the Dukes of Bavaria and the Cardinal of Salzburg,³ both of whom have already commenced raising troops. All this proceeds from Martin Luther, because it seems that the Cardinal said the Elector of Saxony was a heretic, as also did the Dukes of Bavaria; so that some stir will be witnessed.

660. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 132.

WITTENBERG, February 25, 1525.

Beginning with the year 1523 the attempt was made to introduce the Reformation in Danzig. The preaching of evangelical doctrine was welcomed by the people of the city, and the city council yielded at last to the wishes of the people and began the introduction of reforms. In August, 1524, the first steps were taken, and in January, 1525, the city council decreed that evangelical worship should be introduced in all the city churches. In February the council sent a communication to Luther and another to the Elector of Saxony, asking that someone be sent from Wittenberg to supervise the work of reform. In the letter to Luther (Enders, v, 119) Bugenhagen is named as an acceptable person. In the end Bugenhagen declined to go, and Michael Hänlein was sent in his place. The reformation movement in this city was short-lived, however, for in 1526 King Sigismund of Poland compelled the reintroduction of the Roman ceremonies, and there was no more evangelical preaching in Danzig until 1534.

Grace and peace in the Lord. The bearer, Dr. John,⁴ one of the Danzig pastors, is coming to the Elector to ask his consent that our Bugenhagen may be called there. I ask that

¹ *Supra* no. 657.

² Luke xii, 2.

³ Matthew Lang.

⁴ John Bonholt.

you will assist him as best you can. I could have wished Bugenhagen to stay here, but in such circumstances and for the Word's sake I think we ought to give him up. Who knows to what use God may wish to put him there? We might not recognize, and therefore might stand in the way of, the clear calling of God. You will hear from him of the wonderful things that Christ has done in Danzig. If I received such a call I should not dare refuse it, but would go at once.

It is reported here that the King of France has won a victory over the Emperor. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

661. CHARLES CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 944.

INNSBRUCK, February 26, 1525.

The stir in Germany between the Elector of Saxony and the Cardinal of Salzburg¹ and the Duke of Bavaria is greater than ever. The cause proceeds from the affairs of Martin Luther, because when the diet was held last year at Nuremberg, the Duke of Bavaria and the Cardinal of Salzburg being invited thither, the Cardinal would not go, saying that he would not be present where heretics were defended and favored, alluding to the Elector of Saxony. The Duke of Bavaria, on the other hand, went to Nuremberg, and, finding himself at a grand banquet given in honor of the Elector of Saxony, meats were brought to table, although it was Friday. The Duke of Bavaria rose, and would not eat, saying publicly that such proceedings were too heretical. Hence arose this enmity. But what is worse, the subjects of many princes and lords of Germany have rebelled, and will no longer obey or pay them their usual taxes, Saxony favoring them at the instigation of Martin Luther, so that his sect is now in the field 25,000 strong, and they have raised a banner on which is written, *Defensores Libertatis et Evangelicæ Scripturæ*, the greater part of these people being [natives] of the free towns, according to report.

However unreasonable these things may appear, has not chosen to omit mentioning them, that the Signory may know the cause of this stir.

¹ Matthew Lang.

662. CHARLES CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 955.

INNSBRUCK, March 9, 1525.

The disturbances in Germany seem to abate, especially those in Saxony against the Cardinal of Salzburg and the Duke of Bavaria. There still remains the Duke of Württemberg,¹ who was expelled his duchy, and who by assistance of the Lutherans has recovered many of his places; but the members of the League of Swabia have taken the field, being bound to maintain the duchy of Württemberg for the Archduke Ferdinand. All disturbance will now cease by reason of the rout of Pavia,² which has humbled the pride of the Germans, who are averse to the aggrandisement of the Emperor and the Archduke.

663. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, v, 136.

WITTENBERG, March 11, 1525.

. . . I do not rejoice that the King of France (whether he is flesh or something else) is conquered and captured;³ he could bear defeat, but captivity is certainly monstrous. But in these works of God why look for anything but His operations? He raises up kingdoms only to cast them down. Perhaps now the time has come to say of the French, as the poet said of Troy, *Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum*.⁴ The King formerly captured the Duke of Milan, now he himself is captured; now the Emperor triumphs that he may at length fall. Such ruin of kings and princes in our age is to me one of the signs that the world will soon perish in the last judgment, for these are greater signs than any think. And now if the princes allow the people to grow insolent it shall come to pass that some shall fall thereby. Perhaps fate presses them on. The only thing that pleases in these events is that the attempt of Antichrist⁵ to work through the King of France has

¹ Duke Ulrich of Württemberg had been expelled from his duchy by the Swabian League. His lands were given to Ferdinand at the Diet of Worms, 1521. Taking advantage of the Peasants' War, he invaded his duchy in February, 1525, with ten thousand Swiss infantry. He was not finally reinstated, however, until May, 1534, when Philip of Hesse again set him on the ducal throne.

² The victory of Charles V over Francis I, at Pavia, February 24, 1525.

³ At the battle of Pavia.

⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 324, "Troy's last great day has come, and her inevitable fate."

⁵ I.e., Clement VII, who was in alliance with Francis.

been foiled, so that God shows that He wishes to make vain all the counsels of that tyrant of souls and lead him to his end. . . .

MARTIN LUTHER.

664. THE ELECTORAL COUNCILORS TO THE ELECTOR
FREDERIC.

Barge, ii, 577. German.

TORGAU, March 19, 1525.

The controversy with Carlstadt (*cf. supra*, nos. 651, 652) became more and more violent. Against him Luther wrote a work, entitled *Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacrament*, the first part of which appeared in December, 1524, and the second part in January, 1525. Weimar, xviii, 62ff. The bitter tone alienated the Strassburgers and many others, Barge, ii, 276. Carlstadt replied with an *Exegesis of I Cor. x* [16], which appeared in February. In the meantime the Peasants' War had broken out, and Carlstadt was both discredited and frightened by the movement. He therefore wished to return to Saxony to hide, a matter discussed in the following letters.

. . . If now the Doctor [Luther] should wish to relegate Carlstadt to some convenient place outside of Wittenberg, in the land of your Grace and your Grace's brother, doubtless your Grace and your brother would not oppose him. You would also agree not to molest Carlstadt, or allow him to be molested, as long as he should refrain from further preaching and from assembling mobs. Wherefore he would not fear anything from your Graces, nor would any safe-conduct be necessary for him. Your Graces should give command to show him this in reply to his letter.

And if this or some other plan pleases your Grace, it is our humble advice that Spalatin should betake himself to Wittenberg, and communicate it to Dr. Luther orally, in order that, as your Grace wishes to escape these matters and not to appear in them, there should not be much writing about them. It is, however, to be feared that Carlstadt will not give credence to Dr. Luther without a written statement, nor will he accept his excuses in place of one. Perhaps, therefore, Luther will need to have a letter to show Carlstadt in fulfillment¹ of the promise he made, to prove to him that he [Luther] has attempted to get such a written statement and has not succeeded. Wherefore, in our humble opinion, it can do no harm if Spala-

¹ *Zu seinem gelympff bescheener vertrostung.*

tin, besides his oral message, should write to Luther to the effect that at his [Luther's] written request he had earnestly asked for such a safe-conduct from your Grace, but that your Grace had let him understand that, for many reasons not necessary to set forth at this time, it seemed unadvisable to your Grace at this time to give a safe-conduct to Dr. Carlstadt, but that your Grace had let him know that in case Dr. Luther should designate some place in your or your brother's land for the conference with Dr. Carlstadt, and as long as he refrained from public preaching and from assembling mobs, your Grace would not oppose it, and that in this case he therefore need fear nothing from your Grace or from your brother. . . .

665. THE ELECTOR FREDERIC TO HIS COUNCILORS.

Barge, ii, 578. German.

(TORGAU?), March 20, 1525.

. . . Spalatin shall accordingly give Dr. Luther our opinion also in writing, concerning Carlstadt's business. But we do not wish to write Luther that Carlstadt shall be allowed to have a conference with him anywhere, certain of safety from our brother and ourselves, but will leave the matter pending. . . .

666. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, v, 144.

WITTENBERG, March 26, 1525.

Grace and peace. I return the Mass. I am willing that it should be sung as you have indicated, but it does not altogether please me that Latin music has been kept for German words. I have told the publisher what German melody I should like to have put there. The catechism has been assigned to the men who are to write it,¹ as I said before. I owe a book on the freedom of the will,² but I am so overwhelmed by the demands of the printers that I am compelled to put it off. I wish the *Preface*³ to be very short. If you cannot compose a

¹ On February 2 Luther had written to Hausmann, "The preparation of a Catechism for boys has been committed to Jonas and Eislebius (Agricola)." This work was never finished.

² In reply to Erasmus.

³ In the Communion Service, the exhortation addressed to the communicants, reminding them of the meaning of the sacrament and the true spirit in which to receive it.

better one you may use meanwhile the one outlined on the enclosed sheet. Farewell, and pray for miserable me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

667. LUTHER TO WOLFGANG REISSENBUSCH AT LICHTENBERG.

Enders, v, 145. De Wette ii, 637. German.

WITTENBERG, March 27, 1525.

On Reissenbusch *cf.* Vol. I, p. 366. In addition to the note there I have discovered that he studied at Leipsic, 1499, took B.A. at Wittenberg, 1502, studied at Bologna, 1508, and on April 26, 1525, married Hanna Hertzog, daughter of a tailor of Torgau. He was at this time a school teacher at Lichtenberg, and was later employed on diplomatic missions by the Elector. He died 1540. ARG., xii, 1915, 32f. Luther's letter to him indicates that the writer was also contemplating marriage. Smith, 172.

God's grace and peace in Christ. Honored Sir! I am moved by good friends and also by the esteem I bear you, to write this letter on the estate of matrimony, as I have often spoken of it with you before and have noticed that you would like to marry, or are rather forced and compelled to do so by God Himself who gave you a nature requiring it.

I do not think you should be hindered by the rule of the Order, or by a vow, for you should be fully convinced that no vow can bind you or be valid except under two conditions. First, the vow must be possible of performance. For who will vow an impossible thing? Or who would demand it? Thus the Scripture limits all vows so as to be within our power, such as to give God cattle, sheep, houses, land and so forth. Now chastity is not in our power, as little as are God's other wonders and graces, but we are made for marriage as the Scripture says: "It is not good that man should be alone; I will make a help meet for him."

Whoso, therefore, considers himself a man, and believes himself included in that general term, should hear what God his Creator decrees for him, saying that it is not good for him to be alone, but that he should multiply, and, therefore, makes him a help meet to be with him and aid him so that he may not be alone. This is the Word of God, through Whose power seed is created in man's body and the burning desire for the

woman kindled and kept alight, which cannot be restrained by vows or laws. For it is God's law and doing. Let him who will be alone cast off the name of man and prove himself an angel or spirit, for God does not permit such an estate to a man. We do right when we sing of holy virgins that their life is not human but angelic, that though in the flesh they could be without the flesh by God's high grace. Our body is in great part woman's flesh, for by them we were conceived and grew, were borne and nourished, so that no one can keep himself entirely free from them. This is God's ordinance, Who made it and had it so. Even the impotent we see are full of natural desire; yea, the more impotent they are the more they desire to be with women, which is natural, as we always desire most what we can least have.

Therefore we see that it is true that whoso will live alone undertakes an impossible task and runs counter to God's Word and the nature God gave him. Those who wrestle with God and nature fall and are full of fornication and all uncleanness until they are drowned in their own vices and driven to despair. Therefore such a vow against God and nature is impossible and void. God condemns it, just as if someone should vow: I will be God's mother, or, I will make a heaven.

Secondly, that a vow may be valid, it must not be against God and the Christian faith, and everything is against that which relies on works and not on God's grace, as is said in Hebrews, chapter twelve. One must ground one's heart on faith and not on food; that is, on works and laws which relate to food, drink and the like. Of this sort are all monastic vows which build hearts and consciences on works and not on grace, by which reliance on works they lose and deny Christ and the faith.

I believe, honored sir, that you are convinced of what I say, and that you are not troubled by such scruples, but I fancy that human fear and timidity lie in your way, as it is said that he must be a bold man who dares to take a wife. There is then the more need to encourage, counsel and urge you, making you eager and bold. Dear and honored sir, why should you torture yourself and strive with your own thought?

It cannot be otherwise than that you think of these things. Thoughts come from the sense and are right merry. Your body urges you to marry and needs it; God wills and forces it. What will you do about it?

It would also be a fine, noble example if you married, that would help many feeble ones, broaden their paths and give them more scope, so many others might escape the dangers of the flesh and follow you. What harm is it if people say, "So the Lichtenberg professor has taken a wife, has he?" Is it not a great glory and Christian virtue that you should thereby become a noble excuse for others doing the same? Christ was an example to us all how to bear reproach for conscience's sake. Do I say reproach? Only foolish fanatics think marriage a reproach, men who do not mind fornication but forbid what God commanded. If it is a shame to take a wife, why is it not a shame to eat and drink, for we have equal need of both, and God wills both?

Why should I say more? It is a pity that men should be so stupid as to wonder that a man takes a wife, or that any one should be ashamed of it, while no one is ashamed of eating and drinking. Why should only this necessity be doubted and wondered at? Nothing is better than to comply with our sense as early and as fully as possible, and give ourselves to God's Word and work in whatever He wishes us to do, for, if we stand without in unbelief and anger He will punish us by giving us over to sin and hell.

Friend, let us not fly higher nor try to be better than Abraham, David, Isaiah, Peter, Paul, and all the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, as well as many holy martyrs and bishops, who all knew that they were created men by God and were not ashamed to be and to be thought men, and, therefore, considered that they should not remain alone. Who is ashamed of marriage should also be ashamed to be and to be thought a man, and thinks he can do better than God. Adam's children are and remain men, and, therefore, they should and must let men be begotten by them.

Good heavens! we see daily how much trouble it costs to remain within marriage and keep conjugal faith, and yet we try to keep out of it as if we were men with neither flesh nor

blood! This is the work of the world's god, the devil, who slanders and shames marriage but lets adulterers, harlots and rascals remain in honor. It is only reasonable to get married as a defence against him and his world, and to bear his reproaches for God's sake.

I beg, honored sir, that you will take these my true Christian counsels kindly, and act on them quickly, so that you may tempt God no longer. If you follow God's grace and promise, you thereby honor His Word and work and He will honor you in return. There will be one little hour of shame and then years of honor will follow. May Christ, our Lord, give you His grace that this my letter may by His Spirit become living and powerful in your heart, and bring forth fruit to the praise and honor of His name. Amen.

Your honor's devoted

MARTIN LUTHER.

668. CHARLES CONTARINI TO ——. (*A private letter.*)

Brown, 1520-6, no. 967.

INNSBRUCK, March 30, 1525.

The Lutherans who rose,¹ with the banner inscribed *Defensores Scripturae et Libertatis*, are now in the field, having increased their numbers to 40,000. They refuse to pay any contributions but the rent of what they hold, so that the princes are in great embarrassment, and have sent hither to ask the Archduke for assistance. He has promised them 400 foot and 400 horse and two pieces of artillery. Including their other forces, they will thus have 15,000 foot and 15,000 (*sic*) [1500?] horse. The commander-in-chief of the undertaking is the Duke of Bavaria. The lansquenets² will scarcely be brought to march against the Lutherans, who are their relations and friends.

669. NICHOLAS GERBEL TO JOHN SCHWEBEL AT ZWEI-
BRÜCKEN.

Barge, ii, 276. German.

STRASSBURG, March 30, 1525.

. . . What Luther thinks on the sacrament of the eucharist

¹ This refers to the Peasants' War of 1524-5. Cf. *supra* no. 661.

² Or Landsknechts, the mercenary German soldiers.

you will have learned from his last book against Carlstadt,¹ which greatly displeases almost everyone in Zurich, Basle and here. . . . Shall we, having given up faith and love, come to the same place as the papists are with their quarrels? . . . Almost all defend Carlstadt and esteem Zwingli. . . . I am almost ashamed of this century; learning is oppressed and most places, bookstores, barber-shops, market-places, and, I had almost said, brothels, are full of disputations and strife.

670. CHARLES CONTARINI TO ———.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 976.

INNSBRUCK, May 3, 1525.

The movement of the Lutheran peasants continues raging, and although some of their houses have been burnt and some of the insurgents killed, yet they do not yield. They have sent six of their comrades to Augsburg to know if the inhabitants will join them, requiring an answer within two days, and are encamped under a town² belonging to the Bishop of Ulm, which it is said they will obtain; and woe to the bishop!

These gatherings of the peasants increase greatly. They say they will free themselves, that they are worse than slaves, that the whole country is disorganized. In all the churches of Germany they now preach the Lutheran doctrine. Lent is no longer observed. The peasants say that they merely require freedom for their property and persons, such as is enjoyed by the subjects of the Venetian Signory; and this they notified to the Archduke Ferdinand. Apparently they are in the right, for should a peasant choose to emigrate, or to give his daughter in marriage abroad, he has to pay a fine like a bondsman, and when the head of a family dies, the masters take half of the best of the property. Their shout is "Liberty," and for the rest they would be content. . . .

671. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 153.

(WITTENBERG), April 10, 1525.

Grace and peace. I am returning the letter,³ after making

¹ *Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacrament.* Weimar, xviii, 62ff.

² A band of 18,000 peasants gathered in the meadows before Baltringen, near Ulm. Janssen-Pastor,²⁰ ii, 569f.

³ To Reissenbusch, *supra*, no. 667.

some additions. I should have liked it to be given to Lucas's¹ printers, who are idle just now, so that I might get a little vacation. Why do you not go on and get married? I urge matrimony on others with so many arguments that I am myself almost moved to marry, though our enemies do not cease to condemn that manner of life, and our wiseacres laugh at it all the time.

I rejoice that Christ is helping Kern.² Carlstadt is raging at Rothenburg on the Tauber,³ and is persecuting us everywhere, though he himself a fugitive. He had intended to make himself a nest in Schweinfurt, but Count von Henneberg⁴ forbade it in a letter which he sent to the city council. I wish that the princes would also put an end to Dr. Strauss's seeking after a kingdom of his own.⁵ The man is mad enough, but has not found a suitable time and place for letting it out. For a long while, though secretly, he has had a poor opinion of us, and prefers that seditious peasant,⁶ altogether a Carlstadtian, whom you admired at Nuremberg. It has been discovered, however, that this man is a knave, and it is said that he is a monk disguised as a peasant. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

672. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 157.

(WITTENBERG), April 16, 1525.

Grace and peace. I have put everything into the hands of

¹ Cranach.

² In Allstedt. Cf. *supra*, no. 655, p. 282, n. 2.

³ On Carlstadt's captivity in Rothenburg, *vide* Barge, ii, 298ff.

⁴ Count William of Henneberg-Schleusingen. His interference would seem to have been in contravention of the rights of the city of Schweinfurt. Cf. Barge, ii, 297.

⁵ Jacob Strauss (1480-85—1533?) was at this time preaching in Eisenach, and he had been entrusted by the Elector with the visitation of the churches in that neighborhood. He had previously had rather a stormy career and had been expelled (1522) from the territories of the Archduke Ferdinand. Later he was suspected of complicity in the Peasants' Revolt (1525) and forced to leave Saxony, going to Baden, where he was almost immediately involved in the sacramentarian controversy. *Realencykl.*

⁶ "The Peasant of Wöhrd," who went under the assumed name of Diepold Peringer. Claiming to be merely a peasant, unable to read or write, he appeared in 1524 as a preacher in the neighborhood of Nuremberg. When driven out of that city he went to Kitzingen, afterwards to Rothenburg. He was involved in the Peasants' War in 1525, and is said to have been captured and punished by drowning. Cf. O. Clemen, *Beiträge*, ii, 1902, 85ff.

our Lucas,¹ and told him to send a hundred copies to the preceptor,² for I am just now setting out, with Philip and Master Agricola, for Eisleben, whither we have been summoned by Count Albert³ to establish a Christian school, since you are so lukewarm and neglect our own. I am beginning to hope and to make some efforts that Philip may begin a similar school at Nuremberg. The Magdeburgers have called Caspar Creutziger,⁴ the Dantzigers Master Arnold.⁵ Thus we are scattering, and our school is running down. What will become of me I do not know; but this I do know, that in this matter you are not at all to blame. Satan alone is at the bottom of it.

You write about my marrying. You ought not to wonder that I, who am such a famous lover, do not take a wife; it is more wonderful that I, who write so often about matrimony, and thus have so much to do with women,⁶ have not long since become a woman, to say nothing of marrying one. But if you wish me to set you an example, you already have one, and a great one. For I had three wives at the same time,⁷ and loved them so bravely that I lost two of them, who are about to accept other wooers. The third I am only holding with the left arm, and she, too, perhaps, will soon be snatched away from me. But you are such a laggard in love that you do not venture to become the husband even of one woman. But look out, or I, who have no thought at all of marriage, may some-

¹ Cranach.

² Wolfgang Reissenbusch. The "copies" are of Luther's letter to Reissenbusch. *Supra* no. 667.

³ Of Mansfeld.

⁴ Caspar Cruciger (1504-1548) was a native of Leipsic. He came to Wittenberg in 1521, where he was a pupil of Melanchthon's. Called to be the head of the city school at Magdeburg, in 1525, he remained there till 1528, when he returned to Wittenberg as preacher at the Castle Church and professor at the university, in which positions he remained till his death. In these years he became one of the inner circle of Luther's intimate friends. He assisted in the completion of the Bible translation and was one of the editors of the first (Wittenberg) edition of Luther's collected works.

⁵ Of this Arnold we know nothing further except that he was driven out of Dantzig in 1526.

⁶ *Sic misceor feminis*; Luther uses *mulieri misceri* of sexual intercourse in a letter of November 6, 1523 (Enders, iv, 255), but it is most improbable that it has the same sense here. Cf. Boehmer, *Luther in the Light of Recent Research* (trans. by Huth), 1916, pp. 216f.

⁷ The "three wives" to whom Luther here jestingly alludes were probably the two sisters, Ave and Margaret von Schönfeld, and Catharine von Bora. All of them had been under Luther's care at Wittenberg. *Vide supra* no. 583, cf. Smith, 171.

time get ahead of you prospective bridegrooms. It is God's way, to bring to pass the things you do not hope for. I say this that, without jesting, I may urge you to carry out your intention. Farewell, my dear Spalatin. MARTIN LUTHER.

673. LAWRENCE ORIO, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR ON HIS WAY TO ENGLAND, TO THE DOGE AND SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 990.

AUGSBURG, April 21, 1525.

Arrived here in three days from Innsbruck. Was well received by the governors of the town, which is a very fine one, like Cremona. Was obliged to go through Bavaria to avoid the insurgent peasants. On the road saw many fires kindled by the peasants, whose dwellings were being burnt by the other party, so that they have rendered the war very cruel. Will depart for Ulm to-morrow. A person has arrived here, at Augsburg, from England, whither he conveyed the news of the capture of the most Christian King,¹ and says that in England they are most certainly preparing to invade France. All in this town are Lutherans. This Lent they all eat meat, and such is their custom; and to-day, Friday, they all eat meat. The nuns and friars intermarry, so that all follow Luther.

674. CHARLES CONTARINI, AMBASSADOR WITH ARCHDUKE FERDINAND, TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 994.

INNSBRUCK, April 24 and 30, 1525.

The Archduke has sent one of his gentlemen to negotiate with the peasants. The messenger from the Duke of Milan, who conveyed the news of the victory of Pavia to England, has arrived at Innsbruck on his return. He says the King was making great preparation to invade France, and believes that by this time the troops will have commenced crossing.

Although part of the peasants have consented to a truce on certain terms, the rest continue their march. All this proceeds from Luther.

675. CHARLES CONTARINI TO THE STATE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 1000.

INNSBRUCK, May 3, 1525.

The peasants are making more progress than ever; it is

¹ At Pavia, February 24, 1525.

said they have reinstated the Duke of Württemberg,¹ and that they will appoint him their captain against the Archduke.

It was reported yesterday that the Grand Master of Prussia,² of the Teutonic Order, has married the daughter of the King of Poland, with an express stipulation that all the property, even such as is ecclesiastical, be hereditary. This intelligence is held of great importance at Innsbruck by reason of the affairs of Martin Luther, to whom the King of Poland has hitherto been opposed, whereas the King now seems to be of Luther's opinions. A very great quantity of Lutheran books has been sold at the fair of Bolzano.

676. VINCENT GUIDOTO, VENETIAN SECRETARY IN HUNGARY, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 995.

BUDA, May —,³ 1525.

Intelligence received of the agreement the King of Poland and the Grand Master of Prussia, Albert of Brandenburg, who has been given other titles, so that from spiritual he has become temporal. The Legate Campeggio ponders (*pondera*) this ill fashion, adopted without the knowledge of the Pope or of the legate, or of any other dispensation. The Grand Master confesses himself a Lutheran, and it is said that the King of Poland gives him in marriage his daughter by his first wife, promising him in the event of his, the Duke's, death, that the duchy shall be inherited by the Duke's brother, Marquis Joachim, who is also of the house of Brandenburg. The Duke has written letters to Buda, announcing that a Lutheran, having been arrested in Lower Germany, and condemned to be burnt, was taken three times to the stake, but the fire took no effect upon him; thereupon they beheaded him, but with great difficulty. The Duke adds that the Church of

¹ On this *supra*, no. 662.

² Albert of Brandenburg (1490-1568), last Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and first Duke of Prussia, became a personal friend and disciple of Luther in the autumn of 1523. In 1525 he turned his spiritual fief into a temporal duchy, incorporated under King Sigismund I of Poland, with whom he had hitherto been at constant strife. It was not true, however, that he married his daughter, for in 1526 he married Dorothy, daughter of the King of Denmark. The abolition of the Teutonic Order was completed at Cracow, April 9, 1525, and Albert swore allegiance to Sigismund the day following.

³ As this letter is registered by Sanuto, 16th May, it must have been written about two weeks earlier. On the subject-matter see last letter, with note.

God should rejoice greatly, and make signs of gladness, as a new martyr has entered the kingdom of heaven. The Duke is thoroughly Lutheran.

677. LUTHER TO JOHN RÜHEL AT MANSFELD.

De Wette, ii, 652. German.

SEEBURG, May 4, 1525.

This letter was written during the journey of which Luther speaks in no. 672. The Peasants' Revolt, which had begun in South Germany, was spreading to the north and threatening the overthrow of the Saxon and Thuringian princes. *Vide* Smith, 137ff., and literature 455f., and Buchwald, *Luther and the Peasants' War*, in *American Lutheran Survey*, 1917.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honored and dear doctor and friend! I have been intending to answer your last tidings, recently shown me, here on my journey. First of all I beg you not to make our gracious lord, Count Albert, weak in this matter,¹ but let him go on as he has begun, though it will only make the devil still angrier, so that he will rage more than ever through those limbs of Satan he has possessed. We have God's Word, which lies not but says,² "He beareth not the sword in vain, etc.," so there is no doubt that his lordship has been ordained and commanded of God. His Grace will need the sword to punish the wicked as long as there are such sores in the body politic as now exist. Should the sword be struck out of his Grace's hand by force, we must suffer it, and give it back to God, Who first gave it and can take it back how and when He will.

May his Grace also have a good conscience in case he should have to die for God's Word, for God has so ordered it, if He permits it; no one should leave off the good work until he is prevented by force, just as in battle no one should forego an advantage or leave off fighting until he is overcome.

If there were thousands more peasants than there are they would all be robbers and murderers, who take the sword with criminal intent to drive out lords, princes and all else, and make a new order in the world for which they have from God neither command, right, power, nor injunction, as the lords now have to suppress them. They are faithless and

¹ *I.e.*, The Peasants' Revolt.

² Romans xiii, 4.

perjured, and still worse they bring the Divine Word and Gospel to shame and dishonor, a most horrible sin. If God in His wrath really lets them accomplish their purpose, for which He has given them no command nor right, we must suffer it as we do other wickedness, but not acquiesce in it as if they did right.

I hope they will have no success nor staying power, although God at times plagues the world with desperate men as He has done and yet does with the Turks. It is the devil's mockery that the peasants give out that they will hurt no one and do no harm. No harm to drive out and kill their masters? If they mean no harm, why do they gather in hordes and demand that others surrender to them? To do no harm and yet to take all—that is what the devil, too, knows how to do. If we let him do what he likes, forsooth he harms no one.

Their only reason for driving out their lords is pure wickedness. Look at the government they have set up, the worst that ever was, without order or discipline in it but only pillage. If God wishes to chastise us in His wrath, He can find no fitter instrument than these enemies of His, criminals, robbers, murderers, faithless, perjured peasants. If it be God's will, let us suffer it and call them lords, as the Scripture calls the devil prince and lord. May God keep all good Christians from honoring and worshiping them as the devil tried to make Christ worship him. Let us withstand them by word and deed as long as ever we can and then die for it in God's name.

They purpose to hurt no one if only we yield to them; and so we should yield to them, should we? Must we indeed acknowledge as our rulers these faithless, perjured, blasphemous robbers, who have no right from God, but only the support of the prince of this world, as he boasts in Matthew, chapter four,¹ that he has dominion and honor over all the world to give it to whom he will? That is true enough when God punishes and does not protect.

This matter concerns me deeply, for the devil wishes to kill me. I see that he is angry that hitherto he has been able to accomplish nothing either by fraud or force; he thinks that if he were only free of me he could do as he liked and

¹ Matthew iv, 9.

confound the whole world together, so I almost believe that I am the cause that the devil can do such things in the world, whereby God punishes it. Well, if I ever get home I shall meet my death with God's aid, and await my new masters, the murderers and robbers who tell me they will harm no one. Highway robbers always say the same: "I will do you no harm, but give me all you have or you shall die." Beautiful innocence! How fairly the devil decks himself and his murderers! Before I would yield and say what they want, I would lose my head a hundred times, God granting me His grace. If I can do it before I die, I will yet take my Katie to wife to spite the devil, when I hear that they are after me. I hope they will not take away my joy and good spirits.

Some say the insurgents are not followers of Münzer—that let their own god believe, for no one else will.

I write to strengthen you to strengthen others, especially my gracious lord Count Albert. Encourage his Grace to go forth with good spirit, and may God grant him success, and let him fulfill the divine injunction to bear the sword as long as ever he can; conscience at least is safe in case he fall. If God permit the peasants to extirpate the princes to fulfill His wrath, He will give them hell fire for it as a reward. The just Judge will come shortly to judge both them and us—us with grace, as we have suffered by their crimes of violence, them with wrath, for they who take the sword must perish by the sword as Christ said. Their work and success cannot long stand. Greet your dear wife for me.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

678. LUTHER TO THE CITY COUNCIL OF DANZIG.

De Wette, ii, 656. German.

WITTENBERG, May 5(?), 1525.¹

Grace and peace through Christ our Saviour, wise and honorable dear sirs and friends. On your written request² I did my best to get you a proper preacher. It was not possible to give you John Bugenhagen, whom you mentioned as the man you wished to have, for our church here was not willing to let him go, since we must keep men here by whom

¹ On the date of this letter, *vide* Enders, v, 165, n. 1.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 660, *ad init.*

we can train other men and so serve other cities too. Therefore I am sending you Master Michael Hänlein,¹ who is in all respects a pious and prudent and well-mannered man. I know of no one here who is his equal, and so I hope that you will be well cared for and protected, and will like him better every day. I commend him to you in the hope that you will receive him well—all the better because in going from us to you he is leaving his own country—and will see to it that he is provided for in a Christian and proper manner, as you have promised, for both Christ and Paul tells us that they who instruct us in the Word are worthy of double honor.

I beg, too, dear friends, that you will do and suffer everything that must be done and suffered in order to have peace with one another. And see to it that no fanatics come among you, such as are stirring up so much trouble here in Upper Germany, of which you have doubtless heard. If anything—images or anything else—is to be changed or destroyed, it ought not to be done by the people, but by the regular authority of the city council, so that the bad practice of despising the authorities does not get a foothold among you, as it has elsewhere; for it is the will of God that they shall be feared and honored. But I ask especially that you be on your guard against the doctrine that you ought to rule according to the law of Moses, and more particularly according to the Gospel. I have set this all forth in the enclosed document,² and have also charged Michael, your preacher, with it. He will instruct you; hear him. God have you in His keeping. May He strengthen and increase you, to His praise and honor. Amen.

679. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE COUNCIL OF TEN AT
VENICE.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 920.

MADRID, May 6, 1525.

Was told yesterday by the Florentine ambassador that the Emperor, when discussing current events with some of his

¹ Identified by Enders with Michael Meurer, a former Cistercian monk from the monastery at Alt-Zelle. From his birthplace (Hainichen or Hänchen) he was also known at Galliculus, which Luther here retranslates Hänlein. Driven out of Danzig in 1526, he held positions in Prussia, where he died in 1537.

² An "opinion" on the validity of the law of Moses, with special reference to the legality of interest.

gentlemen, expressed himself as follows: "I am expecting bad news both from Milan and from Naples; but I care not the least in the world. I shall go into Italy, and thus have a fairer opportunity for obtaining my own, and taking my revenge on those who may have wronged me, most especially on that poltroon the Pope. Some day or other, perhaps, Martin Luther will become a man of worth."

I deem this language worthy of much consideration, above all as coming from the lips of the Emperor, who is very reserved in speech; but in my opinion the whole proceeds from the talk and fancy of the Chancellor,¹ who often discourses unreasonably.

680. MARK SPAVENTO TO LEONARD GIUSTINIAN.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 1006.

LYONS, May 8, 1525.

Had a very dangerous passage across the Alps. In the Grisons and in Switzerland the greater part of the people are Lutherans; and whereas when in Italy I believed this to be an affair of small consequence, so do I now consider it most important. In confirmation of these words, being at Coir on Easter Sunday, heard a Lutheran priest preach with very great commendation, and on that day the usual blessing of the eggs and other things was omitted. The communicants were but few, and the greater part of them Lutherans, who had confessed in the Lutheran fashion. During our two days' stay at Coir every person we spoke to was a Lutheran, and so well acquainted with Luther's doctrine as to defy exaggeration. The boys and girls from eight to ten years of age, in support of their tenets, answer you by evangelical precepts better than many doctors of divinity could do in favor of the Catholic faith. A book has been printed lately entitled *De vera et falsa religione*,² concerning which all are instructed; very startling dogmas are propounded. Unless, therefore, the Almighty stretch forth His arm, there will be none but Lutherans in these parts. They say they are united in their opinion with

¹ Probably Gattinara, Chancellor of the Netherlands, is meant. Cf. *supra*, i, 419, and see a new work: *Historia Vitae et Gestorum per Dominum Magnum Cancellarium Mercurinum Arborium da Gattinara*, ed. C. Bornate, Turin, 1915.

² By Zwingli, March, 1525, CR., xc, 590-912.

the whole of Swabia. And now all the populace has risen against the nobility of the free towns in Germany to abolish many institutions favorable to the nobility and adverse to the people; and this by the advice and assistance of Martin Luther, the five letters of whose name are said by them to signify *Lux vera totius ecclesiae Romanae*.

681. GASPAR SPINELLI, SECRETARY OF LAWRENCE ORIO,
TO HIS BROTHER LOUIS SPINELLI.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 1007.

ANTWERP, May 10, 1525.

Wrote from Mayence. The Papal Auditor [Ghinucci], on his way to the King of England from the Pope, was captured by the peasants, and paid 1200 crowns ransom; he then continued his journey by way of Lyons, and quitted Antwerp for London yesterday. Did not mention this in his former letter, because he, Spinelli, was tired and in the stove-heated rooms of Germany, which disgusted him, being full of butter and stench.

Many days ago Luther issued a book for his followers concerning the unjust and unreasonable taxes with which the Church burdened the people of Germany, whom he exhorted not to bear them.¹ Hence arose this great movement and insurrection well nigh all over Germany, which, to free itself from such unbearable tyranny, took up arms against all the ecclesiastics, as also against the nobility, including even the nuns. The people desire to live in freedom, without being subject to anyone, and their power increases hourly; for whereas at first they seemed willing to be subject to the Emperor, they will now no longer obey even his Majesty; and this determination they have already shown by making themselves masters of the marquissate of Würtemberg, which belonged to the Archduke, many of whose stipendiaries they have killed. They are most hostile, and, indeed, open enemies, to the Pope and the whole Roman Church, and say they will have no other faith than that of Luther, to which the greater part of the German ecclesiastics have adhered, the sexes intermarrying with each other, as, for instance, a friar with a nun, and a priest with a woman of the world, which is done every-

¹ Probably the *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility* (1520).

where, and publicly, the same marriage ceremonies being observed as among laymen; yet they could not save themselves from being deprived of [their temporal property], leaving them only enough for their food and lay apparel.

Imposts and taxes are also abolished, this system having been already adopted throughout the duchy of Saxony, where Luther is. Hunting and fishing are no longer reserved solely for the nobility, for now it is allowable for all to hunt and fish like the lords themselves. In short, they revive the liberty of the golden age, when the fields were without boundaries, and no one had anything of his own. Then with regard to religion, they (the peasants?) do not differ in the least from Luther, having abolished vigils and the eating of fish, and all the holidays except Sundays. In the meanwhile this sect makes such progress that last Lent, when in many places the Franciscans Observant and the Hieronymites chose to preach, in the first place nobody attended their sermons, and they were moreover maltreated and called to account for the meaning of what they preached; so that the best they can do for themselves is to be silent and remain quiet, and they can no longer show themselves anywhere. The peasants allow nothing but the mere Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul, and wherever they pass they remove all the bells. All these things are freely practiced in Germany, where there is no longer any master, the bishops and other prelates having all taken flight. But here in Brabant and Flanders, as the Lady Margaret enforces the law most severely, the people dare not declare themselves openly, though in their own houses they live in Luther's fashion. Many of the chief persons of Antwerp assure me that, were the peasants to take that road and approach the city, 20,000 men, all Lutherans, would take up arms. In fact, this sect has taken such root throughout Germany that there is no visible remedy whereby to extirpate it, nor could the Church in those parts suffer greater persecution even were the Turks to come. The free towns, and those of importance, such as Cologne, Mayence, and others, whose churches combine spiritual and temporal authority, have compelled all the clergy to become citizens like the layman, and they enjoy no additional prerogative beyond that of mere

layman. The surplus revenue, after deducting what is required for their maintenance, goes to the community to feed the poor; and by a public instrument they have sequestered from the churches and alienated all similar property, which is to be enjoyed by married and unmarried persons and no longer conferred by the Roman Church, which they deride as a vain thing.

682. CLERK TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 1336. ROME, May 14, 1525.

. . . He (the Pope) said that all Germany was ruined, as it had revolted at the same time from its chiefs and the faith of Peter; that the King of Poland had made peace with the Grand Master of Prussia, who is a man of the Church for the defence of the faith against the Tartars and Turks, like the Grand Master of Rhodes, and has great revenues wherewith the Church in the name of his religion is endowed. He will now be made duke and . . . lord under the obedience and lay fee of the said King of Poland, and marry his daughter, being his kinswoman *in secundo consanguinitatis gradu*, thus committing three great errors without the Pope's knowledge: first, leaving his religion and his vows of poverty, obedience and chastity; second, submitting the lands of the Church to temporal fee; third, marrying his kinswoman. This, the Pope says, is greatly to be abhorred for the evil example it will set to Christendom, and it seems to show that the said King approves some of Luther's damnable opinions; and he concluded that if the wars continued we should see a new world shortly.

683. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 661. German.

(WITTENBERG), May 15, 1525.

The Elector Frederic died May 5, 1525, and was succeeded by his brother John, "the Steadfast," who was a far more outspoken adherent of the Reformation than his older brother had ever been. Partly on this account, and partly because Spalatin shortly afterwards retired from his office of court chaplain, Luther wrote him many more personal letters than he had written to his predecessor. The following is his first letter to the new Elector.

Grace and peace in Christ, serene, high-born Prince,

gracious Lord. There is ample reason why I should write to your Grace, if only I could write as I ought, now that Almighty God has taken away our head, our gracious Lord Elector, your Grace's brother, in the midst of these perilous and terrible times, and has left us in sorrow, and especially your Grace, on whom all this misfortune falls. Your Grace may well say, in the words of the Psalter,¹ "Innumerable evils have compassed me about; they are more than the hairs of mine head, so that I am not able to look up, etc."

But God is faithful, and does not let His wrath outweigh His mercy upon those who put their trust in Him, but gives them courage and strength to bear it, and in the end He gives the ways and means by which to escape it. Thus we can only say, again with the Psalter,² "The Lord hath chastened me sore, but He hath not given me over unto death"; and again,³ "Many are the afflictions of the righteous (*i.e.*, of those who believe), but the Lord delivereth him out of them all." Solomon, too, offers us the same comfort, and says,⁴ "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and delighteth in him as in a son; therefore, my son, reject not the punishments of God, and be not weary of His chastening." And Christ Himself says,⁵ "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but in me peace."

This is the school in which God chastens us and teaches us to trust in Him, so that our faith may not always be on our lips and in our ears, but may have its true dwelling-place in the depths of our hearts. In this school your Grace now is, and without doubt God has taken away our head in order that He Himself may take his place, and come the closer to your Grace, and teach your Grace to give up his comforting and tender reliance upon that man who has been taken away, and draw strength and comfort only from His goodness and power; for He is far more comforting and tender.

I have written this hurriedly, for your Grace's consolation. I hope your Grace will graciously accept it, and find yet more of joy in the Psalter and the Holy Scriptures, which are full of all comfort. God have your Grace in His keeping.

Your Grace's humble servant, DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Psalm xl, 12.

² Psalm cxviii, 18.

³ Psalm xxxiv, 19.

⁴ Proverbs iii, 11, 12.

⁵ John xvi, 33.

684. LUTHER TO DUKE JOHN FREDERIC OF ELECTORAL SAXONY.

De Wette, ii, 664. German.

WITTENBERG, May 20, 1525.

For some time before the death of the Elector Frederic Luther had viewed with growing concern the decline in the number of students at Wittenberg, and especially the weakening of the faculty through the acceptance by its members of calls to other fields of activity (*vide supra*, no. 672). With the accession of John the Steadfast his pleas for the strengthening of the university became more urgent.

I have written your Grace's father and lord,¹ my gracious Lord, that he shall set the university in order and secure a man who will undertake the task. It is true that your Grace has much else to do in these troublous times, but in this matter, too, delay is dangerous, for things have been hanging in the air long enough, and everything is upset. Besides, men are moving away and being called away every day. It will not be easy to bring them together again, and our neighbors are already gloating, as though the death of the Elector were the end of Wittenberg and it was all up with us. Necessity, therefore, demands that if we are to continue to have a university here, we must take prompt action. It were a pity if such a school, from which the Gospel has gone out into all the world, were to go down, and if, when men are needed everywhere, nothing were done to educate them. If, then, your Grace is willing to do something, it is my humble request that he will help this cause along and close his ears when certain court-sponges speak contemptuously of writers. For your Grace sees that the world cannot now be ruled by force alone, but must have men of learning, who by preaching and teaching the Word of God, help to restrain the people. If there were no preachers and teachers the temporal government would not long endure, not to speak of the Kingdom of God, which would be taken from us. I hope that in this matter your Grace will show himself gracious and a true Christian. God have your Grace in His keeping.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MART. LUTHER.

685. LUTHER TO JOHN RÜHEL AT MANSFELD.

De Wette, ii, 666. German.

WITTENBERG, May 23, 1525.

I thank you, honored and dear sir and brother-in-law,² for

¹ The Elector John. The letter has been lost.

² Rühel's wife Hannah was a kinswoman, but not sister of Luther.

your recent news, all of which I was glad to have, especially about Thomas Münzer.¹ Please let me have further details about his capture and of how he acted, for it is profitable to know how that proud spirit bore itself.

It is pitiful that we have to be so cruel to the poor people, but what can we do? It is necessary and God wills it, so that fear may be brought upon the people; otherwise Satan would do far worse. God's decree is, *Qui accipit gladium, gladio peribit*.² It is comforting to think that the spirit has been revealed, so that henceforth the peasants will know how wrong they were, and, perhaps, leave off their rioting, or do less of it. Do not be so worried about it, for it will profit many souls, whom it will terrify and restrain.

My gracious lord, the Elector, passed away on the day I left you,³ between five and six o'clock, almost at the very time that Osterhausen⁴ was destroyed. He died in a gentle spirit, with mind and reason clear, after receiving the sacrament in both kinds, but no unction. We buried him without masses and vigils, and yet with fitting ceremony.⁵ Some stones were found in his lungs, and especially some in the gall, which is strange. They were almost as large as a shilling and half as thick as one's little finger. He died of the stone, but none was found in the bladder. He had known very little of the uprising, but had written his brother⁶ to try all kindly measures before he allowed it to come to a battle. Thus his death was Christianlike and blessed. The sign of it was a rainbow that Philip and I saw over Lochau one night last winter, and a child born here at Wittenberg without a head; also another with club feet.

Farewell, and greet your house-vine and her grapes. Encourage Christopher Meinhart¹ to let God have His way, which

¹ After the defeat of the peasants by the Counts of Mansfeld at Frankenhausen, May 15, Münzer was captured and imprisoned. He was afterwards taken to Mühlhausen, where he was executed, May 27, first receiving the sacrament in one kind according to the Roman use.

² "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword" (Matthew xxvi, 52).

³ May 5.

⁴ Where the Counts of Mansfeld defeated the peasants.

⁵ *Fein herrlich*. The funeral was on the 11th, at Wittenberg.

⁶ On April 14, 1525, Förstemann: *Neues Urkundenbuch*, p. 259. Facsimile of first page in Mentz: *Handschriften*, 1912, no. 279. John's answer, April 30, Förstemann, p. 275f. Quotations in Smith, p. 160.

cannot be anything but the best, even though we do not perceive it. The "vacancy" and the "quietism" and the "wondering,"² of which we jested, have become serious earnest; now it is time to be silent and let God rule; that is the way we shall see peace. I am not unwilling to write to —, ³ as you ask me to do.

686. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS AMSDORF AT MAGDEBURG.

Enders, v, 182.

WITTENBERG, May 30, 1525.

Grace and peace. You write of a new honor for me, dear Amsdorf, namely, that I am called the toady of princes;⁴ Satan has conferred many such honors upon me during the past years. But I have little pity for these knowing fellows who display their bloodthirsty and seditious spirit when they pass judgment on me. Therefore I rejoice that Satan becomes indignant and breaks out into blasphemy whenever I touch him. For what else are these except the voices of Satan, by which he is trying to traduce me and the Gospel? But He Who has so often beaten down and broken to pieces the lion and the dragon will not allow the basilisk to trample upon me; therefore let them stop their roaring. Our conscience assures us that what has fallen from my lips on this subject is right before God. Let Him be crucified, then, and displease those who have gone out from us and from the name of the Gospel in order that they may dishonor us. This is the thanks we get from our adulterous generation. But they have gone out that they may be cast down and that their end may be confusion. The time will come, perhaps, when I, too, can say, "All ye shall be offended this night because of me."⁵ On the other hand, we soon forget the benefits we receive, and how proud we are and quick to judge even those from whom

¹ A citizen of Eisleben, who had been an adherent of Münzer.

² *Entgrobung, Langweil und Verwunderung*. In his book, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, Luther ascribes these expressions to Carlstadt (cf. Barge's notes in Weimar, xviii, 71, 101, 138). The idea of them seems to be that man must passively await the coming of God's Spirit to work in him and upon him. See Smith, p. 150.

³ Albert of Mayence. Rühel had asked him to write to the Archbishop urging him to take a wife.

⁴ *I.e.*, because of his attitude toward the peasants.

⁵ Matthew xxvi, 31.

we have learned. But Christ, Who began without our counsel, will perfect His work even against our counsel. . . . I cannot possibly come to you, for I am distracted by all sorts of occupations, though there is nothing I would rather do.

My opinion is that it is better all the peasants be killed than that the magistrates and princes perish, because the peasants took the sword without divine authority. The only possible consequence of their satanic wickedness would be the satanic devastation of the kingdom of God, and even if the princes of this world go too far, nevertheless they bear the sword by God's authority. Under them it is possible for both kingdoms to exist. Therefore no pity, no patience is due the peasants, but the wrath and indignation of God and men should be visited upon those men who heed no warnings and do not yield when just terms are offered them, but with satanic fury continue to confound everything—such are the Franconian and Thuringian peasants. To justify them, to pity them, to favor them, is to deny and blaspheme God and to try to pull Him down from heaven. Tell this to those preachers of yours, and let them dare what they please and try what they please, but I will not consent to their efforts; nay, I will curse them in the name of the Lord. The Lord will judge hereafter which spirit is of the devil, mine or theirs. . . .

MARTIN LUTHER.

687. LUTHER TO JOHN RÜHEL.

De Wette, ii, 669. German.

(WITTENBERG), May 30, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ. Many thanks for the latest news, dear doctor and brother-in-law.¹ We must hope and pray that God will graciously put an end to this wretched state of affairs. That the people call me a hypocrite is good; I am glad to hear it; do not let it surprise you. For some years now you have been hearing me berated for many things, but in the course of time all these things have come to nothing and worse than nothing. I should need much leather to muzzle all the mouths. It is enough that my conscience is clear before God; He will judge what I have said and written; things will go as I have said, there is no help for it.

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 685, n. 1.

As for showing mercy to the peasants, there are innocent men among them, whom God will save and protect, as He did Lot and Jeremiah. If He does not save them, then they certainly are not innocent, but have at least kept silence and approved of the rebellion. Even though they may have done it from timidity or fear, nevertheless it is wrong and in God's eyes a sin that must be punished, like the sin of a man who denies Christ because he is afraid, and my writings against the peasants are all the harder because without ceasing they compel these fearful souls to do their will and incur God's punishment.

The wise man says, "*Cibus, onus et virga asino*;"¹ "straw for the peasant." They have gone mad and will not hear the Word, and so they must bear the rod, that is, the guns; it serves them right. We ought to pray for them that they may be obedient; if not, then let the shot whistle, or they will make things a thousandfold worse.

I shall write to the Bishop² and send you a copy. Münzer has not had the right sort of an examination; I should have asked him very different questions. His confession is nothing else than a devilish, hardened persistence in his opinion. He says in his confession that he has done no wrong. That is terrible. I should not have thought a human heart could be so hardened.

Well, anyone who has seen Münzer can say that he has seen the very devil, and at his worst. O God! If this is the spirit that is in the peasants it is high time that they were killed like mad dogs. It may be that the devil feels the nearness of the last day, and so decides to stir up all the dregs and show all his hellish power at once. *Haec sunt tempora*, but God still lives and reigns and will not forsake us. His goodness is nearer, mightier and wiser than the ragings and the ravings of Satan.

A report has reached here that the collector of Allstedt³ has been put to death, but we hope it is a lie. The same report

¹ "Fodder, a load, and a stick for an ass."

² Albert of Mayence. Cf. no. 685.

³ The home of Münzer. The collector was Hans Zeis, and the report of his execution was false.

is circulated about Dr. Strauss. Greet my sister-in-law, your dear vine, and her grapes. God have you in His keeping. The two sermons preached at the Elector's funeral are in press.

MARTIN LUTHER.

688. PACE TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 1383. VENICE, June 3, 1525.

. . . Hears from Almayne that the villains spoil and subvert all the country, putting the lords spiritual and temporal to great vexations. Some they have compelled to agree with them and permit Luther's heresies in their dominions. The Bishop of Trent¹ writes me that the Duke of Loren² lately killed about 20,000 of them while entering his duchy from Alsacia.

689. JUSTUS JONAS TO SPALATIN.

Kawerau, 94.

(WITTENBERG), June 14, 1525.

Grace and peace from God. This letter will come to you, my dear Spalatin, as the bearer of great news. Our Luther has married Catharine von Bora. I was present and was a witness of the marriage yesterday.³ Seeing that sight I had to give way to my feelings and could not refrain from tears. Now that it has happened and is the will of God, I wish this good and true man and beloved father in the Lord much happiness. God is wonderful in His works and ways. Farewell. I have sent you this word, hiring a messenger for this purpose only. There were present Lucas⁴ the painter and his wife, Dr. Apel⁵ and Bugenhagen. Philip⁶ was not there.

¹ Bernard von Clees.

² This was true. Duke Antony of Lorraine, who considered the war as a crusade in defence of the Church, smote the peasants at Zabern on May 17. Then and immediately afterwards 20,000 rustics perished. Janssen-Pastor,²⁰ ii, 649f.

³ The first part of this letter is found in a different form, as registered by Spalatin in his *Annals*, ed. Mencken, ii, 645: "Our Luther has married Catharine von Bora. Yesterday I was present and saw the bride lying in the marriage chamber." At that time, after the ceremony, the bride and groom were led to the nuptial bed and left there, their union being blessed the following morning.

⁴ Lucas Cranach.

⁵ John Apel (1486-1536), born at Nuremberg, matriculated at Wittenberg, 1502. In 1519 he held a canonry at Würzburg, and at that time abducted a nun from the convent to marry her, for which he was held in prison for some months. From 1524-30 he lectured on jurisprudence at Wittenberg. In 1530 he accepted a call to become chancellor for Albert of Prussia. ADB.

⁶ Melanchthon.

690. LUTHER TO JOHN RÜHEL, JOHN THÜR AND CASPAR MÜLLER¹ AT MANSFELD.

De Wette, iii, 1. German.

WITTENBERG, June 15, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ. What an outcry of Harrow, my dear sirs, has been caused by my pamphlet against the peasants!² All is now forgotten that God has done for the world through me. Now lords, parsons and peasants are all against me and threaten my death.

Well, since they are so silly and foolish, I shall take care that at my end I shall be found in the state for which God created me with nothing of my previous papal life about me. I shall do my part even if they act still more foolishly up to the last farewell.

So now, according to the wish of my dear father, I have married. I did it quickly lest those praters should stop it. Tuesday week, June 27, it is my intention to have a little celebration and house warming, to which I beg that you will come and give your blessings. The land is in such a state that I hardly dare ask you to undertake the journey; however, if you can do so, pray come, along with my dear father and mother, for it would be a special pleasure to me. Bring any friends. If possible let me know beforehand, though I do not ask this if inconvenient.

I should have written my gracious lords Counts Gebhard and Albert of Mansfeld,³ but did not risk it, knowing that their Graces have other things to attend to. Please let me know if you think I ought to invite them. God bless you. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

691. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 197.

WITTENBERG, June 16, 1525.

Grace and peace. Dear Spalatin, I have stopped the mouths of my calumniators with Catharine von Bora. If we have a

¹ Thür and Müller were both officials of the Counts of Mansfeld.² *Wider die mörderischen und räuberischen Rotten der Bauern* (Weimar, xviii, 357).³ On Albert of Mansfeld, see Vol. I, p. 97. He died 1560. He met Luther as he was returning from Augsburg, 1518, and was a close friend of his ever after. ADB.

banquet to celebrate the wedding we wish you not only to be present but to help us in case we need game. Meantime give us your blessing and pray for us.

I have made myself so cheap and despised by this marriage that I expect the angels laugh and the devils weep thereat.

The world and its wise men have not yet seen how pious and sacred is marriage, but they consider it impious and devilish in me. It pleases me, however, to have my marriage condemned by those who are ignorant of God. Farewell and pray for me. . . .

MARTIN LUTHER.

692. MELANCHTHON TO JOACHIM CAMERARIUS.

ZKG., xxi, 596.

WITTENBERG, June 16, 1525.

This letter is extant in two distinct texts. The better-known is that given in *Corpus Reformatorum*, i, 754, dated July 24, which differs in certain important respects from that here given. Both texts are Greek. Since the discovery of the text here given there has been a vigorous discussion of their relation, the view commonly adopted being that the text of the *Corpus Reformatorum* was edited by Camerarius before publication. The theory of Dr. Henry E. Jacobs, to whom we are indebted for the translation, is that both texts are from the hand of Melanchthon; that of June 16 being the original letter which was, however, not sent to Camerarius, but laid aside. On July 24, after inquiries by Camerarius about Luther's marriage, Melanchthon wrote a second letter, modifying the statements of the first, but with a different conclusion. Dr. Jacobs believes that Melanchthon wrote the earlier part of this second text with the original before him, but left it as the writing proceeded. Because of the extensive use that has been made of the letter by Roman Catholic and other writers, we give the full *Corpus Reformatorum* text in a footnote. The letter was apparently first published in *Epistolarum Philippi Melancthonis Libri Quattuor*, Londini, 1642 (in the same volume with a collection of Erasmus's epistles; the work is common, and I (P.S.) possess a copy), lib. iv, ep. 24, under date July 21 (not 24). It was taken with a large number of other letters to Camerarius from a Leipsic MS. once evidently in his possession, but in the London edition called *Ernesti Voegelini codicem Lipsiensem*. The form of the letter given is substantially that of the *Corpus Reformatorum*. In comparing this text with the *Corpus Reformatorum* in using other epistles, I have almost always found the London text superior. On the letter in general, see G. Kawerau: *Luther in katholischer Beleuchtung* (*Sch. d. vereins f. Reformationsgesch.*, 105), 1911, p. 14f, and Boehmer, *Luther in the Light of Recent Research* (Eng. trans. by Huth), 1916, pp. 217ff.

Greetings. Since dissimilar reports concerning the marriage of Luther will reach you, I have thought it well to give you my opinion of him. On June 13, Luther unexpectedly and without informing in advance any of his friends of what he was doing, married Bora; but in the evening, after having invited to supper none but Pomeranus¹ and Lucas² the painter, and Apel, observed the customary marriage rites. You might be amazed that at this unfortunate time, when good and excellent men everywhere are in distress, he not only does not sympathize with them, but, as it seems, rather waxes wanton and diminishes his reputation, just when Germany has especial need of his judgment and authority.

These things have occurred, I think, somewhat in this way: The man is certainly pliable; and the nuns have used their arts against him most successfully; thus probably society with the nuns has softened or even inflamed this noble and high-spirited man. In this way he seems to have fallen into this untimely change of life. The rumor, however, that he had previously dishonored her is manifestly a lie. Now that the deed is done, we must not take it too hard, or reproach him; for I think, indeed, that he was compelled by nature to marry. The mode of life, too, while, indeed, humble, is, nevertheless, holy and more pleasing to God than celibacy.

When I see Luther in low spirits and disturbed about his change of life, I make my best efforts to console him kindly, since he has done nothing that seems to me worthy of censure or incapable of defence. Besides this, I have unmistakable evidences of his godliness, so that for me to condemn him is impossible. I would pray rather that he should be humbled than exalted and lifted up, as this is perilous not only for those in the priesthood, but also for all men. For success affords occasion for the malevolence not only, as the orator says, of the senseless, but even of the wise. Besides, I have hopes that this state of life may sober him down, so that he will discard the low buffoonery which we have often censured. As the proverb runs: "A new state of life, a new mode of living."

I have enlarged on this subject that you may not be ex-

¹ Bugenhagen.

² Cranach.

cessively disturbed by this unfortunate occurrence, for I know that you are concerned about Luther's reputation, which is imperiled. I exhort you to bear it meekly, since marriage is said in the Scriptures to be an honorable mode of life. It is likely that he was actually compelled to marry. God has shown us many falls of His saints of old because He wants us, pondering upon His Word, to be bound neither by the reputation nor the face of man. That person, too, is most godless who, because of the errors of a teacher, condemns the truth of the teaching.

¹ The company of Michael² is a very great comfort to me in the midst of this turmoil; I wonder that you allowed him to leave you. I am awaiting a letter from you concerning things in Franconia. Farewell. The day after Corpus Christi.

The courier who delivers this letter is to return to us immediately.

Φίλιππος

CR., i, 754.

Greetings. Since dissimilar reports concerning the marriage of Luther will reach you, I have thought it well to apprise you of the truth, and of my opinion concerning the matter. On June 13 Luther unexpectedly and without informing in advance any of his friends married Bora; but in the evening, after having invited to supper none but Pomeranus and Lucas the portrait painter and Apel the lawyer, he observed the customary marriage rites. One might be amazed that, at this unfortunate time, when good and excellent men everywhere are in distress, he not only should be incapable of sympathizing with them, but should seem entirely careless concerning the evils everywhere abounding, and of diminishing his reputation just when Germany has especial need of his sound judgment and good name.

These things have occurred, I think, somewhat in this way: The man is anything but misanthropic and unsociable. You are not ignorant of his customary mode of life. From these data it is better, I think, for you to draw your own conclusions, rather than that I should write them. No wonder, then, that what is noble and high-spirited in the man should be somewhat enfeebled; especially since the occurrence is neither disgraceful or culpable. For if there be gossip as to anything of a more unseemly nature, it is manifestly a lie and a slander; and I think, also, that he was compelled by nature to marry. The mode of life is, indeed, lowly, but it is as holy as any

¹ The italicized words are in Latin.

² Michael Rötting, to whom Melanchthon often refers in his letters to Camerarius, In 1526 he was appointed professor of Latin at Nuremberg.

other; and in the Holy Scriptures marriage is said to be honorable. Whatever in this act may seem inopportune and improvident should not disturb us, even though, as a matter of course, the malice and censoriousness of enemies will revel in it; for it may be that something hidden and divine underlies it, as to which it is not proper for us to put ourselves to trouble, or to be concerned with the silly talk of some who mock and revile us, and, nevertheless, observe neither piety towards God nor virtue towards man. But when I see Luther in low spirits and disturbed about his change of life, I make my best efforts to console him kindly. Nor should I venture to condemn this as a mistake; although God, indeed, has shown us many faults of His saints of old, since He wants us, pondering upon His Word, to regard neither the reputation nor the face of man, but His Word alone. That person is most godless who, because of the error of a teacher, condemns the truth of the teaching.

Nevertheless, as I have said, I do not think that anything has been done that is incapable of defence, or that is worthy of being altogether censured; besides, I have many and clear evidences of his godliness, so that they who abuse and slander Luther do nothing but the work of calumniators and buffoons, and gather whatever material they can find from whatsoever source for the charges of a shameless tongue. Nor, in my opinion, will the occurrence of any such humiliation, as it were, be useless either to those in the priesthood or to all men, seeing that it is always perilous to be exalted and lifted up. For successes give occasion for the ill-disposed, and those, too, not merely, as the orator says, the senseless, but sometimes the wise also; and, in all things, according to the proverb, another state of life will produce another mode of living.

I have enlarged upon these matters to you, lest you should be excessively disturbed and discouraged about this unexpected occurrence. For I know that you are concerned about the good fame of Luther, and about his being kept blameless and beyond reproach.

The company of your people is most grateful to me in these turmoils, and I wonder that you allowed them to leave you. Be very kind to your father and remember that you owe him this thanks for his paternal love, and pay it. I am awaiting a letter from you concerning things in Franconia. Farewell. The courier who will deliver this is to return to us immediately.

693. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, v, 200.

WITTENBERG, June 20, 1525.

Grace and peace. I know that my book¹ gives great offence to the peasants and the friends of the peasants, and that is a real joy to me, for if it gave them no offence it would

¹ *Wider die mörderischen . . . Rotten der Bauern.*

give me great offence. Those who condemn this book are merely showing what it is that they have hitherto sought in the Gospel. But I am surprised that some of the knowing ones do not apply the whole book to themselves, for it shows very clearly who the peasants are and who the magistrates are of whom it speaks. But he that will not understand, let him not understand; he that will not know, let him be ignorant; it is enough that my conscience pleases Christ. For the apothecary¹ I have tried hard to do all I could.

Despite the fact that I was otherwise minded, the Lord has suddenly and unexpectedly contracted a marriage for me with Catharine von Bora, the nun. I shall give the wedding feast on Tuesday after St. John's Day,² if possible. I do not wish to put you to any expense, and so, instead of inviting you to the wedding, I absolve you, with the consent of her ladyship, from the customary present of a loving-cup. If you come anyhow, do not give us a loving-cup or anything else; only pray for me, who have to bear so many slanders and reproaches because of this deed that God has done. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

694. LUTHER TO LEONHARD COPPE³ AT TORG AU.

Enders, v, 202. German.

(WITTENBERG), June 21, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy prior and father! God has suddenly and unexpectedly caught me in the bond⁴ of holy matrimony. I intend to celebrate the day with a wedding breakfast on Tuesday. That my parents and all good friends may be merry, my Lord Catharine and I kindly beg you to send us, at my cost and as quickly as possible, a barrel of the best Torgau beer. I will pay the transportation and everything. I would have sent a conveyance for it, but knew not where I should find the right kind, for the beer must be kept from jolting and cool; if it is not good, to punish you I shall make you drink it all. I also beg you and your wife not

¹ Sebald Nebe. Cf. Enders, iii, 357.

² June 27.

³ Coppe was the burgher of Torgau, who had helped Catharine von Bora escape on April 4-5, 1523. Smith, 169f, and *supra*, no. 583.

⁴ An illegible word before "bond."

to stay away, but happily to appear. Zwilling¹ and his wife bring with you without expense to him, for I know well that he is no richer than I am, wherefore I do not write him a separate invitation, although he may have forgotten me. God bless you. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

695. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS AMSDORF IN MAGDEBURG.

Enders, v, 204.

(WITTENBERG), June 21, 1525.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I was just looking for a messenger to take this letter to you, dear Amsdorf, when lo, one came with yours. The report is true that I suddenly married Catharine to silence the mouths which are accustomed to bicker at me. I hope to live a short time yet, to gratify my father, who asked me to marry and leave him descendants; moreover, I would confirm what I have taught by my example, for many are yet afraid even in the present great light of the Gospel. God has willed and caused my act. For I neither love my wife nor burn for her, but esteem her.² On next Tuesday I am giving a banquet to celebrate, at which my parents will be present. I am very desirous of having you also, wherefore I invite you and beg you not to be absent if you can possibly come. . . .

The poor peasants are perishing by the thousands everywhere. . . . Farewell, and pray for me.

696. LUTHER TO ALBERT OF MAYENCE.

De Wette, iii, 16. German.

(WITTENBERG), July 21, 1525.

Grace and peace in Jesus Christ. Most venerable Father in God, most serene, high-born Prince, most gracious Lord. I am informed that one Asmus Günthel, the son of a citizen of Eisleben, has been arrested by your Grace on the charge of having stormed a barricade. His father is sore distressed, and tells me he did not take part in the storming, but only ate and drank there at the time, and as he begged me piteously to intercede for his life I could not refuse him. I humbly pray your Grace to consider that this insurrection has been put

¹ Who had now settled down as evangelical pastor at Altenburg.

² *Nec amo nec aestuo, sed diligo uxorem.*

down not by the hand of man but by the grace of God who pities us all, and especially those in authority, and that accordingly you treat the poor people graciously and mercifully as becomes a spiritual lord even more than a temporal one. . . .

Alas! there are too many who treat the people horribly and so act unthankfully to God as if they would recklessly awaken the wrath of Heaven and of the people again and provoke a new and worse rebellion. God has decreed that those who show no mercy should also perish without mercy.

It is not good for a lord to raise displeasure, ill will and hostility among his subjects, and it is likewise foolish to do so. It is right to show sternness when the commonalty are seditious and stubborn, but now that they are beaten down they are a different people, worthy that mercy be shown them in judgment. Putting too much in a bag bursts it. Moderation is good in all things, and, as St. James says, mercy rejoiceth against judgment. I hope your Grace will act as a Christian in this matter. God bless you. Amen.

Your Grace's obedient servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

697. MARC ANTONY LONGIN, SECRETARY OF CHARLES CONTARINI, TO HIS BROTHER, JOHN JEROME.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 1086.

AUGSBURG, August 4, 1525.

Germany is so entirely Lutheran that when they carry the host to the communicants there is nobody but a forerunner with a lantern and the mass bell; still less do they attend vespers. They go solely to the sermon, whither all flock universally, both great and small, with great devotion; and there are few who do not possess the book of the Epistles and Gospels, *viz.*, the New Testament. They go to the sermons as to a lecture; and nothing is preached but the interpretation of the pure Gospel. In other places, such as Nuremberg and Strassburg, the mass has been almost entirely abolished, and the altars destroyed, being considered rather idolatrous than otherwise. Concerning Luther's books, I will say nothing of their high repute, and how eagerly they are purchased and perused. They bear various titles, and amongst them has

been one, *De Libertate Christiana*, which speaks of great things. Luther's whole faith, in short, consists in loving God above all things, and one's neighbor as one's self, and he maintains that so many external ceremonies are unnecessary because Christ, by His passion, made atonement for everything. Luther also alleges many other facts and arguments.

Since our stay at Augsburg two friars have married, one with a nun, the other with a woman of the world (*una mondana*), notwithstanding which they remain friars. The prior of the monastery of St. Dominic has been expelled both from the monastery and the town because he was much opposed to Luther.

698. SIR ROBERT WINGFIELD TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 1549.

BOLDUKE,¹ August 5, 1525.

. . . An Austrian friar at Antwerp, who had preached several times to those of Luther's sect, till he was forbidden in the Emperor's name, continued preaching in the fields, and at last in a boat on the river, and had always escaped, until at last a wait was laid for him by the lords of the town. He was taken in a pair of red hose and a Spanish cap, and soon after had a confessor given him. The lords caused a fire to be made in the market-place, as if they meant to burn him openly, but as he confessed that his faction was of great number, the prison being on the waterside, he was carried out at the water gate, which was shut behind him, "and he fair sent to Luther in a sack by water."² Meanwhile, as the people in the market-place lacked pastime, a riot got up between the adherents of Luther and the Church, whether done purposely or not is unknown; but the substantial folks were glad to reach their houses, and the unthrifths began to cry, "Slay! slay!"

¹ Bois-le-Duc, a small town, also known as Herzogenbusch, sixty miles north of Antwerp.

² A certain Augustinian, Nicholas of Antwerp, who was drowned in the Scheldt, July 31. This occurred in 1525, though Reitsma prints "1522." At an earlier time he had left the cloister at Ypres and become a barber. In the Account of the Marquis of Antwerp, in 1525, he is called "preacher of the Lutherans." J. Reitsma: *Geschiedenis van de Hervorming en de Hervormde Kerk der Nederlanden*. Derde, Bijgewerkte en vermeerderde Druk, bewerkt door L. A. van Langeraad en bezorgd door F. Reitsma. Utrecht, 1913, pp. 146, 152. P. Fredericq: *Corpus inquisitionis neerlandicae*, iv, 1900, pp. 379ff.

The lords of the town assembled all the archers and the halberdiers, and brought four or five serpentines into the market-place, "and scoured the streets every way" all night, keeping the gates of the town shut till a search had been made, and fourteen or fifteen of the band taken. It is hard to tell what will come of this, for the town is thought to be marvelously corrupt. My Lady [Margaret] will leave on Tuesday, and return to Holland, "which country is largely infect," and in many places has denied the aid, but her good beginning here may make the rest beware.

699. MARK ANTONY LONGIN TO HIS BROTHER JOHN
JEROME.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 1098. TÜBINGEN IN WÜRTTEMBERG, August 18, 1525,

On quitting Augsburg, went to the free town of Ulm, which (if Augsburg is Lutheran) may be styled most Lutheran, as are all the other free towns; but to speak more properly, they tend towards downright heresy rather than to anything else. They disregard masses and other offices, and the few which they perform are for the most part in German, so that the masses may be intelligible to the populace. Above all, they are regardless of burying their dead in consecrated ground, many of whom are carried into the fields beyond the town, to avoid paying the priests. Has also heard that the members of the League have beheaded a person who, besides many other heresies, trampled under foot the host, as if it had not contained the real body of Christ.¹

They eat meat on Fridays and Saturdays, and on the vigils, and do other things too long to narrate, in such wise as to be so tainted with this pest that none but God can extirpate it.

On quitting Ulm, entered this duchy of Württemberg, where apparently there are not many Lutherans and the inhabitants are better disposed towards their duty, for books have been

¹At St. Blasien in the Black Forest, the rustics broke into the church, demolished the altars and monstrances, and one of them swallowed the hosts, remarking that "for once he would eat enough of God." Similar proceedings took place at Ries and Rothenburg. Janssen-Pastor,²⁰ ii, 575, 597, 667, note 1. In a sermon of April 19, 1538 (Buchwald: *Ungedruckte Predigten Luthers*, p. 338), Luther attributes similar outrages to Münzer. The Swabian League under Catholic leaders would punish such acts severely.

lately printed here against Luther in reply to many of his works. Will endeavor by all means to obtain them.

700. LUTHER TO HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND.

Enders, v. 229.

WITTENBERG, September 1, 1525.

The most recent account of the relations of Luther and Henry VIII is given in the *English Historical Review*, 1910, 656ff. Cf. also Smith, 192ff., 457ff., and H. Grisar: *Luther* (1911), ii, 374ff.

In addition to the notices given by Enders on the editions of this letter, I may note the following: 1. The letter, with Henry's answer, beginning, *Quas tu literas, Luthere*, exists in MS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, No. 175. (See Appendix.) 2. An English translation of this letter and Henry's answer was made at once (1526) and published under the title: *A copy of the letters wherein the most redoubted Henry VIII made answer unto a letter of Martin Luther, . . . and also a copy of Luther's letter*. Noticed and in part reprinted by Ames and Herbert: *Typographical Antiquities* (1785), i, 297. In the English translation of Henry's answer (not in the Latin original) the King says he received this letter of Luther on March 20, 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen. Indeed, most serene and illustrious King, I ought greatly to fear to address your Majesty in a letter, as I am fully aware that your Majesty is deeply offended at my pamphlet,¹ which I published foolishly and precipitately, not of my own motion, but at the hest of certain men who are not your Majesty's friends. But, daily seeing your royal clemency, I take hope and courage; I will not believe that a mortal can cherish immortal hatred. I have learned on credible authority that the book² published over your Majesty's name was not written by your Majesty, but by crafty men who abused your name, especially by that monster detested of God and man, that pest of your kingdom, the Cardinal of York.³ They did not see the danger of humiliating their King. . . .

¹ *Contra Henricum regem Angliae*, 1522. Weimar, x,² pp. 175ff.

² *The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*. Reprinted with introduction and translation by Father L. O'Donovan, 1908.

³ The allusion is to Thomas Wolsey, who at this time was Cardinal Archbishop of York. Henry took it so in his answer. In his former pamphlet, Luther expressed the opinion that Edward Lee (who was Archbishop of York, 1531-44) was the real author of the work, but it is not possible that he was thinking of him now. The fact is that the spirit of the book was Henry's, but he received very

What impels me to write, abject as I am, is that your Majesty has begun to favor the evangelical cause¹ and to feel disgust at the abandoned men who oppose us. This news was a true gospel, *i.e.*, tidings of great joy, to my heart. Wherefore in this letter I cast myself with the utmost possible humility at your Majesty's feet, and pray and beseech you, by the love and cross and glory of Christ, to deign to leave off your anger and forgive me for what I have done to injure your Majesty, as Christ commands us in His prayer to forgive each other.

If your serene Majesty wishes me to recant publicly and write in honor your Majesty, will you graciously signify your wish to me and I shall not delay but shall do so most willingly. Although I am a man of naught compared to your Majesty, yet we may hope that great good may come to the evangelical cause and to God's glory if opportunity is given me of writing the King of England on this subject.

Meanwhile may the Lord increase your Majesty as He has begun, and make you favor and obey the Gospel with all your soul, and may He not let your royal ears and mind be filled with the pestilent songs of those sirens who do nothing but call Luther a heretic. Let your Majesty think for yourself: how much evil can I possibly teach who teach nothing but faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Who suffered and rose for our salvation, as the Gospels and Apostolic Epistles testify? This is the head and foundation of my doctrine, on which I build and teach love of one's neighbor, obedience to the civil magistrates and mortification and crucifixion of the body of sin, as the Christian faith prescribes. What harm is there in teaching these things? Why am I condemned before I am heard? Is there not great need of reforming the abuses and tyranny of the Pope's followers, who teach other doctrines repugnant to these, looking only to tribute, luxury, gluttony, and even the kingdoms, principalities and all the wealth of the

great help from Fisher, More and other scholars whom Wolsey caused to assemble for that express purpose. Cf. *English Historical Review*, p. 659; Roper's *Life of More in Utopia*, ed. G. Samson (1910), p. 247; Bridgett's *Life of More*, p. 221; Wolsey's letter to Henry VIII in O'Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Pastor-Kerr, *op. cit.*, viii, 442.

¹ This was not so. Luther had probably heard a statement to that effect from Christian II of Denmark. Enders, v, 203, n. 3.

world? Why do they not amend and teach rightly if they desire to escape censure and hatred?

Your most serene Majesty sees how many princes in Germany and how many cities and how many wise men take my part, and by God's grace cleave to the evangelical faith, by Christ's singular blessing purified by me. To which number may Christ add your Majesty and free you from these tyrants of souls. What wonder if the Emperor and some princes rage against me, as the second Psalm says: "The heathen rage against the Lord and against His Christ, the people take counsel together, the kings of the earth set themselves, and the princes enter into covenants." Rather it is wonderful that any prince or king favors the Gospel. I hope with all my heart sometime to be able to congratulate your Majesty on this miracle, and may the Lord Himself, in whose name and by whose will I write, coöperate with my words that the King of England may shortly become a perfect disciple of Christ, an adherent of the evangelical faith and Luther's most clement lord. Amen.

If your Majesty sees good to answer me I await your Majesty's clement reply.

Your Majesty's most devoted

MARTIN LUTHER, with his own hand.

701. SIR ROBERT WINGFIELD TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 1632.

THE HAGUE, September 8, 1525.

. . . Duke Henry of Brunswick¹ has taken, beheaded and quartered two of the learned men who translated Luther's works into Latin. There are many Lutherans here, both men and women, wedded priests and schoolmasters; and commissaries sit upon them every day, but none are executed as yet, though it is supposed that within these thirteen days

¹ Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1489-1568) became ruler on his father's death, 1514. In order to assert his right of primogeniture he kept his brother William in prison for twelve years, 1524-36. His private life was scandalous. In 1528 he led a thousand men into Italy under the imperial banners, but returned in June of the same year to suppress the Reformation. He had constant quarrels with Hesse and Electoral Saxony. He was pilloried as Hans Wurst in Luther's book of that name. ADB.

before my Lady¹ leaves, they will be rid one way or other. If my Lady had not come, the contagion would have been too great.

702. THE DUKE OF SESSA, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR IN ROME, TO THE EMPEROR.

Gayangos, 1525-26, no. 201.

ROME, September 10, 1525.

. . . With regard to Luther, he (the Pope) agrees that the remedy to such evils, and the extirpation of so wicked a sect can only come through his Imperial Majesty's hands. He is of opinion that the diet ought to be prorogued [by the Archduke], and a person of quality and discretion sent thither to prevent any innovations of a bad sort, principally those against the Church and Christian rites. Has lately shown some discontent at the articles² granted by the Infante (Archduke) to some of the chiefs, a copy whereof he has sent to his nuncio³ in Spain for the Emperor's inspection. On this plea he (the Pope) has delayed the payment of the 10,000 ducats still owing to the Archduke out of the 20,000 which the Pope offered to give in the last emergency, although both the Archduke's agent and he (Sessa)⁴ have since done everything in their power to get the promised money.

The powers of this legate to sign the agreement in his name, he (the Pope) has already sent to his nuncio in Spain. He now sends the duplicate.

703. LUTHER TO JOHN ELECTOR OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 28. German.

WITTENBERG, September 12, 1525.

This letter is concerned with Carlstadt. On June 12, from Frankfurt on the Main he wrote Luther a humble apology for his past actions, begging him to get the Elector to allow him to return to Saxony. Enders, v, 193. At the same time he sent his wife to Saxony. About July 1 he returned to Wittenberg himself, terrified by

¹ Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands.

² On the growing discord between Emperor and Pope after the battle of Pavia, see Janssen-Pastor,¹⁸ iii, 6, and Pastor-Kerr, ix, 278ff. The "articles" here referred to were doubtless some concessions made in the diet of 1525.

³ Baldassare Castiglione (1478-February 2, 1529), a famous writer and statesman. He was the ambassador from Clement VII to Charles V. He wrote the *Cortegiano*, or *Courtier*, a book of great celebrity in the sixteenth century. BU.

⁴ Text "Sanchez," one of the numerous slips in these volumes. The error is due to the fact that Sanchez was writer of the letter last calendared.

the fate of Münzer, and found refuge in Luther's house for three months. As a price of his protection, however, Luther forced him, by means so drastic that Carlstadt says he would have been better treated in Turkey, to publish a recantation. This he did on July 25, in the following intentionally ambiguous language: "I recognize before God, without jest and from my heart, that all that I wrote, spoke or taught from my own brain or discovered for myself, is human, false, unpraiseworthy, deceitful, satanic, to be shunned and avoided." This was, of course, taken as a recantation of the doctrine of the sacrament, and was a bitter blow to the Zwinglians, *cf.* Capito to Zwingli, CR., xcv, 404f. For the next three years Carlstadt lived on a farm at Kemberg. Barge, ii, 366ff., ARG., ix (1912), p. 274ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord! I come again with trouble and vexation before your Grace, who hold your office from God. Carlstadt begs for a trial to excuse himself from the charge of sedition, and has sent me a retraction of his errors which I shall publish. I cannot advise you to let him return to Orlamünde, but think favorably of granting him a trial. If your Grace please I think he might be tried at Wittenberg, and if he were acquitted and his retraction found sufficient, your Grace might permit him to reside at Kemberg, or some village near by, on condition that he should never preach nor write any more, but should keep still and support himself by manual labor. As other lands would speedily exile him, it would be the safer to receive him here. I write this because I am sorry for the poor man, and your Grace knows that to the miserable and innocent mercy should be shown. Melanchthon and I also think that his silence should be bought with this favor and grace so that he could not raise a complaint against us in other places, either out of revenge or because made desperate. It would do good to those who had embraced his errors and mightily damp them to see him living only on our favor and permission. I present this for your Grace's favorable consideration. God bless you.

Your subject, MARTIN LUTHER.

704. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, v, 245.

(WITTENBERG), September 27, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ. Keep on with what you are doing, and put up with what you can, my dear Nicholas. I

am altogether taken up with my reply to Erasmus.¹ I know that the parishes must be reformed and uniform ceremonies introduced. I am now wrestling with the problem and shall ask the aid of the Elector. I see that all our efforts are in vain unless pastors are provided, but our case to-day is like that of the Levites of old—people are willing to receive the ministrations of the Gospel, but are not willing to support the ministers. Our own parish is not in order to-day; what can be done with the other parishes with whose complaints I am daily overwhelmed? Satan is busy. Inspect Schneeberg and any other places that you can, if the people call you and need you. You know that this will not displease the Elector at all.

I am putting off the catechism, for I want to get the whole thing done at one time.² Farewell, and pray for us all, as you do. My rib greets you.

MARTIN LUTHER.

705. THE PREACHERS OF STRASSBURG TO LUTHER.

Enders, v, 251.

STRASSBURG, (October 8, 1525).³

Grace and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. For the preservation of the unity of the Church, we have sent you, honored teacher in the Lord, this excellent young man.⁴ The Rhine churches hate the papal tyranny worse than anyone else, not only because they are nearer to Italy than the others, but also because this whole broad region has been taken up by the ecclesiastics. Relying on their power, their money and the favor of the magnates, they are pushing things to extremes, farther and farther day by day. So great has been the efficacy of the Word and the power of our common agreement that while we were united we were able to stand their fiercest attacks, before which we should have fallen if we had stood apart. . . . And now everywhere, by the work of the enemy, a crop of quarrels is growing up. We can scarcely say how much harm it has done to those in France, Brabant and Flanders, and it has given

¹ The treatise *De servo arbitrio*.

² *I.e.*, the catechism and the instruction for the visitation of the Saxon churches, which Luther even then had in mind.

³ This letter is undated, but its bearer, Gregory Casel, took with him to Wittenberg a letter of Capito to Bugenhagen (Vogt, p. 32) dated October 8.

⁴ Gregory Casel (died 1528), teacher of Hebrew at Strassburg.

great offence in lower Germany as well. We foresaw that this would happen, and so we bade our former messenger¹ take measures to prevent the growth of discord. In what state many of the churches in this region are—with what property their ministers are endowed, what are their hopes, their fears, what strifes and dangers they have to face, and other things of this sort—all this Gregory can tell you, and we ask that you give him a kindly hearing when he confers with you about measures of agreement. For our lamented adversaries are only now beginning to have some new hope, persuading themselves that we are about to destroy ourselves in empty contentions and mutual recriminations; but their hopes will be vain if we devote ourselves to preaching the pure doctrine of Christ and lay aside our logomachies about the rudiments of the world. . . .

THE MINISTERS OF THE WORD IN THE CHURCH AT
STRASSBURG.

706. LUTHER TO GOTTSCHALK CRUSIUS² AT CELLE.

Enders, v, 255.

WITTENBERG, October 27, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ. I am so busy, my dear Gottschalk, that I can only write you a few things. I received only this one letter from you and it came after Duke Otto³ was here. I sympathize with you in vexation which these new spirits⁴ have caused you; but be brave. The Lord will be with you with all His power. Do not be moved by Zwingli's argument concerning the certitude of faith, for he speaks of faith from hearsay and imagination, and not from any experience. It is possible, nay, it happens every day, that in some of the articles of faith we are strong, in others weak. Moses, the man of great faith, was weak at Meribah, and all

¹ A certain Nicholas, who brought letters from Gerbel and the other Strassburg preachers to Luther in November, 1524. (Enders, v, 56, 60.)

² Of Gottschalk Crusius little is known, save that he was born at Brunswick, in 1499, and studied at Erfurt and Wittenberg, taking his doctor's degree at the latter university in 1521, and leaving the Benedictine Order to become evangelical pastor at Celle in 1524. Enders, v, 44, n. 1.

³ Duke Otto of Brunswick-Lüneberg, in whose territories Celle was located. He had come to the court of the Elector to seek advice concerning the reformation of the Church in his lands.

⁴ *I.e.*, the teachings of Zwingli and Oecolampadius concerning the Lord's Supper.

the children of Israel were weak in the faith that they would receive food and drink, though by faith they had overcome Pharaoh, with many miracles. So then, we must not be suspicious of everything that the papists receive, or else baptism and the whole Bible would be under suspicion. But we must be the more suspicious of this doctrine because Carlstadt was the first to proclaim it, and now Zwingli and Oecolampadius reject all his proofs for it, though they attempt to defend it on other grounds, and yet the foolish fellows offer only the chief arguments of Carlstadt, which they have already condemned. It seems to me a ridiculous spirit which first proclaims a doctrine supported by worthless proofs, and then promising other proofs, brings forward almost the very same proofs, thus totally contradicting itself. These men are contending for the glory of their doctrine. I see nothing else in it, but, perhaps, after awhile you may see something else. The Lord aid you with His grace. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

707. LUTHER TO JOHN LANG AND THE OTHER PASTORS
AT ERFURT.

Enders, v, 257.

WITTENBERG, October 28, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ, dear brethren. Your anxiety for the preparation of proper forms of worship pleases us greatly, and the form¹ which you have sent us is not bad, even if Erfurt alone consents to use it. I think it matters not if other churches are unwilling to give way to it. Who will compel them if they do not wish it? We ourselves outlined a form of worship and sent it to our Elector, and by his command it is now elaborated. Next Sunday² it will be given a public trial in the name of Christ. There will be a German mass for the laity, but the daily services will be in Latin with German Scripture lessons, as you may see, in brief, when the printed copies are out. Then, if you choose, you can make your worship conform with ours, or you can use

¹ *Die teutsche Messe, d. i. eine Form oder Weise des Sonntags in teutscher Sprache mit Singen und Beten zu halten.* The work of Lang and his associates at Erfurt.

² On the XX Sunday after Trinity, October 29. The German Mass was not published until the following January.

your own. In the meantime keep on with what you are doing. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

708. MARK ANTONY LONGIN, SECRETARY OF CHARLES CONTARINI, TO JOHN FRANCIS CONTARINI.

Brown, 1520-6, no, 1153.

TÜBINGEN, October 28, 1525.

Transmits the work written by Luther against the peasants. The towns hereunder mentioned have become Lutheran, viz., Strassburg, Nuremberg and Ulm, but not so entirely, and the other free towns in succession, some more and some less; also Zurich in Switzerland. In the above-mentioned towns they no longer celebrate mass or the offices, and have reduced their churches to mosques, that is to say to white walls. The general opinion is that the affairs of Germany are more embarrassed than ever and that the princes will at length have to wage war against the free towns.

Luther has composed a work, *De instituendis scolis*.¹ He no longer replies to those who write against him, but leaves the task to his followers, viz., to Zwingli,² Philip Melanchthon and John Oecolampadius. Has procured a new work of Melanchthon's, namely, the funeral oration composed by him on the death of Elector Frederic of Saxony. On arriving at Augsburg, where we expect to be in a fortnight, I will endeavor to obtain some others.

709. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 38. German.

WITTENBERG, October 31, 1525.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince and gracious Lord. I humbly beg your Grace not to be angry with

¹In 1524, Weimar, xv, 27-93.

²I follow the text as given in Sanuto, ed. Thomas. Instead of "Zwingli, Philip Melanchthon and John Oecolampadius," Brown writes, "Philip Melanchthon, of Zurich, and John Oecolampadius." Brown, presumably, worked from the MS. and not from the printed text of Sanuto, which in this case is certainly right. No one would have put Melanchthon in Zurich. I can only conjecture that the original from which both texts are derived, read *Tigurino Filippo Melancton e Joanne Ecolampadio*, the *Tigurino* referring to Zwingli, and so rightly interpreted by Sanuto or his editor, but by Brown mistakenly made an adjective agreeing with Melanchthon.

me, because my letters bring to court so much that is troublesome and disagreeable, for I get nothing out of it myself except trouble and annoyance enough. I should be glad to spare your Grace, but because of the position that I hold I cannot act otherwise.

In the first place your Grace will pardon me for having been so insistent upon the reorganization of the university,¹ for I have learned that your Grace was offended at my persistent urging of it, as though I did not place much confidence in your Grace's promises. Now it is not true that I disbelieved your Grace, for if that had been the case my doubts would have caused me to give up my insisting. But because I did not doubt your Grace's promises, I kept on, so that the matter might not be postponed because of the pressure of business, as has happened many times under your Grace's predecessors. For courts have much business, and it is necessary to keep at them, as the saying is. Besides, I was urged by others, because people were leaving the university and the school was breaking up, so that there was need for haste.

However, even though I had mistrusted your Grace, I should not greatly repent of that sin in view of the good results that have followed. They were worth more such sins, and I should be willing to commit more sins of that kind against your Grace, if I could accomplish so much good by them. I would comfort myself in the confidence that your Grace would not only graciously forgive me, but would even be pleased with me; for it is certain—indeed it cannot be otherwise—that your Grace must feel in his heart that this work is well pleasing to God; and although your Grace seeks neither merit nor reward by it, still less the world's glory or honor, nevertheless his conscience must be glad and he must be strengthened in the conviction that God has done this great work by your Grace's means, and used you as His tool, and showed His intention to use you yet more in the furtherance of His divine and gracious will; all of which we hope and pray from our hearts. Amen.

Therefore, gracious Lord, now that the university is set in

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 684.

order, and the Order of Worship¹ has been composed and is about to go into use, there remain two things which demand the attention and disposition of your Grace, as our temporal lord. The first thing is that the parishes everywhere are in such miserable condition. No one gives anything or pays for anything; the mass-fees are abolished, and either there are no taxes at all, or else they are too small; the common man does not think of the priests and preachers, and unless your Grace makes a strict law and undertakes to give proper support to the parishes and preaching places, there will soon be no parsonages or schools or pupils, and thus God's Word and Christian worship will be destroyed. Therefore I wish your Grace to let God use him still further and be his faithful tool, to the greater comforting of even your Grace's own conscience; for this is asked of him and required of him by us and by the necessities of the case, and assuredly by God Himself. Your Grace will find the means to do it. There are enough monasteries, foundations, benefices, charitable endowments and the like if only your Grace will interest himself sufficiently to command that they be inspected, reckoned up and organized. God will give His blessing to this work and prosper it, so that, if God will, the ordinances that concern men's souls will not be hindered by the needs or the neglect of the poor stomach. For this we beseech His divine grace. Amen.

The second thing is a matter of which I once spoke with your Grace here at Wittenberg. Your Grace ought to order an inspection of the temporal government also, and ascertain how the city councils and all other officials conduct their government and preside over the common weal. For there is great complaint on all sides of bad government, both in the cities and in the country, and it is your Grace's duty, as the ruler of the land, to look into it. Perhaps the petitions and appeals and complaints to the court would become fewer, if the state were to institute such an inspection and some good regulation.

All this your Grace will graciously accept as my humble suggestion, for your Grace sees and knows that I mean it well.

¹ The *German Mass*.

May God graciously put His Spirit into your Grace's heart, with all His light and power, to do what is well-pleasing to Him. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

710. THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF SESSA, HIS AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

Gayangos, 1525-26, no. 245.

TOLEDO, October 31, 1525.

. . . With regard to Luther and the Pope's declaration to you that the best remedy for the extirpation of his sect is our presence in those parts, we entirely agree with him; but his Holiness ought so to dispose matters that it may be done to his own satisfaction and the rest of the Italian potentates, and as a Catholic Prince we shall not be wanting. We wish we had at present a sufficiently qualified person to send to those parts who might manage matters so as to prevent any action to the Pope's detriment; but not having here by us any other but John Hannart, who is not acceptable to our brother the Archduke, or the Provost of Valcheuek, who at present is unwell, and incapable of such work as that demanded, it will be necessary for us to think of some other expedient. You will tell his Holiness, in our name, that we are extremely sorry that, at the present moment, we cannot apply a remedy to such evil; but in order to stop the exorbitant demands there made against the Church, we have written to the Archduke our brother and to the Electors and other influential members of the diet not to meddle with matters that may turn against the Holy See; and if they can break up the diet to do it as soon as possible.

711. SIR ROBERT WINGFIELD TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 1737.

MALINES, November 2, 1525.

Zurich and some of the other Swiss cantons have openly adopted the opinions of Luther and the rest, though they do not altogether agree with the others, have protested that the Pope shall no longer dispose of benefices, or have any spiritual jurisdiction except in cases of matrimony. For other cases

they say the temporal law is sufficient, and care little for spiritual curses or pardons, "which may be procured for money, and rubbed off with a like salve; wherefore, though the child is now rocked asleep, it is like enough that he will make more noise when he doth awake."

712. LUTHER TO THE CLERGY OF STRASSBURG.

Enders, v, 261.

WITTENBERG, November 5, 1525.

This letter is an answer to no. 705. The "sacramentarian controversy," which was to separate the two chief branches of the Protestant Church for more than a century, had been started by Carlstadt, but was now taken up by the Swiss Reformers. Zwingli derived his opinion that the bread and wine were mere signs or memorials partly from Carlstadt, still more from the Dutch theologian Honius (Kessler: *Sabbata*, 1904, p. 138; *Corpus Reformatorum*, xcv, 567ff.). Zwingli's first utterance on the subject was *An Epistle to Matthew Alber*, Lutheran pastor at Reutlingen, November 16, 1524 (*Corpus Reformatorum*, xc, 322ff.). It was copied and widely circulated in manuscript, though not sent to its addressee, the disingenuous idea of the writer being to avoid quarrels with Luther. It was sent to him, however, by Gerbel, probably in February (Enders, v, 155, dated April 10-11, should be earlier, Walch,² xxiv, p. 734). Luther's *Letter to the Christians of Strassburg* (*supra*, no. 652) was published at once and sent to Zwingli by Capito February 6, 1525. *Corpus Reformatorum*, xcv, 299ff. In March, 1525, Zwingli published his *Commentary on true and false Religion*, of which a large section is devoted to the eucharist, *Corpus Reformatorum*, xc, 772ff. Oecolampadius wrote on the same side in 1525, *De genuina verborum Domini*, etc. Pirckheimer and Bugenhagen answered at once (1525) on the Lutheran side, as did John Brenz, in October, 1525. Köstlin-Kawerau, ii, 80ff. Some of Luther's sermons were published at the same time, under the title of *On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ against the Ranting Spirits*. They gave much offence to Zwingli, *Corpus Reformatorum*, xcv, 471. Meantime the Strassburgers were working for peace. As Gerbel observed, out of the symbol of supreme love had arisen hatred, wrath and enmity (to Bugenhagen, January, 1526, Vogt, 60; cf. Capito to Blaurer, November 26, 1525, *Briefwechsel der Blaurer*, i, 124f). Bucer published an irenic in December, 1524, cf. Barge, ii, 231. His preference for Carlstadt's opinion drew down Luther's wrath. *Corpus Reformatorum*, xcvi, 61, note 12.

Grace and peace in Christ. Casel, our brother whom we love in the Lord, has returned to you, good sirs. Why should I make many prayers? I pray that Christ, speaking to you

by Casel in His own Spirit, may tell you our desires for you. The matter is too great¹ for such brevity and for the little time I have to give it. Be wise, beloved; Satan is not a man nor yet the world, but he is the god and prince of the world. Who does not rejoice in the praise that you accord to the sanctity of Zwingli and Oecolampadius and to their churches? But see where Zwingli comes to in his doctrine of original sin. Just what you mean by "sanctity" and "churches" I do not know, so different are the impressions that your letters make on me. We should not venture to make the same assertions of ourselves, and would that you reigned without us. We venture to boast that Christ was first preached by us to the people, but Zwingli now slanders us by saying that we deny Him. We are fallible, but what if you, too, are in error? But you will hear everything from Casel. The Lord do what is good in His eyes. Amen. MART. LUTHER.

713. LUTHER TO GREGORY CASEL.

Enders, v, 263.

(WITTENBERG, November 5, 1525.)

This letter was given to Casel along with the preceding. The first letter was to be delivered to the Strassburg clergy, this one was to be the basis of Casel's oral report on Luther's attitude toward the teachings of Zwingli and Oecolampadius.

Tell my lords and brethren, my dear Casel, the things which you have seen and heard. First, since they themselves perceive that this matter will set a great fire burning, let them acquiesce in this admonition of the Spirit, and reverence it, so that hereafter they may not lament, with vain groanings of conscience, that they disregarded the Spirit's warning. We desire nothing more than to have peace, as we have hitherto taught, and we have been careful to keep peace with all men so far as in us lay, as their own conscience must bear witness. We were not the beginners of this tragedy, and answer only because we are forced to do so. But it is not right to keep silence forever, especially since by their published writings they (I mean Zwingli and Oecolampadius) are stirring up men's minds; unless, of course, they wish us to give up the ministry of the Word and the cure of souls. It is intolerable

¹ The translator has followed the St. Louis editors (xvii, 1533) in adopting the reading *superat* in place of Enders' *suspirat*.

to keep quiet when they are talking and to yield to them when they are disturbing our Church and weakening our authority. If they are afraid and unwilling to have the authority of their own teaching diminished, let them remember not to diminish ours. It is right to abstain from abuse, but how can men be answered or contradicted if it is not permissible to condemn and if the very word "condemn" is regarded as abuse? And is it not abuse when those very modest men in their published books charge us with being carnivorous, with worshipping an edible and impanated God, and with denying the redemption made on the Cross? All the moderation is theirs; we are falsely called immoderate. Yet we have endured it thus far, though they are unable to endure it when we say they are in error. Do they wish us to approve of everything they say? Certainly we shall not endure such things as these.

It is not sound advice when they urge that believers are to have their minds diverted from the question of the presence of Christ's body and blood, and directed only to the Word and to faith. Among us Word and faith are not present apart from the thing on which they rest, since the very words¹ involve the question whether the body and blood are there, and the mind of the people cannot be diverted from this question, no matter how many books are spread among them and received by them. It was these men's part to be silent at first; it is now too late for them to demand silence.

But what are they afraid of, if their certitude rests, as they boast that it does, upon the experience of faith, and if they are neither deceivers nor deceived? Who are we to resist them? If they are so certain about this sort of faith, they are bound by the duty of their office to come forward and condemn us as in error. But they shrink from doing this, and seek another course; therefore we advise them to take heed to this second warning of the Spirit and look what they are doing. Men who are certain of their opinion because of the experience of faith do not seek such things as they seek or give the advice that they give. For the Spirit is not so timid and does not argue as they do.

¹ *I.e.*, the Words of Institution.

Again, we never said that the body and blood of Christ are a matter of indifference or do not confer salvation, but we have said that they must be preached by the Word as the true food of the soul. The Spirit, therefore, gives them a third warning. Let them beware, for they have fallen so far that they have made an unprofitable and negligible matter out of a thing that is necessary, and then falsely impute this teaching to us.

In a word, either they or we must be ministers of Satan. There is no room here for negotiation or mediation. Each party must confess what it believes. We pray them not to conceal it from the common people that they disagree with us. This is the fourth warning of the Spirit, for He does not thus dissimulate. If they go on with their pretending it is our duty to confess that we differ from one another, that their spirit and ours are in conflict, for what agreement has Christ with Belial?¹ We gladly embrace peace, so long as the peace with God, which Christ has won for us, is preserved.

The arguments which they advance are worthless. We do not admit the figure of speech² and they do not prove it, and I pray that they yield this point to the Spirit, Who is warning them. It must be proved that in this place the word "is" must be taken to mean "signifies." They prove that elsewhere in the Scriptures it means "signifies." Everybody knows that. Since they are evidently blind to the meaning of other passages of Scripture, they ought to be afraid that they may be in error regarding this one also. They are blind, for instance, regarding the passage which says, "The rock was Christ."³ For Paul does not speak of a material rock, but of a spiritual. For the passage reads, "They drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ." Was not this rock, namely the spiritual rock, Christ? How then is the word "was" in this passage to be interpreted as "signified"? Is not this evidently a mistake?

Again, there is a manifest mistake regarding that other pas-

¹ II Corinthians vi, 15.

² Zwingli taught that the words "This is my body" were to be taken in a figurative sense, and meant "This signifies my body." But *vide infra*.

³ I Corinthians x, 4.

sage, "The lamb is the Lord's Passover."¹ Where do the Scriptures say this? Moses says, "Ye shall eat it in haste, for it is the Lord's Passover," that is, "Do all this because this day is the Lord's Passover," as though I were to say, "Ye shall eat baked meats because it is Sunday." The "it" refers to the day, not to the lamb, and so this passage proves nothing. So with the passage, "This cup is the New Testament," the argument would be valid if we must admit that something was omitted; but this passage reads, "This cup is the New Testament in My blood"; that is to say, "The cup of itself is nothing, but because of my blood it is a testament, since the blood cannot be given without the cup." What proof is there for the symbolic interpretation by which the cup signifies the testament, the wine signifies the blood of Christ? Where do we find this proof in the Scriptures? This is mere trifling, the mere figment of men's imagination, as though it were enough to say, "It seems to me that the cup, because it is of gold or silver, is a symbol of the blood poured out for us, though it is hard and solid and cannot be poured out; if you bring in the wine, wine is drunk not poured." How much truer it would be to make the Old Testament oblations of wine, which were poured, a symbol of the blood poured out for us! But let this pass. The case in a word is this: Even though it can be proved that elsewhere the word "is" means "signifies," nevertheless it cannot be proved that this is its meaning in this passage. Now to do violence to the words without reason and warrant of Scripture is sacrilege.

Therefore, brethren, by Christ and by all that we hold dear in Christ, we beseech you to abstain from this error, which is shown by so many signs to be foreign to the Spirit and which is supported by no proofs, and to cease to seduce men's souls. For this matter is fraught with the greatest danger to salvation. If they will not or cannot be persuaded to desist, we shall compare it with the fury of the days of Arius, and though the wrath of God punishes us for our ingratitude, we shall labor until He shall have mercy on us. They will cause great damage, but they shall not prevail.

¹ Exodus xii, 11.

I am sorry that Zwingli and the rest are offended because I said, "What I say must be true." They show that their minds are poisoned against me. Why do they boast of their experience of faith? Is it not a haughty word, if we consider the flesh, but a helpful and saving word if true, as Peter says;¹ for he would have us speak thus as men who are certain that they speak the word of God. If they themselves had any of this certainty they would not thus condemn my certainty and assurance. What is the certitude of faith and the testimony of the Spirit, if we are able only to boast of it ourselves and are not able to hear anyone else boasting of it?

The matter will produce more arguments when we begin to discuss it. We are certain that they are in error; let them see to it how certain they are that they are not in error. The Lord grant that they may not be in error; that is, that they may come to themselves. Amen.

You, my dear Casel, will tell them the rest, for you see that our time is taken up with more than one or two matters.

MART. LUTHER.

714. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, v, 268. German.

TORGAU, November 7, 1525.

Greeting . . . You wrote us last week,² and, among other things, asked our pardon because you urged us so much regarding the organization of the university. We have read your letter, with its further contents, and are graciously and well satisfied with your excuses, for we know that what you did in this matter was well meant and has turned out for the best.

You go on to say that the parishes everywhere are in such a miserable condition that no one gives anything or pays anything, that the offerings and mass fees have ceased, and that it is our duty as temporal lord to investigate and make a law whereby the priests and preachers may be properly supported. Now it may well be the case that the offerings and

¹ I Peter iv, 11.

² *Supra*, no. 709.

ordinary income of the parishes and preaching places have ceased and that the people are somewhat lax in continuing the payment of taxes, rents and the like, which they always paid heretofore. But if we were to provide for these parishes and preaching places out of our own income it would be hard for us, as you can understand. We hold, however, that it would be altogether proper for the citizens, in the cities and also in the country, to contribute something to this purpose, either out of their own property or out of the ecclesiastical benefices that are at their disposal, so that the pastors and preachers who proclaim God's Word and administer the holy sacraments to them can be more fittingly supported. It is our gracious request that you will give us your opinion what sort of an ordinance you think ought to be made to cover the cases in which the needs and the support of the pastors and preachers are not provided for. We will then, by God's grace, go further in the matter, and will also see to it that the taxes and the other payments which have hitherto been devoted and applied to this purpose shall be paid without diminution to the pastors and preachers.

As regards the third point, the visitation of the temporal government to ascertain how the city councils and the officials rule, of which you spoke with us once before at Wittenberg, we will not conceal from you our gracious intention. We have recently appointed new officials to certain of our offices with the idea that our subjects in the towns and the country should obtain from them aid, counsel and comfort in matters that devolve upon them, so that they might be helped to the performance of their duty. We should also have been inclined some time ago to investigate all our offices and towns to learn how their government has been proceeding, but owing chiefly to the uprising it has remained for the time merely an intention, and other especially urgent duties of ours have delayed it. But by the help of God, at some other time, as the opportunity is given, we will undertake to do what may serve to God's praise and the free spread of His holy Word and the common weal, as well as to good order. We will not conceal from you this our gracious purpose for we are graciously disposed toward you.

715. LUTHER TO GEORGE SPALATIN AT ALTENBURG.¹

Enders, v, 271.

(WITTENBERG,) November 11, 1525.

Grace and peace. How I should like to be present at your wedding, dear Spalatin! Nor is it my will, which Erasmus says is free, but I think is unfree, which prevents me from coming. I cannot come because in the first place the recent flight of the nuns from ducal Saxony keeps me busy, and besides at your court an ignoble crowd of nobles rage against me. Wonderful but true, we cannot trust even those who have hitherto seemed most evangelical. Amsdorf himself was lately in peril from those whom, with the Elector, we considered our very citadel and refuge in time of need. Amsdorf said, "Not only God but the whole world sees what scoundrels they are." You would be surprised if I could write their names to you. Therefore I cannot come to you, withheld by the tears of my Katie, who believes as you write, that you desire nothing less than to put me in danger, for truly she reasons that Amsdorf must know what he was talking about. Besides, you know that the more our Elector cherishes the evangelical cause the less he is feared by his own courtiers, who hope to do what they please with him.

You ask whether the government should suppress religious abominations, and say that our enemies urge against this that no one ought to be forced to profess the evangelical faith, that there is no precedent for so doing, and finally that the government has power only in externals. Answer them: Why did they formerly do what they now contend should not be done? For they forced men not only to external compliance in their abominable religion, but also to inward infidelity and impiety of heart. Let the rule work both ways. It is plain that they used coercion, and moreover invoked the aid of a foreign prince, for which alone they ought to be expelled. But our government does not force belief in the evangelical faith, but only suppresses external abominations. Therefore, in confessing that the government has power over externals

¹ After the death of the Elector Frederic, Spalatin gave up his post at court and was appointed canon and pastor of the principal church at Altenburg, entering upon his duties in August, 1525. He married Catherine Heidenreich, November 19.

our opponents condemn themselves. For princes ought to put down public crimes like perjury and open blasphemy of God's name, such as they indulge in, in the meantime not forcing them to believe that what the government prohibits is wrong, not even if they secretly curse at it. We speak of public cursing and blasphemy, with which they blaspheme our God. This, I say, we ought to put down if we can; if not we are obliged to submit to it. By this no one is forced to the evangelical faith, although our enemies would, if they could, force men to their impious opinions, and not being able to do it, conspire with those who do it, and are therefore worthy of punishment as *particeps criminis*. As for a precedent, we have a sufficient one in Christ expelling the buyers and sellers from the temple with force and blows. Keep on, therefore, and be not moved by what they say. Farewell in the Lord with your wife. When Brisger goes to your wedding I shall send a little present.

MARTIN LUTHER.

716. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.¹

De Wette, iii, 51. German.

WITTENBERG, November 30, 1525.

God's grace and peace in Christ. Highborn Prince, gracious Lord. Your Grace has replied to my suggestion that the parishes generally be investigated. It is not my idea that all the pastors should be paid out of your Grace's treasury, but because your Grace graciously asks my judgment about how the matter shall be undertaken, I give it as my humble opinion that your Grace should cause all the parishes in the principality to be inspected, and if it is found that the people desire evangelical preachers and the parish funds are insufficient for their support, then your Grace should command that the community must pay a certain sum annually, either through the town council or otherwise. For if they desire pastors, it is your Grace's office to hold them to the duty of rewarding the laborers, as the Gospel commands.

Such a visitation might be conducted in this way. Your Grace might divide his dominions into four or five parts and send into each part two men, chosen from the nobles, perhaps, or the officials, who would inform themselves about these

¹ Luther's reply to the Elector's letter of November 7 (*supra*, no. 714).

parishes and their income, and learn what the pastor needs, and then lay upon the parishes your Grace's command regarding the annual tax. But if the expense or the trouble of this procedure were too great for your Grace, citizens from the towns could be used for this purpose, or representatives of the chief towns of the district could be summoned and the matter discussed with them. Whatever best pleases your Grace let that be done.

Moreover, care must be taken concerning the old pastors or those otherwise unfit for office. If they are good men in other respects and not opposed to the Gospel, they ought to be obligated to read the Gospels and the Postils¹ (if they are not qualified to preach), or to have them read. Thus the people would receive a true ministration of the Gospel in return for the support they gave the pastor. It would not be a good thing to put the men out of the office they have been holding without some recompense, if only they are not opposed to the Gospel. I humbly make this suggestion to your Grace at your Grace's request, commending your Grace to God.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

717. LEE TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 1803.

BOURDEAUX, December 2, 1525.

Hears that an Englishman,² at Luther's instigation, has translated the New Testament into English, and will bring printed copies into England in a few days. Wolsey can foresee the harm that may come thereof better than he can. Has written

¹ Homilies on the Gospels.

² William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament began to be printed at Cologne and was completed at Worms at this time. He was greatly indebted to Luther's version, see parallel passages in J. J. Momfret: *English Versions of the Bible*, 1907, 87ff. Many contemporaries stated that he was with Luther at Wittenberg, e.g. Lee, Thomas More, Cochlaeus and Henry VIII, and this has been repeated by J. A. Froude: *History of England*, 1875, ii, 31; *Dictionary of National Biography* under "Tyndale"; Gairdner: *Lollardy and the Reformation*, 1908, ii, 227; R. Demaus: *W. Tindale*, 1904, 117ff, Momfret, *op. cit.*, 83ff. Tyndale himself, however, denied that he was ever "confederate with Luther," and as we hear nothing of him at Wittenberg, it is most improbable that he ever saw Luther. See P. Smith's article in *The Nation*, May 16, 1912, also H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Philadelphia, 1890), pp. 14ff.

to the King not to allow them to enter the realm, and doubts not Wolsey will assist. Luther's sect has made some stir in Paris, and in the See of Meaux—the bishop¹ of which, with his chaplain, James Faber,² is called *in judicium*. Some doctors of Paris are in prison, and some are fled. Hears that it has touched a higher head³ than any of these. We have cause to thank God for sending such a Christian spirit to the King that the realm is hitherto preserved in integrity.

718. CHARLES CONTARINI TO ANGELO GABRIEL.

Brown, 1520-6, no. 1174.

AUGSBURG, December 4, 1525.

The Lutheran sect has made such progress that in these parts they follow no other doctrine. The only masses said are those in the Lutheran fashion, briefly and simply repeating the Epistle and Gospel, all in the German tongue, and consecrating before the people and aloud; and those who attend the mass all communicate without confession. Books against Luther are no longer to be had. All the churches except the cathedrals are despoiled, without images, without candles. Meat is eaten every day without distinction, and no attention paid to holy days. They preach against the mass, and say it was devised by Lucifer; they call prayer execrable.

719. LUTHER TO GEORGE SPALATIN, AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, v, 278.

WITTENBERG, December 6, 1525.

I wish you grace and peace in the Lord, and also joy with your sweetest little wife, also in the Lord. Your marriage is as pleasing to me as it is displeasing to those priests of Baal.⁴ Indeed God has given me no greater happiness, except the Gospel, than to see you married, though this, too, is a gift of the Gospel, and no small fruit of our evangelical teaching. Why I am absent, and wherefore I could not come to your

¹ William Bricconnet (1470-1533), made Bishop of Meaux, 1516, sympathized with the Reformers at first, but later persecuted them. BU.

² Lefèvre d'Étaples. At this time the Parlement of Paris and the Sorbonne were proceeding energetically against Berquin and others. Lindsay, ii, 143.

³ Margaret of Navarre, sister of King Francis I.

⁴ The Canons of Altenburg. Spalatin was having a hard struggle with them. Many letters of his on the subject printed in AGR., i, 197ff. Cf. M. von Tiling: *Der Kampf gegen die missa privata*, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xx, 2.

most pleasing wedding, Brisger will tell you. All things are changed under the new Elector, who right nobly confesses the evangelical faith. I am less safe on the road than I was under an Elector who dissimulated his faith, but now where one hopes for citadels of refuge one is forced to fear dens of robbers and traitors. I wish you great happiness and children, with Christ's blessing. Believe me, my mind exults in your marriage no less than yours did in mine. Poor as I am I would have sent you that Portuguese gold piece¹ which you gave my wife, did I not fear that it would offend you. So I am sending you what is left over from my wedding, not knowing whether it will also be left over from yours or not. . . . Greet your wife kindly from me. When you have your Catharine in bed, sweetly embracing and kissing her, think: Lo, this being, the best little creation of God, has been given me by Christ, to whom be glory and honor. I will guess the day on which you will receive this letter and that night I will love my wife in memory of you with the same act, and thus return you like for like.² My rib and I send greetings to you and your rib. Grace be with you. Amen.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

720. LUTHER TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Enders, v, 281. German.

De Wette, iii, 54.

(WITTENBERG,) December 21, 1525.

Grace and peace in Jesus Christ our Saviour and my humble service. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. We know that the whole of Scripture teaches that God acts at first severely and sternly and afterwards kindly and paternally. So He first plagued and tried the people of Israel with the stern law of Moses before He blessed them with the Gospel and kindly comforted them. It is written, "The Lord killeth and maketh alive." Accordingly I have attacked many men, your Grace among them, fiercely and bitterly, and afterwards have kindly prayed that God would make you a gracious lord,

¹ *Portugalisensis*, a gold coin worth about \$7.

² *Par pari referam*, cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, Basle, 1536, p. 36. This passage is omitted in all editions of this letter prior to Enders, 1893. Luther occasionally spoke frankly of his marital relations, e.g., *Tischreden*, Weimar, i, no. 833, and iii, no. 3298b.

and have published many loving sermons and books so that all could see that I meant no ill by my attack but wished to serve everyone as best I could.

But as I observe that your Grace does not turn from your disfavor but continues it, I am minded once more to approach your Grace, perhaps for the last time, with this humble, affectionate letter. It looks to me as if God would soon take one of us away, and so makes it desirable that Duke George and Luther should speedily become friends.

I call your Grace to witness that all that I do is done from my sense of duty and obligation to act for your Grace's good, which makes me look out for and promote the salvation of your soul; this duty I recognize even to my enemies. Your Grace may believe it (God grant!) or not (God forbid!) as you like, but you will soon see that I with my severity mean better than all those who highly praise and loudly flatter your Grace.

I come now and fall at your Grace's feet, and beg with utter humility that your Grace would leave off your ungracious persecution of my doctrine. Not that much harm could come to me through your Grace's persecution; I have little to lose but my poor body which daily hastens to death. Truly I have a greater enemy, namely, the devil and his angels, but God has hitherto given me strength, although I am a poor sinful man, to stand fast against him. If I sought my own profit nothing better could happen to me than to be persecuted. I cannot say how much persecution has helped me, and I kindly thank my enemies for that. If your Grace's misfortunes were pleasing to me, which they are not, I should irritate your Grace still more, and wish that you would always persecute me. But you have done enough to see the result of such conduct, now the time to change has come. In regard to your Grace's disbelief of my doctrine, I can only say that it speaks for itself and needs not my exhortation to aid it. But I do exhort you to believe, because I feel that at the peril of my own soul I must care for your Grace's soul, pray and admonish in hopes of accomplishing something. Let not your Grace despise my humble person, for God once spoke through an ass, and in Psalm xiii [rather xiv, 6] reproaches those

who shame the counsel of the poor. Neither your Grace nor any man will quench nor hinder my doctrine, which must keep on and on as it has hitherto done, for it is not mine but God's. But it pains me to see how terribly your Grace falls on the corner-stone, Christ, although God has given you discernment in other matters. May God Almighty grant that I come at a favorable hour and that my letter may find a favorable reception in your Grace's heart. If your Grace refuses (God forbid!) to receive my humble and hearty admonition, I must commend the matter to Him.

I wish to justify myself before God and your Grace's conscience by having done my part and by showing that I am ready and willing to do or leave undone what your Grace wills, except in regard to my doctrine, which I cannot conscientiously abandon. Except by advocating that, I implore your Grace to say wherein I have inadvertently hurt your Grace. I forgive from my heart what your Grace has done to hurt me, and will assuredly pray the Lord to forgive what you have done and now do against His Word. If your Grace will only yield in one point all will be plain; only let Christ's Word, which I have brought to light, be free, and, without doubt all the angels in heaven will rejoice over your Grace. Let me inform your Grace that hitherto I have always prayed *for* your Grace, and write this letter in hopes of avoiding the necessity of praying *against* your Grace in future. Although we are a poor little flock we know that if we prayed against your Grace (which we would only do unwillingly, if compelled by your persistent persecution of the evangelical faith and its preachers), that nothing good would happen to you, for we know that Christ would keep His promise to us. Your Grace might then learn that it is a different thing to fight against Luther than it was to fight against Münzer. But I hope your Grace will not have to learn it. I think my prayers, and those of my friends, are stronger than the devil himself, for had they not been Luther would have perished long ago. But no one observes the miracle God has done for me.

I write humbly and faithfully to your Grace (God grant not for the last time) and may God vouchsafe that your

Grace answer me graciously and piously with living deeds rather than with dead letters. God bless you.

Your Grace's humble, devoted servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

721. DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, v, 285. German.

DRESDEN, December 28, 1525.

Your letter reached us on the birthday of Christ, Whose peace and grace we wish you, as you did to us, and we wish you also knowledge of yourself. We wish you to understand clearly that our conscience is free in God our Saviour, that although you provoked us so much in your letters, we answer you without hatred, but only out of the desire to bring you to a knowledge of yourself, without any hypocrisy. As you think we are surrounded by hypocrites we give you this testimony: if we speak hypocritically in this letter you may freely say that you may judge us by this sample—as a glass of wine tastes like the barrel of wine from which it is drawn—but if we do not dissemble herein, then seek the hypocrites among those who would make you a prophet, a Daniel, an apostle of the Germans and an evangelist. . . .

You attacked us bitterly against the law of God and the Gospel, for you certainly know what God has commanded you to do to your neighbor. You falsely stabbed us in the back and by name in a letter to Hartmuth von Cronberg¹ (time has shown how praiseworthy your action was!) calling us a tyrant and an apostate, reviling our person and slander-ing our body and mind, with many slippery, crafty words, the like of which you will not find in the Bible, by whose example you justify your calumny.

We thereupon wrote you² graciously, according to the Saxon form, to discover your guilt or innocence in the matter, and would have much rather have found you innocent. But you, of your rage and indecency, wrote us a bitter answer, attack-ing us further with untruths and called us your "ungracious lord,"³ for which we have given you no cause by our simple

¹ *Supra*, no. 536.

² *Supra*, no. 562.

³ *Supra*, no. 565

letter. Would it not have been better for you, before writing to Cronberg, to write to us and hear our answer, as God says that Christian people should act?

What need have you to call us a liar, although you have never heard a lie from us your whole life long; and why did you falsely say that we conquered with lies? . . .

You boast that you have written many excellent books. We shall not conceal from you that at first we were much pleased with your books. We were right glad to have the debate at Leipsic, hoping that it would reform certain abuses common among Christians. We were present at the debate, and heard you, when you were accused by Dr. Eck of being the patron of the Hussite sects, blusteringly deny the charge, although you asserted that certain articles of Huss, for which he was condemned, were right Christian. We then acted as one who favored your cause, and with true heart invited you to a private interview, in order to get the right and wrong of the matter, and we advised you with brotherly love, that, as long as you did not love the Hussite heresy you should write against it, and thereby clear yourself of all suspicion. . . .

You remind us of our death, of which we are certain. How would it go with us if we adopted your Gospel and then died? Would not God say: "Why did you follow him who introduced a new gospel, which brought forth many bad fruits? Have I not said to you, 'Ye shall know the tree by the fruits?'" If we answered, "Luther said it was the Gospel which had been hidden under a bushel," God would say, "The Church told you otherwise. As you profess to believe in the Church, why did you believe Luther instead?" My dear Luther, keep the Gospel you have drawn from under the bushel; we will remain by the Gospel of Christ which the Church has and holds; so help us God! . . .

We send you this letter as a New Year's gift, promising you, in case you follow our advice, eternal reward and salvation. And, moreover, we promise to sue for the grace of our most gracious lord the Emperor, and will not cherish a grudge against you for all your past actions against us, but rather will do you all the good in our power. That you may accept our offer we hope. Amen.

722. LUTHER TO MICHAEL STIEFEL AT TOLLETH.

Enders, v, 294.

WITTENBERG, December 31, 1525.

Michael Stiefel (1486-1567) of Esslingen, an Augustinian, obliged to flee from Württemberg in 1522 on account of his Lutheran faith, served with Hartmuth von Cronberg awhile and then came to Wittenberg. In 1523 he was court preacher at Mansfeld, and on June 3, 1525, Luther sent him as pastor to Tolleth in Austria, where the nobleman Christopher Jörger, with his mother Dorothy and his sisters, had become patrons of the Evangelical Church. Obligated to flee again, he returned to Wittenberg in 1528. During his last years he taught mathematics at Jena. He also wrote verse of some merit and a number of controversial tracts. *Realencyklopädie*, ADB., and Kroker: *Katharina von Bora*, 181ff.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I am sending you the brief and hasty confutation of Erasmus¹ that I have been able to prepare, my dear Michael. I am satisfied that you perceive how mighty is the prince of this world in hindering the Word of God from bearing fruit (even though he is forced to allow it to be heard) and is starting impious sects, which are the tares he sows. This error about the sacrament has three sects, though they are all of one mind;² Zwingli opposes Carlstadt for some reason;³ for other reasons Valentine the Silesian⁴

¹ The *De Servo Arbitrio*, Weimar, xviii, 551. In English: *On the Bondage of the Will*, by Martin Luther, translated by H. Cole, 1823. A new translation will appear in Philadelphia, v. Luther had received Erasmus's *Diatribes* in September, 1524, and it was just a year before he found time to begin his reply (Enders, v, 100, 105, 125). He was urged to reply by Capito (Enders, v, 66f). He finally decided to undertake the work at the request of his wife and Camerarius. Probably Catharine disliked Erasmus on account of his sneers at her marriage. Kroker: *Luthers Tischreden in der Matthesischen Sammlung*, no. 212. Discussion of subject, Smith, 208; literature, 458f, and A. Taube: *Luther's Lehre über die Freiheit . . . bis zum Jahre 1525*. Göttingen, 1901. A. V. Müller: *Luther's theologischen Quellen*, 1912, caps. 20 and 24.

² I.e., they all agree in rejecting the Real Presence of the body and blood in the bread and wine.

³ Leo Jud first persuaded Zwingli to read Carlstadt. Zwingli rejected Carlstadt's principal exegetical argument, but admitted he liked much in the other's tracts. In the autumn of 1524, when Carlstadt came to Zurich, Zwingli was persuaded by "certain persons of melancholy spirit" not to see him. Barge, ii, 216, 260ff.

⁴ Valentine Krautwald of Liegnitz, a friend of Caspar Schwenckfeld. Born 1490, at Neisse, studied at Cracow, after which he held various positions at Liegnitz until his death in 1545. CR., xcvi, 567. In 1525 Schwenckfeld appealed to him to reject the doctrine of the real presence, which he called "impanation" or *Einbrötung vi verborum*. Krautwald opposed him until a divine revelation proved to him the truth of Schwenckfeld's view. Schwenckfeld came to Wittenberg in 1525 and had an interview with Luther and Melancthon on December 2, by which, strange to say, he was much encouraged, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, ii, 240ff.: Enders, v, 277. Luther regarded him as "the

opposes both of them and everybody else, as you will hear in due time. The conflicts among these sects are a sign that what they teach is of Satan, for the Spirit of God is not a God of dissension but of peace.

Greet your lady¹ and thank her for the gift she sent; to be sure it has not come, and, perhaps, it will not come, but that makes no difference; her goodwill is enough. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

723. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS AMSDORF.

Enders, v, 299.

WITTENBERG, January 2, 1526.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I send with this Bruno² seven florins, my dear Amsdorf, for the butter and the dried fish, for I have lost your letter and only remember that I owe you about that much. I wrote Duke George a humble and very sincere letter,³ for he answered me in his own fashion with an especially foolish letter,⁴ breathing that peasant-like ferocity which he has inherited with his Bohemian blood.⁵ It was quite worthy of the man. You shall see a copy when I have transcribed it. There was a great rumor here that you had taken to wife Salus Allemann,⁶ my betrothed. I wonder if you are secretly retaliating on me. Farewell in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER.

724. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, v, 310.

(WITTENBERG), January 20, 1526.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I wrote to Duke George with good hope, but I am deceived.⁷ I have lost my humility and shall not write him another word. Indeed, I am not moved

devil's bondsman," and in 1526 rejected Krautwald's work on the subject. Krautwald also objected to Zwingli's view, as Luther says. C.R., xciv, 567ff. F. W. Loetscher: *Schwenckfeld's Participation in the Eucharistic Controversy of the Sixteenth Century*, 1906.

¹ Dorothea Jörger.

² Bruno Brauer, pastor at Döbeln, who owned a house next Luther's at Wittenberg, which Luther bought in 1541. Enders, xiv, 15; Smith, 369f.

³ On December 21, 1525 (*supra*, no. 720).

⁴ Dated December 28 (*supra*, no. 721).

⁵ Duke George was a descendant of Podiebrad.

⁶ Ave (Salus-Ave) Allemann of Magdeburg, whom Amsdorf had once recommended Luther to marry, Köstlin-Kawerau, i, 729f. The rumor was false.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, no. 723 and notes.

by his lies and curses. Why should I not bear with him, who am compelled to bear with these sons of my body, my Absaloms,¹ who withstand me so furiously? They are scourges of the sacrament compared with whose madness the papists are mild. I never knew before how wicked a spirit was Satan, nor did I understand Paul's words about spiritual wickedness. But Christ lives. Now Theobald Billican,² pastor at Nördlingen, writes about Zwingli, Carlstadt and Oecolampadius. God raises up the faithful remnant against the new heretics; we greatly hope that Christ will bless the undertaking. I would write against them if I had time, but first wish to see what he does.

I am glad that my book on *The Bondage of Will* pleased you, but I expect the same or worse from Erasmus as from Duke George. That reptile will feel himself taken by the throat and will not be moved by my moderation. God grant that I be mistaken, but I know the man's nature; he is an instrument of Satan unless God change him. I have no other news. Farewell and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

725. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

Enders, v, 319.

De Wette, iii, 90, German.

(WITTENBERG), February 9, 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most serene, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! When your Grace reformed the university you commanded two hundred florins a year given to Melancthon; now the man scruples to take them because he is not able to lecture on the Scriptures every day without exception, and says he cannot take them in good conscience, as he thinks your Grace requires such assiduous lecturing from

¹ The so-called "sacramentarians," Zwingli, Carlstadt, Oecolampadius, Schwenckfeld, etc., cf. *supra*, no. 722.

² Theobald Billican (†1554), studied at Heidelberg 1512, 1520 became provost of the faculty of arts there, then evangelical pastor at Weil 1522, and soon after at Nördlingen. He married 1529, and ended as professor at Marburg. He changed his religion a number of times. In 1525 he had written his *Renovatio ecclesiae Nordlingiacensis* against Carlstadt, but was almost converted by him soon after. He completely misunderstood both Luther's and Carlstadt's positions. This is the work to which Luther alludes, not (as in Enders) the *De verbis coenae dominicae*, etc., 1526. He finally became a Catholic. RGG. and Barge, ii, 245.

him, and my words and proofs do not persuade him. So it is my humble petition that your Grace would explain your mind to him and show him that you are content if he helps the theological faculty with lectures and disputations as before, even if only once a week or whenever he can. For if your Grace gave him his pay for nothing for a year or two he would well deserve it, for he formerly lectured on the Scriptures two years without pay but with great diligence and effect, and, perhaps, injured his health by it. I would willingly bring the Bible into currency here again as all places look to us to teach them the meaning of it. God bless you. Amen.

Your Grace's subject,

MARTIN LUTHER.

726. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS AMSDORF.

Enders, v, 323.

(WITTENBERG, February 25?)¹ 1526.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I was not able to provide this poor John Honhof with any position here, my dear Amsdorf. There are so many men here that if you were to measure them by Scriptural numbers you could invert the word of the Gospel and say, "The laborers are many, the harvest is small."² It is the miserable and needy belly that multiplies this kind of men; nevertheless the laborers who remain in the Spirit are few.

Yesterday we baptized a son for Carlstadt, or rather rebaptized his baptism.³ The godparents are Jonas, Philip and my Kate; I was a guest with the others. These things were done at Segrehna beyond the Elbe, where Carlstadt is living. Who would have thought a year ago that people who called baptism "a dog-bath" would now be seeking baptism from their enemies? Whether they seek it honestly and sincerely may be left to God. Still it is a great miracle, if we consider how different God's works are from man's works. Farewell, and pray for us.

¹ The date, February 25, is uncertain. Luther says "Bruno's wife's day, 1526." Assuming that the Bruno referred to is Bruno Brauer, whose wife's name was probably Walpurga, Seidemann (De Wette-Seidemann, vi, 453) surmises February 25.

² Matthew ix, 37.

³ This was Carlstadt's second son, born at Orlamünde in 1524. His mother, an Anabaptist, had refused to have him baptized, and had called him Andreas.

727. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, v, 328.

WITTENBERG, March 27, 1526.

Grace and peace in the Lord. Thank you for the vase, my dear Nicholas. I did not think it would be so elaborate; one enclosed in wicker-work would have been enough. But now you have made my Kate too fond of it; that is the woman's way. I admire the minerals, but do not like to deprive you of them. You have others to give them to, if you have any over, without wasting them on my curiosity.

I have given this brother a carefully written letter to the Elector; I hope he will profit by it.

You ask me to prepare a general order for the conducting of ceremonies, but how can I do it in the midst of so many occupations? I wish you would sketch a form and send it to me, so that you, too, would be doing something in this matter according to the gift which God has given you. Farewell, my dear brother. My rib sends you greeting.

MARTIN LUTHER.

728. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, v, 328.

(WITTENBERG), March 27, 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ. It is true, dear Spalatin, that your letters to me and mine to you are very rare, but be sure that *you* have a good excuse for this. I have one which is very good indeed. I do not wish to interrupt the joys of a newly married bridegroom, especially as what I have to write is not very pleasant.

Joking aside, I should long since have sent you these sad missives of King Christian, now the most miserable of men,¹ living in wretchedness for Christ alone. Perhaps God will call this rare bird (as the proverb hath it)² to heaven; this king, above all, of whom one would have least imagined it! Thus strangely can Providence deceive our judgments.

You can hardly believe how Satan strives by means of Duke George and the bishops.³ I shall soon give you an account of

¹ Christian II of Denmark, deposed by his uncle, Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, in April, 1523, spent nine years in exile.

² German proverb: Kings are rare game birds in heaven.

³ A reference to the so-called "Proposal of Mayence." The bishops in the

his wickedness in a pamphlet I have just sent to press. Unless the Lord prevent it, one would say that the rebellion and slaughter of the peasants was but the prelude to the destruction of Germany. I earnestly beg you to pray with all your might to the Father of mercies to prevent these plots and break the plotters' fury; and especially accuse Duke George, a man, I fear, lost and condemned, that God may either convert him, or, if he is not worthy, take him from our midst; otherwise the beast will not rest, but will be like Satan himself both of his own spontaneous fury and by reason of the encouragement of the bishops. It so torments him to think that Luther is not slain that there is reason to fear that he may perish with chagrin only on this account; he can neither sleep nor wake in peace. Good Heavens! how many intrigues our Elector has to bear not only from him but from his own wicked nobles.

I have much to tell you that I cannot write, especially about the last attack on me by that enraged reptile, Erasmus of Rotterdam.¹ How much eloquence will this vainglorious beast exercise in trying to destroy Luther?

I think you must have heard that some learned men are writing against Oecolampadius;² their book³ is marvelously pleasing. Bilibald Pirckheimer⁴ has written against him, too, with more spirit and zeal than I had thought him capable of, for I believed him too much taken up with other things. But others will rise again, and this sacramentarian sect now has, if I mistake not, six heads born in a single year. Wonderful spirit, thus to disagree with himself! Carl-

obedience of Albert petitioned the Emperor (December, 1525) to take vigorous measures for the suppression of Lutheranism. Luther's answer was never published in full (Weimar, xviii, 256ff).

¹ *The Hyperaspistes*, Part I, an answer to Luther's *Bondage of the Will*, cf. *infra*, no. 729.

² *De genuina verborum Domini, etc.*, 1525 (copy at Union Seminary, New York).

³ The *Syngramma Suevicum*, or "Swabian Symposium," written by John Brenz, and signed by fourteen South German Lutherans. Köstlin-Kawerau, ii, 80ff. Brenz also wrote an open letter to Bucer on the subject. CR., xcv, 483, note. To the German translation of the *Syngramma* Luther wrote a preface, 1526.

⁴ Zwingli's works were forbidden at Nuremberg, where Pirckheimer was an official. Pirckheimer wrote *De vera Christi carne et vero ejus sanguine*, 1526. He drew from Scotus the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body, afterwards made classic by Luther. ERE., v, 568. Roth, *Pirckheimer*, p. 66.

stadt's argument from *τοῦτο*¹ was the first head, which has fallen; Zwingli's pamphlet the second,² which will fall; Oecolampadius's "figurative sense" the third, which will fall; the fourth has fallen, that, namely, of Cellarius,³ who changed the order of Christ's words to "That which is given for you is my body." The fifth head now rises and stands in Silesia, the tract written by Krautwald and Schwenckfeld,⁴ which changes the words to: "My body which is given for you is this, to wit, spiritual food."⁵

They vex us wonderfully with their writings and are troublesome babblers; I wish that they who think they are so strong had my suffering from the stone. The sixth

¹ Carlstadt argued that in the words, "This is my body," the demonstrative pronoun could not refer to the word "bread" as an antecedent because the one (*τοῦτο*) is neuter and the other (*ἄρτος*) is masculine.

² *A clear Explanation of Christ's Supper*, February, 1526, Köstlin-Kawerau, ii, 72ff.

³ Of this name only the first letter, a "C," is legible. Enders identifies the person with Michael Keller or Kelner (Cellarius) of Augsburg, a Zwinglian preacher, who did, in fact, write in support of Carlstadt, cf. Barge, ii, 233. Later writings of his on the same subject are referred to in subsequent letter, Enders, xi, 396f. Cellarius (†1548) probably studied at Wittenberg 1524, but went to Augsburg 1525. ADB. The writings here referred to are given in the *Catalogue of the British Museum*. M. Keller: *Etlich Sermones von dem Nachtmahl Christi* (1525), second enlarged edition 1526; Conrad Reyss (pseudonym for Cellarius): *Antwort dem Hochgelerten Doctor J. Bugenhage auss Pomern auff die Missive so er an den Hochgelerten Doctor Hesso . . . geschickt, das Sacrament betreffend* (1525).

⁴ Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig (1489 or 90-1561), a Silesian nobleman, studied at Cologne (1505) and Frankfurt on the Oder (1507). He entered the service of Charles of Münsterberg in 1510 or 11, and was afterwards at the courts of George of Brieg and Frederic of Liegnitz. In 1518 he experienced a spiritual awakening, one of the results of which was a resolve to leave the court and devote himself to the preaching of the Gospel. In 1521 he went to Wittenberg and was there during the revolutionary outbreaks of 1521 and 22. In the following years he was actively engaged in the work of reform in Silesia, though he was never ordained to the ministry, and little by little he was won for the subjective theology, though he never became a "radical reformer" of the type of Münzer. Hartranft's characterization of him as a theologian of "the Middle Way" is insofar correct. In 1529 he left Silesia and spent the remainder of his life in South Germany. His writings have been collected and published in four volumes, with elaborate notes and translations of many documents into English, by C. D. Hartranft, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, Leipsic and Norristown, Pa., 1907 —. Sketches of his life and teachings by Hartranft, *op. cit.*, i, xi-lij, and *Realencyklopaedie*. For Luther's opinion of him vide Smith, 406ff. See further K. Ecke: *Schwenckfeld, Luther und das Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation*, Berlin, 1911. F. W. Loetscher: *Schwenckfeld's Participation in the Eucharist Controversy of the Sixteenth Century*, Philadelphia, 1906. T. Sippel in *Die Christliche Welt*, 1911, Jahrgang, 25, nos. 39-41. RGG.

⁵ This is accurate; according to Loetscher, *op. cit.*, p. 50, he made "hoc" in "hoc est corpus meum" a "spiritual demonstrative." His opinion is further defined in a just published letter of Zwingli to him, April 17, 1526, CR., xcv, 567ff.

head is that of Peter Aloetus¹ of Cologne; Melanchthon has his writings, of which I have only seen one epistle. Oh, how he reproves Luther! "I know," says he, "that Luther is forsaken by the Lord." All these divers spirits air their arguments in turn, all boast revelations obtained by prayers and tears, and all agree only in their conclusion. It is a good thing for us that Christ has made them fight each other even from the beginning. See what sad news I have to write you. He who gives knowledge gives pain, but I wish to compensate for my late silence by my present prolixity. Farewell to you and your rib.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

729. ERASMUS TO LUTHER AT WITTENBERG.

Enders, v, 334.

BASLE, April 11, 1526.

Luther's *On the Bondage of the Will* was finished on the last days of 1525, *supra*, no. 722. He sent a copy of it with a letter to Erasmus expressing his serene confidence in his own opinion; the letter is lost, but on it *vide Erasmii opera*, 1703, iii, ep. 810. Erasmus believed that Luther had sent it to him late so that he could not answer it in time for the Frankfurt Fair, held about March 1. *Epistolae*, 1642, xviii, 24. But a friend from Leipsic (Duke George? *cf.* his letter to Erasmus, dated February 13, 1525, Horawitz: *Erasmiana*, i, ep. 9) supplied him with it, *Epistolae*, 1642, xviii, 28 (with wrong date, 1527 for 1526). In defence of his *Diatriba* he at once wrote the *Hyperaspistes*, Part I (*Opera*, 1703, x, 1249), the preface being dated February 20. Froben printed it in the greatest haste, working six presses at once, and printing twenty-four pages a day. On March 2 Erasmus wrote the Elector John complaining that Luther accused him of atheism, and claiming the protection of the laws. (The German copy of the letter is dated March 13.) Enders, v, 342, and *infra*, nos. 732, 733.

Your letter² was delivered to me too late; had it come in time it would have moved me. I am not so childish, when such

¹ The reading here is again most uncertain. Text: "Flori"; one MS. is said to read "Aloeti." As the reading is so uncertain, and as no identification of the man has been offered, it is legitimate to conjecture that Luther is really referring to Hero Alopecius (the change from a rare to a common prenomén is very often found in Luther's hasty references to little known persons, *cf. supra*, Vol. I, p. 385, ii, p. 125 and no. 583). Alopecius, whose real name was Fuchs, though he ordinarily used the Greek and sometimes the Latin form (Vulpes), was a printer who worked at Cologne during the years 1521-40. He printed some works of Melanchthon, as well as of the Catholic Cochlaeus. Probably he sent some of the works printed by himself to Melanchthon with the letter to which Luther here alludes. On his life see ADB.

² The lost one, sent with a copy of the *Bondage of the Will*.

more than mortal wounds are dealt me, that I can be pleased with some little joke or other. . . . The whole world knows your nature; truly you have so guided your pen that you have written against no one more rabidly and (what is more detestable) more maliciously than against me. Perhaps you are relying on your own confession that you are a weak sinner, though at other times you demand everything except to be taken for God. You are a man, you write, of a violent disposition, and one who delights in that noble form of argument. And, therefore, that same admirable ferocity which you formerly used against Fisher¹ and against Cochlaeus, who challenged you to it and provoked you by their reviling, you now use against my book *On the Free Will*, which argued politely. How do your scurrilous reproaches and mendacious charges that I am an atheist, an Epicurean, a skeptic about Christianity, besides many other things which you say you pass over, help the argument one way or the other? I bear your accusations with tolerable calmness because my conscience does not charge me with one of them. Did I not believe in God, Christianity and revealed religion, I should not wish to live a day longer. If you plead your cause with your customary vehemence but without your furious reviling, you would provoke fewer men to come out against you; more than a third part of your book is taken up with such invective since you give rein to your temper. Your rage itself shows that you have the worst of the argument, for you go out of your way to impute to me so many crimes while my book did not intend to deal with things that the world already knows. You imagine, I dare say, that Erasmus has no friends, but there are more than you think. And yet it makes little difference what happens to us two; I especially, who must soon depart this life, care little if the whole world applaud me. But what does terribly pain me, and all good men, is that your arrogant, insolent, rebellious nature has cast the world into deadly strife, that you have opposed good men and lovers of letters with a set of malignant Pharisees, and that you have armed the wicked and turbulent to rebel; in short, that you so treat the evangelical cause as to confound all things, sacred

¹ John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Luther's most zealous opponent in England.

and profane, together, as if it were your chief aim to prevent the tempest from ever becoming calm, whereas it is my greatest desire that it should. What you owe to me and what you have filched from me, I do not inquire. Whatever it is, my loss is but a private matter, and what grieves me is the public calamity: all this incurable confusion which we owe to nothing but to your barren genius, not amenable to the counsels of your best friends but easily turned in any direction by the most foolish swindlers. I know not whom you have saved from the power of darkness; whoever the ingrates are you ought to turn your dagger-pen against them rather than against the men who argue so temperately against you. I would wish you a better disposition were you not so marvelously well satisfied with the one you have. Wish me any curse you will except your disposition, unless the Lord change it for you.

730. MELANCHTHON TO JOACHIM CAMERARIUS AT BAMBERG.

CR., i, 793.

(WITTENBERG), April 11, 1526.

Have you ever read anything more bitterly written than Erasmus's *Hyperaspites*? He is certainly a viper.¹ How Luther will take it, I do not know, but I have adjured the man again by everything sacred that if he wishes to reply he will conduct the disputation briefly, simply and without abuse. When Luther's book² was published I said at once that this contention would result in the cruelest recriminations. This has happened, and yet I think that in the second part of his work Erasmus has been the more vulgar. He loads me with undeserved reproach, ascribing the more odious part of Luther's work to me, but I have decided to take no notice of this injustice, and I wish that Luther, too, would be silent, for I hoped that with advancing years he would grow used to these things and be somewhat milder, but I see that he is becoming more and more vehement when confronted with such battles and such opponents. The matter causes me great anguish of mind. Unless God shall take note of this tumult and preserve us, I fear that we shall not be able to get out

¹ *Aspis*. Cf. *supra*, no. 729.

² I.e., *On the Bondage of the Will*, to which the *Hyperaspites* was a reply.

of these contentions. But these are strange occurrences and acts of God. . . .

PHILIP.

731. LUTHER TO CASPER VON SCHWENCKFELD.

De Wette, iii, 123. German.

WITTENBERG, April 14,¹ 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear sir and friend. We have put off answering you for a long time so that you might know that we did not read your matter in a hurry and send a reply by the same messenger. But what shall I say? Perhaps it is God's will that you should fall like this. You tell me that you will prove that the *Verba*² agree with John vi and have the same sense; but you have not done it and never will. What is the use of talking so much about "*the twofold eating; the apparent and the true*," and omitting all proofs that there are two such *eatings* in the Lord's Supper? You say it is so, but you do not prove it. Now we cannot believe you and build our souls on your words; therefore I ask you very kindly to desist from this public error and not put yourself in the number of those who are wretchedly deceiving the world. If you will not do it—well, God's will be done! I am heartily sorry, but I am free from your blood and that of all whom you lead astray. May God instruct you! Amen.

732. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, v, 340. German.

TORGAU, April 21, 1526.

We would graciously inform you that we received a few days ago from Erasmus of Rotterdam a Latin letter,³ addressed to us, along with a German translation of the said letter. We gather from it, among other things, that he makes complaint because in your writings and books you attack him and others, sometimes too severely and sometimes too hastily. We send you herewith a copy of the Latin letter, from which you learn its full contents; and although we do not wish to limit you to any special manner of treatment in your books or writings, we do not doubt that you, who have both learning

¹ De Wette and Erlangen (liii, 383) date this letter August 11, but *vide* Enders, v, 338, n. 2.

² *I.e.*, the words of institution in the Lord's Supper. Luther denied that the passage in John vi applies to the sacrament.

³ On this, *supra*, no. 729.

and intelligence, will know how to conduct yourself in such wise that you will give no offence either to Erasmus or to the many others who make the same complaint. Since, also, it is our opinion that under these circumstances we must give Erasmus some answer to this letter, we graciously desire you to advise with Philip Melanchthon concerning Erasmus's letter and give us an opinion as regards what reply we shall make to it. We desire, too, above all things, that you will not allow the copy of Erasmus's letter to get into other hands than yours, so that it may not be printed; for if that were to happen before we had given Erasmus an answer to the said letter, he might make it the occasion of writing us again more violently. We graciously give you this information; do you follow out our gracious wish.

733. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 105. German.

(WITTENBERG), April 23, 1526.

. . . As regards Erasmus's letter,¹ it is our advice that your Grace should not allow yourself to be involved in the matter, as the viper intends that you shall be, but answer to this effect, viz., that he himself knows very well that your Grace neither can nor ought to be a judge in spiritual matters, and that he ought therefore to have spared your Grace the imputation, etc. If your Grace wishes to add that even if this had been a temporal matter, he had so repaid Luther in writings circulated throughout the world, as he knows he has done, that it would need a greater judge than any prince; also that it is not right to punish a man on anybody's written complaint alone, but that the case must be properly tried before a court, with accusation and defence; that is as your Grace wills. God have your Grace in His keeping. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MART. LUTHER.

734. LUTHER TO CASPAR MÜLLER AT MANSFELD.

De Wette, iii, 113. German.

(WITTENBERG), May 26, 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ. I should greatly like to ask my lords the counts,² to be godfathers, but I shrink from the

¹ *Supra*, no. 732.

² The Counts of Mansfeld.

charge of showing-off that would be made against me if I were to make so much of the child of a monk and a nun, and have such great lords as godfathers. So then I shall stay on the earth, and ask you to ask their lordships' chancellor, Caspar Müller by name, in my behalf, that he will condescend, if God makes me fruitful, to accept the fruit and be its godfather, so that it can be born to Christian faith. I cannot set the time, however; and it would take too long to send a messenger after the child is born, but if you are willing, choose someone to represent you, only so long as you have the name of godfather. The midwife is counting on sometime about St. John's Day, and that agrees with the time of conception. I reckoned from the first feeling of life, but was deceived, for she has now felt life for more than twenty weeks. God have you in His keeping.

MARTIN LUTHER.

735. LUTHER TO JOHN RÜHEL AT EISLEBEN.

Enders, v, 358.

De Wette, iii, 115. German.

(WITTENBERG), June 8, 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ. . . .

Please say to Agricola from me that yesterday, at two o'clock, by God's grace, my Katie brought forth a little Hans Luther.¹ The day is called "giving" in the calendar, so that he will not wonder that I approach him with such news, for the time of year has come when he should seriously consider what it is to have sons. Greet your dear child-bearer from me, and Agricola's Elsa. God bless you. Amen. Sick Katie calls me from writing.

MARTIN LUTHER.

736. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, v, 360.

(WITTENBERG), June 17, 1526.

Grace and peace. I thank you in the Lord, my dear Spalatin, for the hearty congratulations which you have sent me. I am a happy husband, and may God continue to send me happiness,

¹ John Luther entered the University of Wittenberg 1543, and, after his father's death took up the study of law. In 1552 the Elector John Frederic gave him a position in the government which he continued to serve until his death in 1575. In 1553 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Caspar Cruciger. They had one daughter, who died childless. Smith, 350ff.

for from that most gracious woman, my best of wives, I have received, by the blessing of God, a little son, John Luther, and, by God's wonderful grace, I have become a father. I hope and pray the same thing for you, and an even greater blessing, for you are better than I, and my superior. But pray that Christ will guard my child against Satan, who will leave nothing undone to harm me through my son, if God permits him. Even now the child is troubled by little ills, or rather, as they think, by the indigestibility of the milk with which women in child-bed are compelled to nourish their children.

I am sorry for Eberhard¹ that his joy has been taken from him, but the will of God is good, though sometimes its goodness is so hidden that you would think it very cruel. When are you coming to us to see again the old landmarks of familiar friendship? I have planted a garden, and dug a well, and both have turned out well. Come, and you will be crowned with roses and lilies. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me.

MART. LUTHER.

737. HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND, TO LUTHER.

Literarum quibus invictissimus Princeps Henricus VIII Rex Angliae . . . respondit ad quamdam epistolam Martini Lutheri et ipsius Lutheranae quoque epistolae exemplum. London, 1526.

LONDON, (August), 1526.

In addition to the list of editions of this letter given by Enders, v, 229f, I may add that it is found in MS. at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, no. 175, which I have had collated, see appendix. It is registered in Enders, v, 412, and a brief abstract of it given in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, no. 2446. It appeared at once in English translation, under the title: *A copy of the letters wherein the most redoubted . . . Henry VIII made answeere unto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther . . . and also the copy of the foresaid Luther's letter.* Richard Pynson, London (1526). In the preface to this, the King tells his subjects that he is bound to care for their spiritual as well as for their temporal weal, and that there is special need of it now: "For we doute not that it is well knownen to you all, that Martyn Luther, late a frere Augustyne, & now ron out i Apostacy & wedded, hath not only scraped out of the asshen and kyndeled agayne all the embers of those old errours & heresies hytherto; but hath also added some so poysoned pointes of his owne, so wretched, so vyle, so de-

¹ Eberhard Brisger, whose wife had miscarried (cf. Enders, v, 320).

testable, provokyng men to myschefe, encoraging the world to syn, preachyng an unsaciate lyberte, to allecte them withall." Henry then tells how he wrote "after hys meane learning" against Luther on the sacraments, against which Luther wrote with anger and fury, nothing answering. Then, ashamed of himself, he wrote the following letter, which he had printed, "and also fell into devyce with one or two leude persons,¹ borne in this our realm, for the translatyng of the New Testament in to Englysshe, as well with many corruptions of that holy text as certayne prefaces." By advice of Wolsey this shall be burnt. Luther's letter is then translated. Then follows the King's letter, differing in some points from the Latin, especially in the first lines: "Your letters written the first day of September we have received this xx day of Marche."

This letter is the one translated *supra*, no. 700. How it was sent to Henry we do not know. Certain allusions in the *Letters and Papers* point to More as having had much to do with composing Henry's answer (*op. cit.* iv, no. 2445), and other allusions point to Vives (*op. cit.* nos. 2371 and 3261). The style and references in the letter are like More's. Henry's letter was printed in August, and sent to friends. Duke George sent it to Luther, *op. cit.* nos. 2668 and 3697. Early in 1527 it was translated into German by Emser. *English Historical Review*, October, 1910. As the letter is very long, only an abstract can be given here.

Has at length received his letter, dated September 1, 1525, expressing his sorrow for writing a foolish and hasty book against him at the instigation of his enemies, who represented that the King's book was not written by the King, and for his abuse of Wolsey. Asserts that he is the author of his book, and defends it. Wolsey is too prudent to be moved by Luther's abuse. "And his fatherhood is and shall be in so much more cordyall favoure with me in how much I parceyve him to be the depar in the hatred of you." Luther calls him the plague of England; but the country owes many benefits to him, not the least being his opposition to heresy. England is well rid of apostate friars, who, deserting his kingdom and Christ's faith, are wallowing in lust with Luther. Inveighs against his marriage with a nun. Argues against Luther's doctrines concerning salvation by faith, and free will.

Would not have answered his letter if Luther had not asserted that the King favored him. Luther says that he merely wants to be heard, and complains of being condemned before

¹ *I.e.*, Tyndale, on whom *cf. supra*, no. 717.

conviction; but the King asks whether he was not heard before the Cardinal of St. Sixtus [Cajetan] when legate in Germany; whether he has not been heard publicly disputing in Saxony; and everywhere else by his books. Doubts not that he has been rightly condemned, as Luther himself condemns the Pope and the College of Cardinals. Reminds him that his opinions were condemned by the University of Paris, and others, and by the Emperor at the Diet of Worms; but that he refused to submit to their judgment, and appealed to the next General Council, assembled in the Holy Spirit; thus leaving a loophole for escape, if condemned by any future council. Defends the Pope and the papal court from his aspersions. Refuses his offer to write a book in the King's praise. Advises him to give up his wife, bewail his errors, and the fate of those whom his doctrine has destroyed; and either publicly to preach the truth, condemning his former errors, or else to retire to a convent.

738. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK.

Enders, v, 377.

(WITTENBERG), August 28, 1526.

. . . The Diet at Spire is being held after the manner of German diets; there is drinking and gambling and nothing else. There is nothing new here except that Wittenberg is being fortified with great labor. Comparing the present Wittenberg with the old, you would scarcely recognize it. I am lecturing on the Preacher.¹ It is wonderful how impatient he is and unwilling to be read; there are so many Hebraisms and obstacles of an unknown tongue, but by God's grace I shall get through. Pray for me, and farewell, with your rib. May God soon make you parents. My son is alive and well, thanks to God. Philip sends you his good wishes. He is a little better, and would be still better if he would rest a little from his work.

MARTIN LUTHER.

739. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, v, 383.

(WITTENBERG), September 13, 1526.

Grace and peace. Oh, for grace and peace in Christ! I believe it is not necessary, my good Nicholas, to tell you the

¹ The lectures on Ecclesiastes were delivered between July 30 and November 7. Cf. *Koestlin-Kawerau*, ii, 150.

news; it flies too fast of its own accord. Christ has begun to weary of this world's course, therefore He has given it over to Satan, who will punish it for its ineffable contempt of the Word of grace. Hence these raging heresies; hence these enemies in arms and downfalls of great kings! In a word, the world is hastening to ruin, doubtless a great sign that the last day is at the door.

I have been challenged by Oecolampadius;¹ I would prepare an answer² if there were time. So it goes! When a man has finished, then he begins. I am heartily sorry for Oecolampadius. He is very much of a man, but held captive in that sectarian sacrilege by empty and worthless arguments. God have mercy on him.

But you, man of God, be strong and pray for us. Little Luther is well, and so is his mother, who sends you a reverent greeting. Farewell in Christ. Remember me to our friends.

MART. LUTHER.

740. LUTHER TO JOHN HEERWAGEN AT HAGENAU.

Enders, v, 384.

(WITTENBERG), September 13, 1526.

In 1525 and 26 Bucer translated Luther's *Kirchenpostille* into Latin. The work was published in parts, and in Part IV Bucer took occasion to introduce into the text of his translation certain statements of his own concerning the Lord's Supper. He also wrote a special preface to the exposition of the Epistle for Septuagesima, correcting some of Luther's views that he regarded false, and ordered this preface printed in Part IV. Luther protested in this letter, which, in turn, gave the theologians of Strassburg, Basle and Zurich some additional polemical material. John Heerwagen (1497-1560) was the printer who published the Latin Postil.

Grace and peace. I am not sorry, my dear Heerwagen, that you are publishing the four volumes of my so-called Postils, which Bucer has translated into Latin, in the hope that the book may produce some fruit in Christ for men of other tongues, and this I, too, ardently desire. I was satisfied and still am satisfied that the translation should be made by

¹ Agricola's German translation of the *Syngramma Suevicum*, with an introduction by Luther, was published in June, 1526. Oecolampadius immediately (July, 1526) prepared an answer to it, which is the "challenge" here mentioned.

² This "answer" was not published until the following year. It is the treatise *Dass diese Worte, Das ist mein Leib, etc. . . . feststehen*.

Martin Bucer. Because of his readiness and fluency he can render my work into Latin better than others, though here and there he does not stick to my words and figures, but that is only in a few passages which are not of much importance. Since the rest is well done,¹ I will take the blame for these things, for I may have spoken somewhat unclearly. Otherwise he has done the work well, and has correctly rendered my words and meaning, of which this is a testimonial.

But alas! in the midst of these praiseworthy labors he fell, by God's permission, into the horrible blasphemy of the sacramentarian spirit, and his gift of facility and insight is contaminated, nay, it is destroyed by that pestilential poison. The earlier volumes were faithfully and correctly rendered, but in the fourth volume that spirit, which pants with eagerness and incredible rage to spread its own opinions, could not restrain itself, and crucified my work with an awful and sacrilegious preface and virulent notes. These miserable men are not content to spread their virus in their own books, already infinite in number, but spoil other men's books by smearing them with that poison.

He did the same thing before to John Bugenhagen in his Psalter,² which was a piece of special perfidy, because he knew that he differed widely from that impious sect. A certain crazy Leopold³ recently did the same thing to me. He published a tract in which he maintains that Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen and all Wittenberg agree with them. What will happen to us after we are dead, if such things take place while we are still alive? Will not all the writings of the Fathers be under suspicion?⁴ Can they not be heretics with-

¹ The translator has adopted the reading suggested by the St. Louis editors (xvii, 1580).

² Bugenhagen's Latin commentary on the Psalms was translated into German by Bucer and published in January, 1526. Certain of Bugenhagen's utterances on the Lord's Supper were so rendered as to make it appear that he held a Zwinglian view.

³ Ludovicus Leopoldi, the pseudonym under which Leo Judä, on April 18, 1526, published a tract entitled, *The Opinion of the Learned Erasmus of Rotterdam and Doctor Martin Luther concerning the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Leo (1482-1542) was the friend and co-worker of Zwingli at Zürich and chief contributor to the Zürich translation of the Bible. I (P. S.) have read the copy in the Bodleian (Tract, Luth. 48, no. 16). On the authorship, *Bibliotheca Erasmi*, iii, 32. Erasmus greatly resented it.

⁴ I.e., of interpellation by heretical writers.

out us? They are not moved by the fact (to speak only of myself) that three years ago in a German book to the Waldensians on the adoration of the Sacrament, published with other writings on the Eucharist, I not only testified to my own opinion but even confuted these "significators,"¹ before anyone thought there would be any such people, and with proofs at that, which have not yet been overthrown. Then last year, in a very sharp tract against Carlstadt,² I made known to all the world what I thought and taught. I see no one coming forward who can confute that book, though some of them are so verbose that they can make it rain books. Yet they cry, "Why is Luther silent? Why does he not set forth his own opinion?" Suppose I were to write a thousand books, what good would it do among those furious deaf men who neither hear nor see anything.

The *Syngramma Suevicum* is out. They do not like it that I praise it, and though my praise is a confession of what I think, they will not listen to it. Oecolampadius wanted to confute it, but he went at his work with no other idea except simply: It is enough to write against it and it is not necessary to disprove its arguments; the people will believe with us and be content when they hear that a book has been written against it. Unless, of course, it is disproving the arguments when Bucer says in this Preface, "The miracles of Christ were of such a nature that when He said, 'This is it,' the senses could immediately perceive that it was so. Therefore the body of Christ must be visible in the sacrament or it is not in the sacrament."³ With such trivialities our consciences are to be

¹ *Significatistas*, i.e., those who held the doctrine that the words "This is My body" means "This signifies My body."

² *Against the Heavenly Prophets*.

³ Bucer answered this in his *Enarrationum in Evangelia Matthaei, Marci et Lucae libri duo*, 1527, quoted by CR., xcvi, 63, note 12, as follows: "In the preface to the fourth volume of Luther's Postilla, which I translated into Latin for the use of our brethren in Italy, I said that as all the works of the Lord were true, and that as bodily things always appeared what they were, then, did the Lord really and truly turn the bread into His body, it ought thus to appear. Luther took this worse than I should have believed possible, and for this cause published against me an epistle than which you will see nothing more filled with calumny and cursing. . . . When I wrote that the corporeal miracles of the Lord always appeared corporeally to us, he, carried away by impotent rage, omitted [in quotation] the word 'corporeal,' in which lay the whole force of my argument. Then he mocked me with great contempt and a

strengthened in the things of God against the clear words of Scripture, "This is My body." The boys on the street-corners are laughed at if they argue: Some animals run, therefore all animals run. And yet this glorious spirit is confident of triumph when it argues: Some miracles of Christ are visible, therefore it is necessary that all shall be visible. In that case it is false that Christ is seated at the Father's right hand, reigns, lives and acts; for all this is an invisible miracle. . . .

I am writing you this letter, my dear Heerwagen, so that you may by all means either prefix it or subjoin it to that fourth volume, if you issue another edition, and thus the reader may have in my book an antidote to Bucer's preface. But I give you permission to publish Bucer's translation of my Postils, for two reasons: First, because, as I have said, he excels, by the goodness of God, in the gift of easy style and apt translation (would that he would thankfully acknowledge it!); and then because by his very preface he testifies of me that I am a vehement opponent of his own sect; and would that pressure of business allowed me to be even more vehement.

To be sure he wishes it to appear that this is only a trifling disagreement and that it does no harm to faith. For this spirit thinks that faith is not lost if Christ is called a liar in respect of His own very words, which is sufficient proof of what he thinks of Christ and His whole kingdom. For since we both contend that Christ says thus and so, and our contentions are opposite, it follows of necessity that either we or they accuse Christ of falsehood and lying. But if to make Christ a liar is not to deny Christ and blaspheme His faith, what, pray, does blaspheming Christ mean? That spirit is so keen of vision that it takes a matter of such great importance for a trifling and harmless matter.

That is what I have always said, that those sacramentarian heretics make sport of Christ and have never seriously known Him or taught Him, however grandly they boast that they seek the Gospel and the glory of God. A good man does not seek the glory of God by not knowing or making light of it

bitter laugh. . . . If this is not to calumniate—or, shall I say? to rage—I know not what it is."

when Christ is blasphemed. But we have been sufficiently warned; he that perishes, let him perish. By its contempt for the Word the world has long since merited this wrath of God Who brings in devastating divisions, as Paul predicted:¹ "God will send them a strong error, that they who have not received the love of truth may believe in iniquity." The fulfillment of this prophecy has begun and it will be fulfilled, that the elect may be approved and the reprobate condemned. The grace of God be with you.

741. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, v, 398.

(WITTENBERG), October 14, 1526.

Nicholas, for this bookseller to bring, for the book about war² is not yet finished, though it is going through the press day by day.

I intend that Zechariah shall follow Habakkuk and Jonah.

Grace and peace. There was nothing new here, my dear Ecclesiastes is making me a great deal of trouble, as though he did not wish to be read, nevertheless he is being compelled to be read, so much has this book been neglected heretofore.

You say truly that the world is going to ruin, and I hope that the day is near at hand when the advent of the great God will appear, for all things everywhere are boiling, burning, moving, falling, sinking, groaning. Farewell, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

742. CARLSTADT TO LUTHER.

Enders, v, 405. German.

BERKWITZ, November 17, 1526.

Reverend and learned doctor, gracious and dear father. My willing service and best wishes. Your reverence doubtless remembers the matters of which I have many times complained and why I must leave this farm at Berkwitz. My horses continue to do badly, and a great, strong wagon-horse, and another horse that I would not have sold for fifteen florins, both died in one week, and so I made haste and sold the farm

¹ II Thessalonians ii, 10ff., freely quoted.

² *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können* (Weimar, xix, 624ff.), published between this date and January 1, 1527.

cheap so that I might not become a beggar and the fields might not be uncultivated. I hope no one will think ill of me or blame me for this change, because I have now lost seven horses and suffered other incredibly great losses. Now I have raised a few cattle (God be thanked to all eternity!), namely, sheep, pigs, oxen and cows, and also a little six months' old calf, which I cannot take far away without risk. I would be especially unable to take my fodder, hay, straw and wood very far because of the expense of hauling. I would have to give half of it away and so lose it, and then buy more at great expense, all of which might cause a poor man like me a greater loss than I could stand.

I cannot take another farm, for your reverence knows that at Grafenhainichen I looked around all summer for a house and found none. But Kemberg is closed to me, though it borders on the fields of the village of Berkwitz, and is in the electoral lands, to which I have graciously been admitted, but with a gracious final clause, "Until things have changed, etc." There are several houses there that I could either rent or buy, and with some kind help I could very conveniently bring in my fodder, cattle and wood, but I may neither do this nor consider it without asking permission. Since then I have kept so quiet and devoted myself to all sorts of labor (I tell this because I must and not because I want to be praised), and no one talks any more of Carlstadt's doctrine; and since it is not my desire henceforth to mingle in the affairs of the learned, but rather to earn my living, as your reverence can ascertain any day from the people of this neighborhood; therefore I ask your reverence for God's sake that your Grace will write the illustrious, etc., John, Duke of Saxony, etc., and ask his Grace out of princely kindness and Christian mercy to grant my request, which will not injure his Grace a heller's worth, namely, that he will extend the terms of my admission and permit me to go to Kemberg to support myself there among the other citizens and earn food and clothing for my poor children, which is my duty. I will always be ready to serve your Grace, sparing neither my body nor my property.

Your reverence's humble servant,

ANDREW CARLSTADT.

743. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 135. German. (WITTENBERG), November 22, 1526.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. For a long time I have brought no supplications to your Grace, and they have now accumulated. I hope your Grace will be patient. There is nothing else for me to do.

In the first place, gracious Lord, the complaints of the pastors almost everywhere are immeasurably great. The peasants will simply not give any more, and so great is this ingratitude for God's holy Word among the people that beyond all doubt God has a great plague in store for us. If I knew how to do it with a good conscience I would even help to bring it about that they should have no pastors or preachers and live like swine, as, indeed, they do. There is no fear of God and no discipline any longer, for the papal ban is abolished and everyone does what he will.

But because all of us, and especially the rulers, are commanded to care for the poor children who are born every day and are growing up, and to keep them in the fear of God and under discipline, we must have schools and pastors and preachers. If the older people do not want them, they may go to the devil; but if the young people are neglected and are not trained, it is the fault of the rulers, and the land will be filled with wild, loose-living people. Thus not only God's command, but our own necessity compels us to find some way out of the difficulty.

But now the enforced rule of the Pope and the clergy is at an end in your Grace's dominions, and all the monasteries and foundations fall into your Grace's hands as the ruler, the duty and the difficulty of setting these things in order comes with them. No one assumes it, or can or ought assume it. Therefore, as I have said to your Grace's chancellor,¹ and to Nicholas von Ende,² it will be necessary for your Grace, as the person whom God has called to this work and entrusted with the remedy, to have the land visited as quickly as possible by four persons; two whose specialty is taxes and property,

¹ Gregory Brück.

² A man by the name of Nicholas von Ende was court marshal to the Elector in 1514 (Enders, v, 407, n. 3). This is probably the same man.

and two who are competent to pass on doctrine and character. These men, at your Grace's command, ought to have the schools and parishes set in order and provided for, where it is necessary.

If there is a town or a village which can do it, your Grace has the power to compel it to support schools, preaching places and parishes. If they are unwilling to do this or to consider it for their own salvation's sake, then your Grace is the supreme guardian of the youth and of all who need his guardianship, and ought to hold them to it by force, so that they must do it. It is just like compelling them by force to contribute and to work for the building of bridges and roads, or any other of the country's needs.

What the country needs and must have ought to be given and helped along by those who use and enjoy the country. Now there is no more necessary thing than the education of the people who are to come after us and be the rulers. But if they cannot do it and are overburdened with other things, there are the monastic properties which were established chiefly for the purpose of relieving the common man, and ought still be used for that purpose.

Your Grace can easily think that in the end there would be an evil rumor, and one that could not be answered, if the schools and the parishes went down and the nobles were to appropriate the monastic properties for themselves. This charge is already made, and some of them are doing it. Since then these properties are of no benefit to your Grace's treasury, and were given in the first place for purposes of worship, they ought rightly to serve this purpose first of all. What remains over your Grace can apply to the country's needs, or give to the poor.

In the second place, Doctor Carlstadt has earnestly begged me to write your Grace to allow him to live at Kemberg,¹ for he cannot stay in the villages because of the churlishness of the peasants, as your Grace can learn from this letter of his and the one to John von Greffendorf;² and yet he shrinks from

¹ *Vide supra*, no. 742.

² Gräfendorf (Grafendorf, Greffendorf) was the Elector's chamberlain. *Vide* Vol. I, 380f.

writing to your Grace himself. Since he has so far been quiet in public, and some of us, including Hans Metzsch,¹ think it is a good thing because the provost of Kemberg² could more easily have an eye on him, therefore I, too, humbly ask that your Grace will graciously grant him his request, although your Grace has already done a great deal and made himself much talked about on his account. God will repay your Grace the more richly. For his soul he is himself responsible; to his body and his family we ought to do good. The grace of God be with us. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant, MARTIN LUTHER.

744. LUTHER TO ASSA VON KRAM

Weimar, xix, 623.

(WITTENBERG, end of 1526.)

This letter accompanied Luther's tract, *Whether Soldiers Too Can be Saved*. It cannot be exactly dated, but the tract was in press as early as October 14, 1526 (*vide supra*, no. 741), and Luther sent a copy of it to Michael Stiefel, January 1, 1527.

Assa von Kram was a counsellor of Duke Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneberg. He had a long and rather distinguished record as a soldier, having served in Italy and Denmark, and more recently as commander of the troops of the Elector of Saxony in the Peasants' War. He died in 1528 of an illness contracted while serving in Italy under Charles V. It was during a brief stay in Wittenberg, after the suppression of the peasants' revolt, that he suggested to Luther the subject of the tract, here dedicated to him.

As Luther's words in this tract, that "fighting was as necessary as eating and drinking" have been much quoted against him of late, it is instructive to notice that the same qualified approval of war is given in the Canon Law, *Decreti pars ii, causa xxiii*, capp. 3-7, where it is expressly said that many soldiers can please God, and that war (*militare*) is no sin.

Grace and peace in Christ, worshipful and honorable dear sir and friend. When you were recently at Wittenberg at the time of the Elector's entry, we talked of the condition of the

¹ John von Metzsch (†1549) was both bailiff and captain of the fortifications at Wittenberg. Luther detested him on account of his immorality and because his military work interfered with Luther's property. See Smith, index, and *Conversations with Luther*, translated by P. Smith and H. P. Gallinger, 1915, pp. 46, 243. In 1528 he was appointed one of the inspectors of the Saxon churches along with Luther and Pauli. About 1539 the Elector transferred him to Colditz. Enders, xii, 83.

² Bartholomew Bernhardt.

soldiers, and in the course of the conversation many points were raised touching matters of conscience. Thereupon you and others asked me to publish a written opinion on this subject, because there are many who are offended by this occupation. Some of them have doubts, others give themselves up so completely for lost that they inquire no longer about God, and cast soul and conscience to the winds. I myself have heard some of these fellows say that if they were to remember these things they could never go to war; as though war were such a great thing that we are not to think about God and the soul when war is afoot; and yet when we are in danger of death, that is the very time when we ought most to be mindful of God and the soul.

In order, then, that our best advice may be given to these weak and timid and doubting consciences, and that the heedless may receive better instruction, I complied with your request and promised this book. For if a man goes into battle with a good and well-instructed conscience, he fights well, since a good conscience never fails to make great courage and a bold heart; but when the heart is bold and the spirit confident, the fist is all the stronger, horse and man are brisker, everything turns out better, and all the chances better favor the victory which God then gives. On the other hand, if the conscience is timid and uncertain, then the heart cannot be right bold. It is impossible for a bad conscience not to make men cowardly and fearful, as Moses says to his Jews,¹ "If you are disobedient, God will give you a fearful heart, so that when you go out one way against your enemies, you shall be scattered seven ways, and have no good fortune." Then horse and man are lazy and unprepared, and lack vigor for the attack, and at last are defeated. As for the rude and heedless consciences in the company—those who are called daredevils and foolhardy fellows—with them everything goes at haphazard, whether they win or lose. For as it turns out for those who have good or bad consciences, so it turns out for these rude beasts too, because they are in the army. Victory is not given on their account, for they are only the shells and not the true kernel of the army.

¹ Deuteronomy xxviii, 25.

Accordingly I now send you this opinion of mine, given according to the power that God has granted me, so that you and others who would like to go to war in such a way as not to lose God's favor and eternal life, may know how to arm and how to guide yourselves. God's grace be with you. Amen.

745. GEORGE DUKE OF SAXONY TO HENRY VIII.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 3697.

DRESDEN, December 27, 1526.¹

Received on St. Thomas's Day, 21 December, his letters, dated 31 October, at Greenwich, with his answer² to letters from Luther, which were sent from Cologne by Herman Rinck.³ Thanks him for his approval of his plans. Intends to do what he can to preserve religion against the Lutheran heresy. Is glad the King has not listened to his endeavors to draw him into his sect. Many of them will change their opinion when they see that he cannot be persuaded, and so zealously opposes them. Sent the King's answer⁴ to Luther at Wittenberg on the 23rd December, with letters from himself. He merely answered that he had nothing to write back.⁵ Hopes this impious doctrine will be removed or restrained.

746. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK.

Enders, v, 416.

(WITTENBERG, end of December, 1526, or beginning of January, 1527.)

Grace and peace in the Lord. You preach to me, my dear Wenzel, that Christ is set for the fall and rising again,⁶ thus one sermon comes after another. The King of England,⁷ to whom, at the persuasion of the King of Denmark,⁸ I wrote a suppliant and humble letter, in high hope and with a simple and candid heart, has answered me so hostilely that he would

¹ Not 1527 as in *Letters and Papers*.

² *Supra*, no. 737.

³ Hermann Rinck, at one time burgomaster of Cologne.

⁴ Duke George to Luther, dated December 21, Enders, v, 413.

⁵ Either Luther's letter has been lost or his answer was given orally.

⁶ Luke ii, 34.

⁷ Henry VIII. Luther's letter was dated September 1, 1525 (*supra*, no. 700). Henry's answer (*supra*, no. 737) did not reach Luther until December, 1526. It was forwarded by Duke George, *Letters and Papers*, iv, nos. 2371 and 3261, and *supra*, no. 745.

⁸ Christian II.

seem, like Duke George, to be rejoicing in an opportunity for revenge. So weak and unmanly and sordid is the mind of those tyrants, so unworthy to be the servant of the mob. But Christ's be the thanks and mine the joy, I am sufficiently vindicated, for I despise their god, who is Satan, and them along with him.

I am glad you promise me seed in the spring. Send as much as you can; I want it and am looking for it. If I can do anything in return, command me, and it will be done. For though Satan and his members may rage, I will laugh at him, and will turn my attention to the gardens, that is to the blessings of the Creator, and enjoy them to His praise.

Since we barbarians have neither art nor culture, I and my servant Wolfgang¹ have taken up the art of turning. We are sending you a gulden² and ask that you will kindly send us, at some convenient time, tools for boring and turning, and at the same time two or three of those that they call "screws," of which any turner can easily tell you. We have tools, but we want some of more elegant form which will correspond to your Nuremberg art. Do this, and if you spend somewhat more it will be repaid, for I believe things are somewhat cheaper at Nuremberg than here; unless, of course, it would be a nuisance. If the world prove altogether unwilling to feed us for the Word's sake, we will learn to make a living with our hands, and serve the unwilling and the ungrateful, after the example of our Father in heaven. The grace of God be with you.

747. LUTHER TO JOHN AGRICOLA.

Enders, vi, 1.

WITTENBERG, January 1, 1527.

Grace and peace in the Lord. My mistress and lady Kate has ordered me to thank you for the cloth you gave her, though there was no need to bestow such a splendid gift upon the poor. She has gone to much pains to have this maid Elsa come to your Elsa; God grant that she may be an obedient servant.

We are well here and busy fortifying Wittenberg so that

¹ Wolfgang Sieberger. *Vide*, Vol. I, p. 57, n. 6.

² Worth about 60 cents intrinsically.

it may be impregnable; meanwhile we are cold toward the Gospel of God and almost satiated with it. I am putting on my armor for a battle with the fanatical spirits;¹ pray God for me that He may tread Satan under His feet. There is no other news here, except what I think has already reached you. Farewell to you and yours in Christ; greet all our friends.

MARTIN LUTHER.

748. LUTHER TO SPALATIN IN ALTENBURG.

Enders, vi, 2.

(WITTENBERG), January 1, 1527.

Grace and peace in the Lord. That it is not my fault that I write you so seldom, my dear Spalatin, I wish these enclosures to testify, for they were waiting for a messenger and were always before my eyes. You will learn by the month, the day and the subject when they were written. I myself forgot what was in them and opened them at last in disgust to see what I had written. . . .

But to the matter in hand. Tell our very dear Dolzig, if he can bear a friendly disagreement (as he can), that we have good reason for maintaining that *darumb* should be written sometimes *darumb*, sometimes *drumb*. For why should not we Germans imitate the Greeks, Latins and Hebrews in the matter of contractions and syncopes, since no other language is more syncopated than German? We say by syncope, *Du sollts mirs thun*; Dolzig's severity would make us say, *Du solltest mir es thun*. See what grace there is in the syncope and what nausea in the rule. If you ask, *Warumb thust du das?* we say according to rule, *Darumb*, because the word stands alone. But if other words are added, we say in an elegant syncope, *Ich wills drumb nicht lassen*. It would be disgusting to say, *Ich will es darumb nicht lassen*. Away with these barbarous Germanisms! You see how clever we, too, can be. Therefore let Dolzig beware of a battle about words, especially if he tries to exasperate us, for we think ourselves twice, thrice, four times the man that Aristarchus² was. This in jest.

The plundering of the monasteries is a serious matter, my

¹ Preparing the treatise, *Dass diese Worte . . . feststehen*. Cf. *supra*, no. 739.

² The great Alexandrian Homer-scholar, whose critical skill was proverbial.

dear Spalatin, and, believe me, it worries me greatly. I long ago did what you ask, so far as I could with letters. Not content with this, when the Elector was here I forced my way into his bed-room, against everybody's will, in order to confer with him alone about this matter. Riedesel¹ alone was present. I took the Elector unawares, and made almost the same complaints that you make in your letter. I had made the same complaints to the junior Prince² in the antechamber, and he showed that he was displeased with this sort of thing. The answer was that cautious measures would be taken to make everything right. What shall I say? I fear that under this most excellent Prince false and empty stories will be told of me and of us all in such a way that we shall not be able to know their real authors. They think Frederic is dead, and in their opinion they are kings in this land; would that they could not carry it off so well! To me it is the sourest drop of my vinegar that those who before were enemies of the Gospel (and now continue to be its enemies) and differed from Elector Frederic in piety, now when there is a chance for booty, mock and laugh, and, grown rich, exult that under the name of the Gospel they can be enemies of the Gospel and at the same time enjoy all the freedom that the Gospel has brought. Have you ever seen the like of this wickedness? I see that it is of no use to advise the Elector, who is already overburdened, and I have no other advice to give than to admonish him in public print that he shall provide a different kind of administration for the monasteries; perhaps this will make them ashamed of themselves. You know yourself that nothing can be hoped from your advice to him to rule and govern after the example of his brother. The good man is exposed to everybody's craftiness and believes that everybody is like himself, good and true. A man must be a knave to be a prince, and the place for a tyrant is the throne; the world demands it.

You see how lengthy I have become, partly because I had to be and partly because I wanted to. If through Christ you

¹ John von Riedtesel, electoral director at Weimar, to whom Luther often wrote 1522-36. Shortly after the death of the Elector John he fell into disfavor with the new elector because he kept the privy seal. He was not severely punished. G. Mentz: *Johann Friedrich*, iii, 114f.

² John Frederic.

have any further advice to give, give it, and we shall gladly follow it; for we hate the rage, the wiles, the knaveries of Satan everywhere, on all sides, ceaselessly, so that it will give us pleasure to meet him or harm him in any way. Farewell in the Lord, you and your wife. My little Hans sends greeting. He is in the teething month and is beginning to say "Daddy," and scold everybody with pleasant insults. Katie also wishes you everything good, especially a little Spalatin to teach you what she declares her little Hans has taught her, namely, the fruit and joy of marriage, of which the Pope and all his world was not worthy.

MARTIN LUTHER.

749. ALBERT OF MAYENCE TO HENRY VIII.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 2776.

ASCHAFFENBURG, January 3, 1527.

Received his letter. Although the King seems to attribute to him more influence in the matter of Luther than he deserves, confesses that he has used great efforts to crush that heresy. Commends the King for the victory gained by his book over Luther. Praises it for its orthodoxy and unanswerable arguments. Has commanded it to be printed.

750. LUTHER TO PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.

De Wette-Seidemann, vi, 86. German. WITTENBERG, January 7, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. To the request which your Grace makes for an opinion of your Ordinance,¹ I answer unwillingly, inasmuch as many blame us, as if we of Wittenberg would force everyone to do as we do, although we know that God wills otherwise and that others can do well without our aid. But to oblige your Grace, and since the Ordinance might raise an outcry if published without my consent, I humbly and faithfully advise you not to allow it to be printed at this time, for I have never had, and have not now, sufficient courage to pass so many

¹ On October 20, 1526, Francis Lambert, at the request of Philip of Hesse drew up an ordinance known as the *Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae*, expressing the Lutheran doctrines and institutions for the use of the local clergy. The *Reformatio* is most conveniently found in Kidd, pp. 222ff. On it see Köhler: *Die Entstehung der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, 1906, 213ff.

radical laws at once. In my opinion we should act as did Moses, who only wrote down his laws after they had been put in practice among the people. Your Grace should provide the schools with good teachers and the parishes with good pastors, and begin by oral command and private instruction and let the innovations be gradual and proceed farther when things get started and are going of themselves. Then the Ordinance could be published and all priests commanded to obey it; I know well and have learned that laws passed prematurely are seldom well obeyed, as the people are not used to them nor ready for them, as those legislators who sit apart devising laws may think. Making laws and enforcing them are vastly different things. By this Ordinance you would change much arbitrarily. But when some of the reforms have been already put into practice it will be easy to pass the law. Legislation is a great, noble, comprehensive thing, and cannot be successful without the spirit of God, for which we must humbly pray. Moderation is necessary; after customs are rooted, laws will follow of themselves. This necessity has been experienced by the greatest law-givers: Moses, Christ, the Romans, the Pope, and all other law-givers. This is my opinion, but I have no desire to set metes or bounds to your Grace and the preachers in your Grace's lands, but commend them to God. It is my duty and I am always ready to serve your Grace in all things.

Your Grace's devoted

MARTIN LUTHER.

751. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, vi, 10.

(WITTENBERG), January 10, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ, my dear Nicholas. I have no news except that the Elector has answered the university, saying that he wishes to hasten the visitation of the parish churches. When that has been done and the churches have been organized, then the use of the ban can be taken up. What measures can we take when things are so upside down? Zechariah is in press, and the book is growing daily under my hands; at the same time I am attacking the sacramenta-

rians. Do you pray that Christ may guide my pen to a successful and wholesale victory over Satan. I rejoice greatly, too, over your testimony that you have not been touched by this leaven, for that is what I have always believed of you. I am heartily sorry that that excellent man, Oecolampadius, has been pushed by Satan into this abyss with those ridiculous and empty arguments. The Lord draw him out! Urban Rhegius¹ is either inclined to the same error, or has fallen into it. The Lord preserve His own!

I believe you must have heard that the arms of the Emperor have been successful in Italy. The Pope is losing everywhere and will be destroyed. The hour of his end has come, though persecution rages everywhere and many are being burned at the stake. My Kate sends you a reverent greeting.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

752. ERASMUS TO LEWIS BER.

UNPUBLISHED. Appendix I.

BASLE, January 26, 1527.

Lewis Ber (1479-1554), a native of Basle, was educated at Paris (A.B. 1498; A.M. 1499; Th.D. 1512), and was professor at the University of Basle 1512-29, at the same time holding the provostship of St. Peter's Church in Basle. He was rector of the university in 1514, and again in 1520. He presided at the Disputation of Baden, May-June, 1526, on the Catholic side (*Erasmii Opera*, 1703, i, 967ff.). He left Basle in 1529 because of the triumph of the Reformation, removing to Freiburg in the Breisgau, where he spent the remainder of his life. Allen, ii, 381.

Greeting. Your letter, no less learned than pious, relieved my mind of a good part of the disgust which has been caused me less by poor health and the wickedness of certain men than by the public misfortune of the world: for I see the cause of Christianity is approaching a condition that I should be very unwilling to see it reach. But the Lord, the Creator of men, wonderful in the way He guides and swiftly changes human affairs, causes me to retain some hope of a happier

¹Urban Rieger (Regius, Rhegius) (1489-1541), studied under Eck at Ingolstadt, 1512, ordained 1519, Cathedral preacher at Augsburg 1520, became definitely Lutheran 1524, married 1525, superintendent of the Protestant Church in Lüneburg 1534. He distinguished himself by fighting the Anabaptists. In the sacramentarian controversy he was first for Zwingli and then for Luther. Allen, ii, 188, ADB., RGG. and *Realencyklopädie*.

outcome, provided only that we recognize that this state of affairs calls us to the philosophy of the Gospel, that we may not be more foolish than the man who, after shipwreck, thanked Fortune that even thus she summoned him to the pursuit of wisdom. I personally have assuredly reaped some private good from these great evils.

There are certain men here who are trying to put this city in the same condition that Zurich is, nor do they by any means suffer your man¹ to be preacher, though he seems to me apt to teach and not at all seditious. But his great crime is that he speaks to a very large audience.

I think you know what my Dane² recently intended to do. If such things are done in the city with impunity, what is the use of laws? Nor is this a first offence, which might be pardoned. Yet it is not so much the particular act that offends, as it is the precedent for worse things.

My stomach is somewhat better these last months, thanks to Christ, but recently a pain has developed in my right side. What it means I know not, save that I have once for all offered this poor body to Christ. Finally I made a will³ when things got to this point, for even those who have nothing make wills. A certain priest at Louvain made a will in this form: "I have nothing; I owe much; the rest I give to the poor." Whether the pestilence has died down I know not; but the report of it has died down. I wish you were here, were it best for you.

I still have some fears about the Athanasius,⁴ lest as things

¹ Possibly Augustine Marius (Mayr), (1485-1543), who studied at Vienna, where he was given the doctorate in theology 1520; 1522 became Suffragan Bishop of Freising, and 1526 was appointed to a position at Basle. He left in 1529. Oecolampadius speaks of the trouble he had had trying to get him to teach according to Scripture, in a letter to Zwingli, December 23, 1526, CR., xcv, 815.

² James Jespersen Arhusiensis of Denmark, thence commonly called Danus, at this time a famulus of Erasmus, later tutor in Greek to Nicholas Olaus and other men. Förstemann und Günther, 376. On December 28, 1526, James Sobius of Cologne wrote Erasmus (*ibid.* 63), informing him that his Dane had come to Cologne and had stated that Erasmus wished to migrate to that city provided he were not bothered by Hochstraten, Geldenhauer "and that scum." He went so far as to bespeak a house for his master. Whether this were all he did that Erasmus disliked I cannot say.

³ Dated January 22, 1527, published by J. B. Kan: *Erasmiana* (Rotterdam, 1891), pp. 61ff.

⁴ *Athanasii Lucubrationes Aliquot.* ed. Erasmus, Basle, 1527. The dedication to John Bishop of Lincoln is dated March 3, 1527 *Erasmi epistolae*, 1642, xxix, 88.

now are the dedication may cause some ill feeling, not so much against me (for I should easily despise it) as rather against him whom we desire to please. Please give the matter some thought. It will remain as it is for the next fortnight.

A swarm of books has been published against Luther and Oecolampadius, especially those of the Bishop of Rochester,¹ James Latomus² and James Hochstraten.³ What France is producing I have not yet heard, but I fear lest the tumults and the boastings of these scribes will subvert the whole cause of the Church. We have seen the samples that Sutor⁴ and Beda⁵ have given, and Clichtove's⁶ writing is not much better. Now everybody is writing, and I think the same thing will come to pass that often happens in war—while we are quarrelling about the booty the victory will slip through our fingers. It is an old story that private desires betray and destroy the common weal. I have not yet decided whether to answer the Bedas and Clichtoves, though I promised in my last books to do so. When my Dane returns it will be decided. Meanwhile give me your advice about the Athanasius. I am not annoying his reverence, the coadjutor, with a letter; nevertheless the greetings he sent me pleased me very much, and I wish to be thought of as well as possible by a man as commendable as is he in so many ways. More when I see you. I hope that will be soon, but let it be as is best for you. The Lord keep you safe.

Yours,
ERAS. ROT.

753. LUTHER TO EBERHARD BRISGER AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, vi, 16.

(WITTENBERG), February 1, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ. You ask, dear Eberhard, that I

¹ John Fisher. The work was: *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia per Reverendum in Christo patrem D. Johannem Roffensem Episcopum adversus Johannem Oecolampadium*. Coloniae, 1527.

² Jacobi Latomi *De Confessione secreta, etc.*, Antwerp, 1525.

³ J. Hochstraten: *Epitome de fide & operibus adversus chaemicam illam atque monstrosam M. Lutheri libertatem*. Cologne, 1525.

⁴ Peter Couturier (Sutor) attacked Erasmus in his *De translatione Bibliae et novarum interpretationum reprobatione*, 1525.

⁵ Noel Beda, after procuring the condemnation of Erasmus's *Colloquies* by the Sorbonne, wrote: *Annotationum Natalis Bedae in Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo et in Erasmus Roterodamum liber unus*, 1526.

⁶ Jodocus Clichtove wrote against Oecolampadius, *De sacramento encharistiae contra Oecolampadium*, Paris, 1526.

should spend ten gulden for you, but where shall I get them? You know my household expenses are very heavy, and, moreover, by my imprudence¹ I have this year contracted a debt of about a hundred gulden. But the Lord, who thus punishes my imprudence, will free me again. I have even given three cups as a pledge for a loan of fifty gulden. But the Lord, who thus punishes my imprudence, will free me again. Cranach and Döring² will no longer take my simple endorsement as surety for my friends, so I recently gave them a fourth cup as a pledge for a loan made to Hermann.³ Why should I alone be thus sucked dry and also thrown into debt? If I gave a present now it would not be from my own money but from that of others. I trust no one can call me miserly, who am so prodigal even of borrowed money. Therefore I shall speak to them⁴ and see if I can placate them and then do as Reiner says. In the meantime if I get the money I shall send it to you without delay. I wish you would come back and see about renting your house,⁵ for why should it stand empty when it might have made some money for you this year? Farewell in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER.

754. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, vi, 17.

(WITTENBERG), February 1, 1527.

Grace and peace. Let your priests of Baal⁶ boast and hope; nay, let them conquer; what then? Ours is the cross and salvation; their lot is perdition. Can we live at all without the cross? I shall answer the King of England—who is thought to be merely a mask for Erasmus—with a short letter,

¹ Luther had very recently bought a garden from Balthasar Hayn, which he sold back to Hayn's daughter, March 7, 1527. Th. St. Kr., 1913, pp. 522f.

² These were the goldsmiths who then acted as bankers. Lucas Cranach, besides this business, also kept a drug store.

³ This may have been Hermann Tullich (1486-1540) at this time professor at Wittenberg, see ARG, xii, 40ff.; or the "poor Hermann" spoken of in 1530 in a letter from Wittenberg. G. Buchwald: *Wittenberger Briefe*, p. 84.

⁴ Cranach and Döring.

⁵ When all the monks had left the cloister except Luther and Brisger, they begged the Elector to take over the property, December, 1524, *supra*, no. 653. He gave Luther the cloister itself and Brisger a small house belonging to the Augustinians. One other house belonging to the Order was given up by a document dated December 2, 1525, signed by Brisger in Luther's name, first published in Th. St. Kr., 1913, pp. 521f.

⁶ The canons of Altenburg.

mostly on account of the title, in which they speak of a "recantation."¹ These blasphemies, tricks and villainies of the devil and those that are his are my meat, and I am getting fat on them. This is the food of which Christ boasts in John iv,² "My meat is to do the will of my Father," that, is, to die and be blasphemed. It is right that we, too, should be nourished with the same food. It is incredible how Satan rages everywhere and against everything. Perhaps he feels the approach of the last day. But thanks be to God, Who strengthens us so that we despise him.

I have almost supported this young man Martin for some months in the hope that I might get him a position or a place as a servant, but seeing that every place here is filled, he has decided to go elsewhere. You know many people and are known to many; perhaps you can put him into some service or get him some work somewhere. He is a good man and a poor man, but marvelously simple-minded, a monk who fled from Alt-Zelle. I commend him to you. You will be doing Christ a service if you find some place for him. Farewell to you and your chain.³

MARTIN LUTHER.

755. ARCHDUKE FERDINAND TO QUEEN MARY OF HUNGARY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 3054.

OLMÜTZ, April 19, 1527.

Mary, a sister of Charles V and Ferdinand, was born 1505, and, as a child, betrothed to Louis of Hungary (born 1506), whom she married on January 13, 1522. Left a widow at the age of 21 by his death at the battle of Mohacs, August 29, 1526, she never married again. In 1531 she was made Regent of the Netherlands by Charles. Erasmus dedicated his "Christian Widow" to her. ADB., and many letters in *Oláh Miklós Levelezése: közli Ipolyi Arnold. Monumenta Hungariae Diplomatica xxv*. Budapest, 1875.

I have received your letter in answer to mine, sent with

¹ The letter of Henry VIII, *supra*, no. 737, was published in German by Emser and Cochlaeus with a title in which Luther's letter of September 1, 1525, is spoken of as "offering a recantation." "The short letter" of reply is *Auf des königs in England Lasterschrift Titel M. Luthers Antwort*, published in February, 1527 (Weimar, xxiii, 26ff.) Cf. Smith, 193ff. and Weimar l.c. 17ff. *English Historical Review*, 1910, p. 663.

² John iv, 34.

³ *Catena*. Spalatin's wife, like Luther's was named Catharine.

Luther's book.¹ I cannot prevent him from writing, but I hope he will not address any book to me, purporting that I maintain his gospel. I beg you to be cautious as to reading his books printed at Antwerp, lest you give any occasion to be thought one of his converts.

756. LUTHER TO FREDERIC PISTORIUS² IN NUREMBERG.
Enders, vi, 41. (WITTENBERG), April 22, 1527.

Grace and peace. We do not know each other, my dear sir, and yet I am writing you. It is the work of my friend, and even more your friend, Wenzel Link, who sent me in your name a brass clock as a present from you to me. It is a very grateful present, but now I shall have to become a pupil of our mathematicians until I know all the forms and rules to be observed with a clock, for I have never before seen or looked at one and am altogether ignorant about these mathematical matters. Would that I could make some reply that would correspond to your goodwill, which I perceive is clearly shown in this gift; there is nothing I would rather do. I hope that you will accept this as a token of willing friendship. Farewell, and pray for me. MARTIN LUTHER.

757. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.
Enders, vi, 46. (WITTENBERG, circa May 4), 1527.

Grace and peace. The only news I have to write, dear Wenzel, is that Zwingli has sent me his foolish book with a letter written in his own hand and worthy of his haughty spirit.³ So gentle was he, raging, foaming and threatening, that he seems to me incurable and condemned by manifest truth. My comprehensive book⁴ has profited many.

¹ On November 1, 1526, Luther sent to Queen Mary of Hungary his *Exposition of Four Comforting Psalms*, Weimar, xix, 542ff, cf. Enders, v, 402f. He states that she received it kindly. *Conversations with Luther*, translated by Smith and Gallinger, 1915, p. 58.

² Frederic Pistorius (1485-1553) was the last abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg. In July, 1525, he turned over his monastery to the City Council, as Luther and Brisger gave over the Augustinian home at Wittenberg to the Elector, receiving the privilege of living in the monastery and a pension in return.

³ Zwingli sent his *Friendly Exegesis of Christ's Words* to Luther with a letter of April 1 (Enders, vi, 33). Cf. Smith, 242.

⁴ *That these Words, "This is my Body," still stand fast against the Ranting Spirits*, Weimar, xxiii, 38ff.

I do not despise the German translation of the Prophets, which has just appeared at Worms, except that the German is quite obscure, perhaps because of the dialect used. The translators are diligent, but who can do all things? I am now girt up to translate them myself, and shall lecture on Isaiah, too, not to be idle. Pray the Lord for me and for His Church. May Christ grant that your child be safely born. My Katie is with child again. Greet Spengler and thank him for the seed he sent; all have sprung up except the melons and gourds, although these plants flourish in other gardens. Farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

758. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 52.

(WITTENBERG), May 19, 1527.

Grace and peace. I have received the planes and the quadrant with the cylinder and the wooden clock, for which I thank you. You only forgot one thing, to tell me how much money I ought to send you, for I do not suppose that the two gulden I sent you before were enough.¹ I shall not order any more instruments at present, unless you have a new kind of lathe which will turn itself while Sieberger snores and neglects it. I am a past-master of clock-work myself, especially when I have to point out the lateness of the hour to my drunken Saxons, who look more at the tankards than at the clock, and do not mind in the least the course of the sun or of the clock or of its master.

There is nothing new here except your picture-book on the Papacy.² I approve of my picture with the sickle, for it shows that it was long ago foretold that I would be sharp and bitter, but I doubt whether the rose can be interpreted as an emblem of myself; I should think it applies rather to my office. The other things are well, if your reports are true. Farewell in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ In his former letter to Link he had spoken of only one gulden. *Supra*, no. 746.

² This was a book of thirty pictures satirizing the papacy, which was published at Nuremberg in 1527. The pictures were said to have been discovered in a monastery at Nuremberg, and were believed to be very old. Osiander, who procured their publication, regarded them as a prophecy, and Hans Sachs provided them with rhymes. The figure which was interpreted as Luther's was that of a monk carrying a sickle in one hand and a rose in the other.

759. JOHN HACKETT TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 3132.

BAROW,¹ May 23, 1527.

John Hackett was at this time the king's minister at the court of Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands. On November 17, 1526, he had delivered to her a letter from Henry requesting the suppression of English Protestants at Antwerp. The city, however, refused, as related below. Hackett continued his activities against Tyndale and Roy, and his efforts to seize their translations of the Bible. *W. Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises*, ed. Parker Society, 1848, pp. xxxiiff.

Has received no letters from him since he wrote last on the 3rd inst. Was told at Machlyng, on the 21st, that, notwithstanding the corrections that have been done, some Antwerp printers have brought to the market here divers English books, intituled the Ny[we] Testament. Has come hither to see punishment executed. Has found twenty-four in one [mann]ys hand. Is seeking for more, and trusts shortly to see them burned. The marquis of Antwerp² and the drossart of Berghes³ daily ask for a certification from England of particular articles of heresy, without which they can make no corporal punishment on the printers. Hears that at the last Fran[kfurt] fair there were more than 2000 such English books; but there they favor Luther and leave all good old customs. Hears that some English disciples of Luther are beginning to translate the Bible into English. The King or Wolsey had better write to my lady⁴ about it.

There is great danger in these Low Countries. Two out of three keep Luther's opinions. Is told there are many in England, but they dare not declare themselves. Has caused the deputy of our nation here to make a congregation of all the English people here, and read the King's letter to them. He has also issued an order that none of them shall buy, nor sell, nor read such like books, and those that have any must bring them to the deputy before next Sunday.

¹ Probably Bruges, Flemish Brügge.

² The "schout" or imperial officer at Antwerp also bore the title of "marcgrave ons lants van Ryen." At this time he was Nicholas van Liere, who died 1531. Kalkoff: *Anfänge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden*, ii, 10, 88.

³ Roland van Berchem, who was also a "schout" or bailiff at Antwerp, *ibid*, index. There were numerous other "lords of Berghen," so I cannot be sure which one is meant.

⁴ Margaret, sister of Charles V and Regent of the Netherlands.

760. LUTHER TO ELIZABETH AGRICOLA¹ AT EISLEBEN.

De Wette, iii, 183. German.

(WITTENBERG), June 10, 1527.

Grace and peace, my dear Elsa. I had intended to write you sooner, but Matthes² had left before I had attended to it. I hope that your school-master³ is back at home again, and that, God willing, you are better. But you must not be so fearful and down-hearted, but remember that Christ is near and helps you bear your ills, for He has not forsaken you as your flesh and blood makes you imagine. Only call upon Him earnestly, from your heart, and be sure that He hears you, for you know that it is His way to help, to strengthen and to comfort all who ask Him. Therefore be of good cheer, and remember that He Himself has suffered much for you, far more than you can ever suffer for His sake or your own. Thus we too will pray, and pray earnestly, that God will accept you in His Son Christ, and strengthen you in this your weakness of body and soul. God have you in His keeping. Amen. Greetings to your school-master and all your family from all of us.

MART. LUTHER.

761. LUTHER TO LAMBERT HEMERTUS AT CELLE.

ZKG., xviii (1898), 230f.

(WITTENBERG), June 12, 1527.

Except that Hemertus had at this time just been appointed school-master at Celle, I can learn nothing about him.

. . . It has been told me that with you there are certain men of the new sort called "spiritual," who deny that the sacrament of the body of Christ exists among the papists, but who falsely believe that they have nothing but mere bread. If you are able to accomplish anything with these men by my testimony, tell them to stop believing and teaching this. For a thing is not destroyed simply by being misused. Otherwise we should have to say that the Gospel did not exist when the impious hear it, and that the sun which the ungrateful see did not exist, and that God Himself, whom the impious worship perversely, was not God. For Christ did not build His founda-

¹ The wife of Luther's old friend, John Agricola. A month earlier Luther had invited her to his home at Wittenberg "for a change of air" (Enders, vi, 49). The invitation was apparently accepted (*vide infra*, no. 762).

² Blasius Matthäus (1484-1561), a town councillor of Wittenberg. Enders, xii, 70.

³ Agricola was teacher at Eisleben.

tion on our faith and virtue, but on His own word and power. He says it, and He does what He says, whether we believe or not. Wherefore admonish them to consider not the impious papists, but the true and powerful maker, Christ, who has willed and wills that His Word and sacrament should be one and the same to all men, whether pious or impious. Pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

762. LUTHER TO JOHN AGRICOLA.

Enders, vi, 65.

(WITTENBERG), July,¹ 1527.

Grace and peace. I have gladly and willingly received your Elsa, my dear Agricola. Her illness² is, as you see, rather of the mind than of the body. I am comforting her as much as I can, with my knowledge. You could have done the same thing, except that woman in such a case believes anybody else sooner than her own husband, for she thinks that everything her husband says is dictated by love rather than by sober judgment. In a word, her disease is not for the apothecaries (as they call them), nor is it to be treated with the salves of Hippocrates, but by constantly applying plasters of Scripture and the Word of God. For what has conscience to do with Hippocrates? Therefore, I would dissuade you from the use of medicine and advise the power of God's Word. But such are our wives that they think the Word is not for them but for their husbands, who are their guardians and protectors. Therefore, whether absent or present, do not cease to impress it on her that when the Word of God is taught it has something to do with her. I have this same battle to fight all the time with my own Kate. They must beware lest when the time comes for using the Word, they may find that they are without it. Otherwise everything is going well. Farewell in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER.

763. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK IN NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 67.

(WITTENBERG), July 5, 1527.

Grace and peace. I congratulate you that God has given you a daughter Margaret. I have looked forward to it eagerly

¹ On the date *vide* Enders, vi, 66, n. 2, where July 2 is suggested.

² *Vide supra*, no. 760.

that you might experience *the affection of a parent for his children*.¹ (See how suddenly I have become a barbarous Greek.) I received the turner's tools with the quadrant and the clock,² and shall try to give you an idea of my cup. It could not be made so quickly. Give my regards to Nicholas Enderisch,³ and tell him that he shall make bold to ask me for copies of some of my books. For we ourselves are poor enough in money, but I make use of a certain modest claim upon the printers, and, although I get nothing from them for my work, I take a copy of a book now and then when I want it. I think they owe me this, for other writers, even translators, get a gulden per quarto. Therefore I have told my Wolfgang⁴ that he shall get at once for Enderisch a copy of any book he wants; he can count on this. Farewell to you and all that are yours. The melons, or pumpkins, are growing and are minded to take up an immense amount of room, likewise the cucumbers and citrons; so you need not think you sent me the seeds in vain. Farewell again.

MARTIN LUTHER.

764. JUSTUS JONAS TO JOHN BUGENHAGEN.

Kawerau, 107.

Vogt, 63.

Walch,² xxia, no. 1100.

WITTENBERG, July 7, 1527.

During the greater part of his life Luther was subject to sudden attacks of illness, the exact nature of which it is difficult to determine. Jonas was a witness of the beginning of such an attack on the evening of July 6, 1527. Bugenhagen was afterwards called in and they resolved to write an account of it so that all the details should be known. Bugenhagen's account adds some details not given by Jonas (*vide* Vogt, 64ff.). Jonas sent Bugenhagen this letter with the description of the seizure. Cf. Köstlin-Kawerau,² ii, 168ff., Smith, 188.

Greetings in Christ. Because the sudden illness of our father Dr. Martin and other like occurrences seem to me to be warnings by which God admonishes us not to lay up for ourselves treasures of wrath, as you exhorted us in to-day's sermon,⁵ I did not want the words that Dr. Martin used yes-

¹ These words in Greek.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 758.

³ A former Carmelite of Nuremberg, who had studied at Wittenberg, 1515.

⁴ Sieberger, his *famulus*.

⁵ Bugenhagen was pastor of the city church.

terday in his pain to be lost to us, for they were full of the most ardent feeling. I think I have retained them all in my memory, as though they were inscribed and fixed there, and have noted them in this sheet.¹ I have wished to communicate them to you, my dear friend and brother. If you wish to transcribe them, please send this sheet back, for I have not kept a copy. If this is silly, I am willing to be silly. I do not think that matters of such importance ought to be taken lightly. Farewell in Christ, and do not impart this to anyone else, but keep it hidden. It is enough for us to know it, otherwise it would be published too widely. Please reply.

Yours,

JUSTUS JONAS.

765. JUSTUS JONAS'S ACCOUNT OF LUTHER'S ILLNESS.

Kawerau, 103.

WITTENBERG, July 7, 1527.

This is what happened to Doctor Martin, our dearest father. Although he had suffered a grave spiritual trial in the morning, as he himself told us, nevertheless when he had come to himself he was called to the lodgings of the magistrate by certain nobles—Martin Waldefels,² Hans Löser³ and Erasmus Spiegel.⁴ After dinner he came to my garden to dispel the trouble and distress of his mind, and sat there talking with me for two hours. When he left my house he invited me and my wife to supper, and so I went up to the monastery about five o'clock. The doctor's wife said that he was resting because of his health, and asked me not to be annoyed by the delay but to pardon it because he was not well. I waited and

¹ The enclosure *infra* no. 765.

² The reading Martin Waldefels in Kawerau is corrected to "Marco a Wallefeld" by Vogt, with which Walch agrees. It is almost certain that Matthew von Waltenrod is meant. From the year 1536 until the death of John Frederic (1554), if not later, he was prominent in the diplomatic service of Electoral Saxony. G. Mentz: *Johann Friedrich*, 3 vols., 1903-8, index.

³ John Löser of Pretzsch (a tiny town just across the Elbe from Wittenberg), whom Luther married to Ursula von Porzig in December, 1524. In 1531 he dedicated to him his Exposition of the 147th Psalm, Weimar, xxxi,¹ 447ff. Löser was Hereditary Marshal of Saxony. Enders, iv, 199; Smith, 309.

⁴ Erasmus, or, as he was commonly called, Asmus Spiegel, was appointed one of the "sequestrators" of religious property in 1533, in which position he had some difficulties with Luther. Enders, ix, 283. From the year 1538 we find him one of the marshals of the court. He took Luther's body from Bitterfeld to Wittenberg. Ratzeberger says he was a traitor in the Schmalkaldic war, turning to Maurice of Saxony. Enders, xii, 347, xv, 313ff.

the doctor arose and was going to take supper with us. He complained of a loud and troublesome roaring in the left ear, which the physicians said was a precursor of a fainting spell, and when he suddenly perceived that roaring the doctor said he could not sit because of it, and, going to his bed-chamber, lay down on the bed. I alone followed him to the door, his wife stopping on the lower step to ask the maids for something, and before she reached the door of his room, though she hurried, he was seized with a faint. Suddenly he said, "*O Doctor Jonas, I am not well; give me some water or anything you have or I shall die.*"¹ Then, terrified and trembling, I poured cold water now on his face, now on his bare back. While I was doing this he began to pray—"O Lord, if it be Thy will, if this is the hour Thou hast set for me, Thy will be done." With great ardor and with his eyes raised to heaven he prayed the Lord's Prayer and the whole psalm, "O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine anger," etc. Meanwhile his wife came in, and, seeing him lying there almost lifeless, she, too, was in consternation, and called loudly for the servants. Soon afterwards the doctor asked to have his hose removed, and they were at once taken off. Then lying stretched out quietly on his couch he suddenly felt all his strength leaving him, and betook himself again to prayer, saying: "Lord, *my dearest God*, Thou knowest how willingly I would have shed my blood for Thy Word, but, perhaps, I am not worthy; Thy will be done, if it be Thy will that I die, only so Thy name be glorified by life or death. If it had been possible I would have wished to live longer for the sake of the godly, Lord, for the sake of Thine elect; but if the hour is come, Thou art Lord of life and death. *My dearest God, Thou has led me into this business, Thou knowest it is Thy truth and Thy Word.* Glorify not our enemies, lest the heathen say, Where is their God? but glorify Thy holy name against the enemies of Thy most holy Word. Lord Jesus, Thou hast given me the knowledge of Thy name; Thou knowest I believe that Thou art true God and our true Mediator and Saviour, who hast shed Thy blood for us; do Thou now be present with Thy Spirit in this hour." He repeated: "Thou knowest there

¹ German words are in italics.

are many to whom Thou hast granted to shed their blood for Thy Gospel, *but I am not worthy*; Thy will be done. Thou knowest that Satan hath contrived various plots against me to destroy me body and soul by means of kings and princes, but hitherto Thou hast wonderfully kept me; keep me still, if it is Thy will."

Then he asked whether Dr. Augustine¹ had come, and he did come soon after and applied hot bags and other fomentations, encouraging him and comforting him that he might not be down-hearted. Meanwhile Bugenhagen, the Wittenberg pastor, arrived, to whom he had confessed that morning. Then he began to say to us, as he had said at the beginning to me and to our wives, "Pray for me, please." We, for our part, bade him pray himself to the Lord not to deprive us of a faithful minister of His holy Gospel. Then he added: "*My dear pastor, I confessed to you to-day and you gave me an absolution; I am glad.*" Then, when his weakness increased somewhat, he repeated these great words of faith: "*My dearest God, Thou art always a God of sinners and miserable men; help me.*" Afterwards he said two or three times to his wife: "*My dearest Katie, I beg you, if it is God's will, to submit to His will; you are my wife and you will surely be steadfast and guide yourself by God's Word.*" Then to Bugenhagen and me: "*I thought I should still write on baptism, but Thy will be done.*" All the while he did not stop praying, but began again: "O Lord Jesus, who hast said, ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you; open now to him that knocketh.² O dearest God and Father, Thou hast given me many thousand precious gifts above what Thou hast given others; I would have liked still to be used for the honor of Thy name and the good of Thy people; but Thy will be done, that Thou mayest be glorified by life or death." Then he added, "*O what a time the fanatics will make after my death!*" Then he sobbed and shed copious tears, and afterwards added this: "*My dear God and Father, if at times I have been loose in my language, Thou knowest*

¹ Augustine Schurff, professor of medicine at Wittenberg.

² It is interesting to note that this petition is a portion of one of the prayers in the liturgy for baptism.

I have done it to dispel the sadness of my weak flesh and not with a bad conscience." Then, turning to us, he said: "Be witnesses that I have not revoked what I have written against the Pope in the matter of penance and justification, but I perceive it to be God's Gospel and God's truth; if some have thought me a little too free and too harsh, I have no regret; *God knows I have never wished anyone evil.*" Then again: "Lord, if it is Thy will that I die in my bed, Thy will be done; I would rather have shed my blood, but John the Evangelist, *who also wrote a good strong book against the Pope*, died thus, according to Thy will."

When the hot bags were applied he began to ask about his little son: "*Where is my dear little Hans?*" The boy was brought in, smiling at his father, and then he said: "*O you good little boy, I commend my dear Katie and you to my dear, good God; you have nothing, but God, Who is the Father of the orphan and the Judge of the widow, will protect you and provide for you.*" Then, at the end, he said something to his wife about some silver cups, adding: "Except these, you know we have nothing." To all this his wife, terrified and distressed, but putting on a cheerful face and repressing the grief that was in her heart, said: "*My dear doctor, if it is God's will, I would rather have you with God than with me. This concerns only me and my child, but many pious Christian people who still need you; do not worry about me; I commend you to His divine will.*" When the hot bags were applied, he said his strength was coming back and he hoped he could sweat. They were bidden to go away that he might be quiet. May our Lord Jesus Christ long keep this man for us. Amen.

To-day the doctor said to me: "I must make a note of this day; yesterday I was at school." He said that his spiritual trial of yesterday was twice as great as this bodily illness which came on in the evening.

766. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, vi, 68.

(WITTENBERG), July 10, 1527.

Grace and peace in the Lord. It is reported here by word of mouth and by letters, that you are in ill-health, my dear Spalatin. If this is true, I pray the Lord Jesus that He may

restore you and that His divine power may keep you, to the glory of His Word. Do you, meanwhile, patiently bear the stroke of His kindly hand, as you have been taught to do, in order that you may not only know it yourself, but may also teach others to do the same. For with the temptation the Lord will also make a way of escape.¹ Three days ago I, too, was seized with a sudden attack of weakness, so that I despaired of life and thought myself about to die before the eyes of my wife and friends, so suddenly and completely was I deprived of all strength. But the Lord was merciful and speedily restored me. I beg, therefore, that you will pray for me, that the Lord may not desert His sinner. Farewell in the Lord. It is rumored that the plague has broken out here, but the report is empty and false; by Christ's favor everything is safe and quiet.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

767. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, vi, 69.

(WITTENBERG), July 13, 1527.

Grace and peace. If that man has correctly described his own case, my dear Nicholas, I think that he may lawfully keep his wife, for her former husband deserted her for so long a time, and exposed both himself and her to all sorts of danger. This is my opinion.

The visitation has begun. A week ago Sir Hero² and Master Philip set out upon that work. Christ be their guide. Amen. Rome and the Pope have been terribly laid waste,³ Christ decreeing that the Emperor who persecutes Luther in the Pope's behalf must destroy the Pope in Luther's behalf. For thus all things serve Christ, for His own and against His adversaries. There is no other news.

My Katie and my little Hans send you greetings. Farewell in Christ. I have been suffering from a severe prostration, so that even yet my head is compelled to take a holiday from reading and writing.

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ I Corinthians x, 13.² Hans von der Planitz.³ The imperial army sacked Rome on the 6th of May.

768. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON AT OR NEAR JENA.¹

Enders, vi, 71.

(WITTENBERG), August 2, 1527.

I believe that all sorts of things about me have been told you and written you by others. Beside what I wrote of lately,² I was for more than a whole week in death and hell,³ so that I was sick all over, and my limbs still tremble. I almost lost Christ in the waves and blasts of despair and blasphemy against God, but God was moved by the prayers of saints and began to take pity on me and rescued my soul from the lowest hell. Do not cease to pray for me as I for you, for I believe that even my agony is for others. We are convinced that the plague is really here, but hope it will be mild and light. We who are Christ's, despised little flock that we are, have to suffer the public hatred of the world and evils enough of our own, to say nothing of poverty and other humiliations. I desire in Christ to see you, if I shall be worthy. Hans Luft⁴ has been ill nine days; yesterday he seemed to be out of his mind, but it is hoped that he will recover. Farewell, with all that are yours and ours, and have us in your prayers, as dead men who live, as captives who are free, as sufferers who are safe. May Christ, the conqueror of death, of hell, of sin, of the world and the flesh, be and grow in us and you by His Spirit. Amen.

M. L.

769. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, vi, 72. German.

TORGAU, August 10, 1527.

Greetings to you, reverend, learned, dear and pious sir. Since, without doubt, you know that because of the deadly danger that has come upon Wittenberg, we have, on their own humble petition, granted permission to those connected with our university to remove to Jena,⁵ and since it is reported to us that you are minded not to depart from Wittenberg, and

¹ Where he had gone on the visitation of the churches. Cf. *supra*, no. 767.² A lost letter.³ The illness described *supra* no. 765, and the spiritual depression which accompanied it.⁴ The Wittenberg printer (1495-1584), a close friend of Luther's, executor of his deed of trust leaving property to Catharine, Enders, xv, 333, often mentioned in letters and the table talk. 1550 he was councillor, 1563 burgomaster of Wittenberg, Enders, iv, 331.⁵ Because of the outbreak of the plague the university removed from Wittenberg

since for many reasons and for your own good we are not willing that you should separate yourself from the university at this time, especially as you know what is daily happening because of the Word of God and the Sacraments; therefore it is our gracious wish that you guide yourself accordingly and betake yourself to Jena with your wife and child, and, if you are so inclined, as we expect, and will so inform us, we shall arrange that you may be fittingly transported thither with your wife and child. This is our gracious will and we shall be pleased to have it carried out.

770. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, vi, 75.

WITTENBERG, August 19, 1527.

Grace and peace. I rejoice that you are restored to health,¹ and I give thanks to Christ our Lord. Pray for me, I beseech you, that I, too, may entirely recover, if it is the will of God our Saviour. Do not be disturbed by rumors about the visitation, for yesterday the Elector sent me the visitation acts,² that I might see them and decide whether they were worth publishing. They are fine, as you will see, if only they shall be carried out as determined upon. Let our opponents glory in lies,³ as is their wont, since they cannot console themselves with the truth.

A pestilence has broken out here, but it is rather mild. Still it is wonderful to see how men are terrified and put to flight. I have never before seen such a prodigy of Satanic power, so greatly is he terrifying everybody. Nay, he is glad that he can so frighten men's hearts and thus scatter and destroy this one university, which he hates above all others, not without reason. Nevertheless during the whole time of the plague there have not been more than eighteen deaths to date, counting

to Jena on August 15. A month later it moved again, this time to the little town of Schlieben, closer to Wittenberg, where it remained until the spring of 1528, when it returned to Wittenberg. Luther, however, remained in Wittenberg, and Melanchthon and others continued to live in Jena during the whole winter.

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 766.

² Apparently the first draft of the Visitation Articles, prepared by Melanchthon, and published March 22, 1528.

³ The "rumors" mentioned above. It was said that Luther and Melanchthon differed in their teaching, or that both of them were veering back toward Roman practices. Cf. Köstlin-Kawerau, ii, 29ff.

in all those that have died in the city—little girls, infants, and all taken together. In the fishermen's quarter it has raged more cruelly, but in our quarter there has not been a single death, though all those who die are buried there. To-day we buried the wife of Tilo Dene,¹ who died yesterday almost in my very arms, and this was the first death in the center of the city. The eighteen burials have been right around me here at the Elster gate. Among them was Barbara, the sister of your Eberhard's² wife, as you will please to tell Master Eberhard; the daughter of John Grüenberg³ has also died. Hans Luft is up again and has conquered the plague, and many others are recovering, if they use medicine; but many are so ignorant that they spurn medicine and so die needlessly. Justus Jonas' little son John has also died. He and his family have gone to his birthplace.⁴ I am staying here, and it is necessary that I do so because of the terrible fear among the common people. Bugenhagen and I are here alone with the deacons,⁵ but Christ is present too, that we may not be alone, and He will triumph in us over that old serpent, murderer and sin-maker, however much he may bruise His heel.⁶ Pray for us, and farewell.

Greet Master Eberhard⁷ and all our friends, and commend us to them. The fanatics have written against me,⁸ but I have not the books as yet; I wanted to send you Zwingli's second and fiercer letter⁹ to me, but it was not at hand.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Born 1465, schoolmaster at Wittenberg 1487-89, studied at Leipsic 1491-92, at Wittenberg 1502-03; he was burgomaster of Wittenberg seven times between 1504 and 1528; died November 29, 1545. He was married at least twice. *Vide, Aus Deutschlands kirchlicher Vergangenheit* (1912), pp. 81ff.

² Eberhard Brisger, at this time Spalatin's associate at Altenburg.

³ The well-known Wittenberg printer.

⁴ Nordhausen.

⁵ John Mantel and George Rörer. The latter's wife was a victim of the plague.

⁶ Genesis iii, 15.

⁷ Brisger, *cf.* n. 2.

⁸ Zwingli was greatly exasperated at the tone of Luther's pamphlet, *That the Words, This is my Body, still stand fast against the Ranting Spirits*, Smith, 242. He immediately composed a reply to it, with the title, *That the Words of Christ, This is my Body, still have the same old sense, and that Martin Luther with his last book has not proved his own and the Pope's Sense*. Schuler und Schulthess, ii, part ii, 16ff. It was published in June.

⁹ This letter is lost.

771. LUTHER TO JOHN AGRICOLA AT EISLEBEN.

Enders, vi, 78.

(WITTENBERG), August 21, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ. Thank you, dear Agricola, for the comfort you have given me in writing that your church is anxious about me and prays for me. May God also console you in time of trouble. Please do not stop comforting me and praying for me, because I am poor and needy. Not that the sacramentarians move me, for I have not yet read nor even seen their outbursts, and I hope, through Christ, that I may yet set at nought this devil. But Satan himself rages with his whole might within me, and the Lord has put me in his power like another Job. The devil tempts me with great infirmity of spirit, but through the prayers of the saints I am not left altogether in his hands, although the wounds he gives my heart will be hard to heal. I hope that my trial will profit many, although there is no punishment that my own sins do not deserve; and yet truly I know and can boast that I have purely and sincerely taught Christ's Word for the salvation of many, which is what enrages Satan and makes him wish to destroy me and the Word together. I suffer nothing from the power of tyrants, while others are killed and burned for Christ's sake; but truly for that reason I suffer more in spirit from the attacks of the prince of this world himself. In all things blessed be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who accomplishes His holy, good and pleasing will in me, but O God! how unsearchably! Amen.

Bugenhagen greets you, who is here alone with me and the deacons, Mantel¹ and Rörer,² and yet we are not alone, for

¹ John Mantel of Cottbus, formerly Celestine prior at Königstein, fled to Wittenberg 1523, married 1525, matriculated at the university April 17, 1528, in the winter of 1534-5 had a stroke of apoplexy, after which he was ill until his death, autumn of 1542. Enders, iv, 294, xii, 284f., ARG., xii, 161ff., *Aus Deutschlands kirchl. Vergangenheit* (1912), pp. 81ff.

² On Rörer *vide* *Realencyklopädie*, xxiv, ADB., Supplement. Many of his letters have been published in Buchwald's *Zur Wittenberger Stadt und Universitäts-Geschichte*, 1893, and in *Beiträge zur bayrischen Kirchengeschichte*, xix, 27ff., 1912. Rörer (1492-1557) studied at Leipsic, B.A. 1515, M.A. 1520. In 1522 he came to Wittenberg, and was ordained deacon May 14, 1525. In 1533 he was made librarian of the university. In 1551 he went to Denmark, in 1553 to Jena. In May, 1525, he married Johanna Bugenhagen, sister of John, who died of the plague November 2, 1527. On May 28, 1528, Rörer married again, Magdalene, a nun. He had several children. He was Luther's chief literary factotum and editor.

Christ is with us, and your prayers and those of all the saints, and holy angels, invisible but mighty. Christ's grace be with you. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

772. LUTHER TO ELSA VON CANITZ.¹

De Wette, iii, 170. German.²

WITTENBERG, August 22, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus. I have written to your aunt, Hanna von Plausig, asking her to send you to me for a time. I had intended to use you as a teacher for young girls, and thus by your means to set others an example in undertaking this work. You would live and board at my home and thus would run no risks and have no worries; therefore I now ask that you will not decline my invitation. I hear, too, that the evil one tempts you to melancholy. O my dear woman, do not let him terrify you, for whoever suffers from the devil here, will not suffer from him yonder; it is a good sign. Christ also suffered all this, and so did many holy prophets and apostles, as the Psalter shows. Therefore be of good cheer, and willingly endure this your Father's rod; He will relieve you of it in His own good time. If you come we shall talk further of this matter. God have you in His keeping. Amen.

773. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, vi, 88.

WITTENBERG, September 13, 1527.

Grace and peace. I am sending you herewith two copies,³ one for you and one for Eberhard,⁴ that you may see that our visitators have not received proper thanks from those who so slander them to you. I have purposely refrained from correcting some things, lest the work may appear to be my own fabrication.⁵ If our opponents glory in these statutes⁶ their glorying is not good and will not last long. Nay, for this very reason we are willing that they shall comfort them-

¹ Elsa von Canitz was one of the nuns who came to Luther in 1523 along with Catharine von Bora. At the time of this letter she was living, probably with relatives, in the neighborhood of Leipsic. Cf. *supra*, p. 180, n. 2.

² With mistaken date, "May 2." Cf. Enders, vi, 80, n. 4.

³ I.e., of the Visitation Articles.

⁴ Brisger.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, no. 776.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, no. 770.

selves with this false hope and joy (as has been their wont), and puff themselves up and boast; this ordinance pleases me well. For since the same customs have not hitherto obtained everywhere, but everyone did as he pleased, added and left off what he pleased, it was impossible to bring about uniformity except by adding something or leaving off something of somebody's customs; and since there is no one who can bear to have his own customs changed in any way, what wonder is it if complaints and criticisms have been made against the visitators? For they had to change some of those people's customs in order that the most important things might be best ordered. Read it, and I hope you will approve it, and then pray to the Lord for me, I beseech you, that He will beat down Satan under foot. Our plague is mild, scarcely a tenth as bad as is reported, and I hope in Christ that it is about to end entirely. Amen. In Him farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

774. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, vi, 95. German.

TORGAU, September 30, 1527.

Our greetings to you, reverend, learned, dear and pious sir. Since you and the pastor of Wittenberg¹ were recently here, on the invitation of our councillors, and went over and considered the matter of the visitation and decided that after the document had been rewritten it should be sent to you and Bugenhagen for further consideration, we therefore send it herewith. It is our gracious wish that you and the pastor will read over it and consider it once more with all diligence and will make note of and inform us of any additions or omissions. We shall then give further instructions, so that the matter may be completed and put in print.

Moreover, we graciously wish you to know that it has come to us that the papists are rejoicing somewhat over the fact that this Visitation Ordinance is to be issued as a manual for confession. For they will interpret this as though we were now falling away from our former doctrine and going back to their abuses. And although the matters contained in these parts of the Ordinance are not like the abuses which the papists

¹ Bugenhagen.

have hitherto practiced in their directions for confession, nevertheless we think it would be well if you had written something in which you explained the papists' directions for confession and the like, and showed how it differs from this Ordinance, so that their foolish talk might be restrained and their abuses refuted, and it might be shown that this Ordinance¹ is not at all like their views. This is our pleasure.

775. MELANCHTHON TO LUTHER.

Enders, vi, 97.

JENA, October 2, 1527.

Greeting. I have read a good part of Erasmus's recently published volume *On the Free Will*.² It is a long and confused discussion, and I see that not many of the common people will understand it. . . . Even if you intend to answer it, I hope you will not be in a hurry. But I hope you will not undertake a confutation of this work (for they do not readily understand these rivalries of words³ unless they are thoroughly trained in that kind of thing) but set forth your own opinion in a simple way. That would not be hard for you to do, and there would be less danger of bitter words if it were not a battle. I have touched on this same subject in my *Colossians*,⁴ and intend to go into it more fully in another writing, at the first opportunity. . . .

PHILIP.

776. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wete, iii, 211. German.

(WITTENBERG), October 12, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus, serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. Our pastor, John Bugenhagen, and I have read over the Visitation Acts and changed but few things in them, as your Grace will find indicated. For the whole thing pleases us greatly, because it is put in the simplest possible way for the common people. That our opponents might boast

¹ On this visitation see Smith, 233, and G. Berbig: *Akten der kursächsischen Visitationen von 1528-9 und 1535-6*. *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, xxi, 3, pp. 386-429, 1912. The Visitation Articles are conveniently found in Kidd, pp. 202ff.

² The second part of the *Hyperaspites*.

³ ἀντιπάλους λόγους

⁴ Melancthon's *Scholia* on the Epistle to the Colossians, published August, 1527.

that we are crawling back on the old paths¹ is not a matter for great concern. They will be quiet again. Anyone that undertakes anything for God's sake must leave the devil an open mouth to blab his lies against it, as I have had to do all along.

There is more need to beware lest our own people who are ill-disposed toward the preachers take occasion and authority from these articles to make them preach what they wish, as some have already tried to do in many places. Then, too, it is not possible to set everything in order at one time. The ordinance is nothing else than the sowing of the seed; when it springs up there will be so many weeds among it that there will be weeding enough to do. For it is one thing to make a law and quite another thing to keep the law that has been made. Ecclesiastes teaches us² that we must do what we can and not be negligent, and then let come what will, commending it to God. It is the same way, too, with temporal government. May Christ our Lord be with your Grace and bless him with long life and a good reign. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

777. LUTHER TO JUSTUS JONAS IN NORDHAUSEN.³

Enders, vi, 105.

(WITTENBERG), October 19, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ. I congratulate you, my good Jonas, on the recantation. At last you paint that Erasmus of yours in his true colors and recognize him as a viper with deadly stings, though you used formerly to speak of him in many terms of praise.⁴ I am glad that the reading of this one book, the *Hyperaspites*, has brought you so far and changed your opinion of him. When I read this part of your letter to my wife, she said immediately, "Hasn't the good man

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 774.

² Ecclesiastes xi, 6.

³ Whither he had gone in August after his child had died of the plague in Wittenberg. Cf. *supra*, no. 770.

⁴ Jonas had been a great admirer of Erasmus, but on October 17, 1527, he writes to Lang (Kawerau, i, 110), "They (*i.e.*, the papists) see that Erasmus, that old fox furnished with all the wiles and arts of the Greeks, has grown hot against Luther and is now working only to oppress him, not to convince him with proofs."

become venomous?"¹ Look at that! She, too, is glad that you agree with me about Erasmus. You are finding out, my dear Jonas, that they are right who say that no one ought to be praised before he dies. But enough of this.

The Lord has not yet restored me entirely to my former health, but in His good pleasure gives me over to a messenger of Satan² to smite me and tempt me; nevertheless the Lord does not cease to aid and protect me. Day before yesterday I had a severe attack of pain in the gums (as it seems) which tortured me fearfully at the beginning, but now it is somewhat easier. Therefore do not cease to pray to the Lord for us. Concerning our plague, know that in the hospitals there have not been more than fifteen deaths during the whole time, though almost a hundred cases have been taken there. Of forty patients whom Master Böhmer³ has had under his treatment only six have died. Thus in the midst of death the Lord, our Liberator and our Salvation, has been with us. With all our heart we pray the God and Father of mercies that He will remove this plague from us for the glory of His name, lest our enemies rejoice over us. Do you, too, pray without ceasing, especially since you see the fruits of prayer in the small number that have died out of the great number of those that have been ill. Farewell. Give your Dictator⁴ many kisses for me and my little Hans, who has learned to-day to bend his knees and defile all the corners; indeed, he goes to great trouble to do it in every corner. He would have had more commands for you if he had had time, for he has just had his bath and gone to bed. Do not wonder that I write you about defiling the corners; another time I shall write of other things. My Katie greets you, and asks you to pray for her, as she will soon be confined. May Christ be with her. One thing I wish you to know, that you may see that

¹ *Ist nicht der theur Manne zur Kröten worden.* Catharine may refer thus humorously to Jonas, or may be calling Erasmus "the great man who has become a toad."

² II Corinthians xii, 7.

³ A Wittenberg physician, referred to in letters of Baldwin and Rörer to Roth, Buchwald, 10, 48.

⁴ Text *Dictative*, whether a misreading for *Dictatorem* or a humorous form, I cannot say. The allusion is certainly to the dictatorial nature of Justus, junior (born December 3, 1525), who was later so arrogant that he used to despise his father and say that he ought to be the son of a great king and not of a theologian. Enders, xiv, 339. Even a child of 22 months can be a tyrant.

prayers are not in vain. Out of forty-eight patients Böhmer has lost only eight, and in the hospital there have been only fifteen deaths during the whole time of the plague, though more than a hundred cases have been treated there, including those who were taken there and those who went of themselves. Thus you see that Christ hears us when we pray. These things are certain and true. Hans Weber has now been five days speechless and his life is despaired of, but his Dorothea, who went down at the same time with less hope of recovery, has begun to improve and will live. Greet your Katie and all the rest.

MARTIN LUTHER.

778. LUTHER TO MELANCHTHON IN JENA.

Enders, vi, 108.

(WITTENBERG), October 27, 1527.

Grace and peace in the Lord. The lack of a messenger has kept this letter in hiding here, my dear Philip, until now it will be brought to you by Dr. George.¹ I am sorry that you suffer with colic, and pray to Christ with all my might that He will restore you and keep you well. For it is my earnest wish that you survive me, among these great disturbances in the Church, so that there will be some left who will oppose themselves as a wall for the house of Israel² against the inconceivable rage of Satan in this day of the fury of the Lord, Who is visiting our ingratitude upon us as it deserves. O Christ, what will the future be, when the beginning is so terrible?

Carlstadt has been away from his place³ for some months. He has gone to his own people, and it is thought that he is seeking a nest there. Truly he is going to his own place,⁴ for no kindness can recall him.

You write that somebody is chastising you because you have taught in your Visitation Articles that penitence begins with fear of God. Agricola has written me almost the very same thing, but I think little of this war of words, especially as it affects the common people. For the difference between fear

¹ Possibly George Major. Cf. De Wette-Seidemann, vi, 668.

² Ezekiel xxii, 30.

³ *I.e.*, from Kemberg, where he had been living under surveillance. Cf. *supra*, nos. 742, 743.

⁴ Cf. Acts i, 25.

of penalty and fear of God is easier to put in syllables and letters than to recognize in actual fact and in the state of one's own heart. All the wicked fear penalty and hell; but God helps His own to fear God and penalty at once. There can be in this life no fear of God without fear of penalty, just as there can be no spirit without flesh, even though the fear of penalty is of no account without fear of God. When we teach the fear of God, then, I believe, we are doing just what we do when we teach the freedom of the spirit. There are some who distort the latter into security of the flesh, and so there are some who distort the former into despair, that is into fear of penalty. Who can prevent them?

Christ is hearing our prayers and mercifully lightening our plague. We shall try to do what you ask, if your Visitation Articles are sent to us to be printed.

Pray for me, wretched and despised worm that I am, vexed with a spirit of sadness by the good will of the Father of mercies, to Whom be glory even in my wretchedness. My only glory is that I have taught God's Word purely and have not adulterated it because of any desire for glory or riches. I hope that He Who has made the beginning will be merciful even to the end, since I seek for nothing else and thirst for nothing else than a gracious God, and He offers Himself as such and asks to be received as such even by those who spurn Him and are His enemies. May Christ, Who has taught us to teach His Gospel, despite the rage of Satan, make us by His sure and free Spirit to believe this and confess it constantly in the midst of this wicked and perverse nation.

I believe Zwingli is worthy of holy hatred, so insolently and unworthily does he deal with the holy Word of God. The *Hyperaspites* I have not yet read; and why should I read it, who am Christ's sick man, and barely manage to keep alive, let alone do anything or write anything? Does God afflict me with all his floods?¹ They who should have mercy are killing the wounded man. God be merciful to them and turn their hearts. Amen.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Psalm lxxxviii, 7.

779. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, vi, 114.

(WITTENBERG), November 7, 1527.

Grace and peace in Christ. The visitation that has been undertaken will not be given up, so far as I know. Therefore we shall continue to have hopes of it, let our opponents say what they will. We hope that the plague here is coming to an end, though it is causing us all sorts of trouble. At times it is violent, at other times it becomes milder. Our fears are many, mine coming partly from my own trial,¹ partly from worry about my wife's approaching confinement. Do you pray for us. I have had the plague in my own house three times. My little son was so ill for more than a week that he ate nothing and took only liquid nourishment, and I despaired of his life; now he has begun to improve. For many months now I have been suffering from restlessness and faint-heartedness; it is Christ's will; pray for me that my faith fail not.² My Katie is sending a little money for the purchase of some linen; I did not want to bother you with it. Bugenhagen sends you his best regards; he is living with me now, not so much for his own sake—though in his own parish the wife of the deacon³ was carried off by the plague—as rather for mine, so that he can keep me company in my loneliness. My Katie, too, greets you, and commends herself to your prayers in Christ Jesus. Farewell, dear brother.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

780. LUTHER TO JUSTUS JONAS AT NORDHAUSEN.

Enders, vi, 116.

(WITTENBERG, November 11 ? 1527.)

Grace and peace in the Lord Jesus our Saviour. I thank you, dear Jonas, for your prayers and occasional letters. I suppose my letter of day before yesterday reached you. I have not yet read Erasmus or the sacramentarians except about three-quarters of Zwingli's book. Judases as they are they do well to stamp on my wretched self, making me feel as did Christ when He said: "He persecuted the poor and

¹ The continued illness, from which his recovery was slow.

² Luke xxii, 32.

³ Röer. His wife was a sister of Bugenhagen. Cf. Buchwald, *Wittenberger Briefe*, p. 14, n. 2.

needy man, that he might even slay the broken in heart." I bear God's wrath because I have sinned against Him. Pope, Emperor, princes, bishops, and the whole world hate and persecute me, nor is this enough, but my brothers, too, must add to my sorrows, and my sins and death and Satan, with his angels rage without ceasing. What could save and console me if Christ, too, should desert me, on Whose account they all hate me? But He will not leave the poor sinner at the end, though I believe that I am the least of all men. Would that Erasmus and the sacramentarians might feel the anguish of my heart for a quarter of an hour; I can safely say that they would be converted and saved thereby, but now my enemies are strong and live and add grief to my grief, and whom the Lord hath smitten they persecute. But enough of this, or I may be a complainer, impatient of the rod of God, who smites and heals, kills and makes alive, Who is blessed in His holy and perfect will. It must be that one whom the world and its prince thus hates is pleasing to Christ; if we were of the world, the world would love its own.

I am anxious about the delivery of my wife, so greatly has the example of the deacon's¹ wife terrified me, but He that is mighty hath done to me great things, and requires me, in turn, to bear great things. May my Christ, Whom I have purely taught and confessed, be my rock and my fortress. Amen. My little Hans cannot send his greetings to you on account of illness, but he looks for your prayers for him. It is twelve days since he has eaten any solid food, but now he begins to eat a little. It is wonderful to see how the baby tries to be strong and happy as usual, but cannot because he is so weak.

Margaret von Mochau² was operated on yesterday, and having thus let out the plague begins to convalesce. She is lodged in our usual winter room; we live in the great hall; little Hans has my bed-room and Augustine's³ wife his. We hope the pestilence is passing. Farewell, and kiss your little daugh-

¹ Rörer.

² Of Segrehna, a sister of Carlstadt's wife, perhaps. In July, 1528, she married George Major, Enders, vi, 314.

³ The physician, Augustine Schurff.

ter and embrace her mother, remembering us in your prayers. . . .

I should be sorry if Rome were burned, for it would be a great portent. I hope we may live together again and publish Ecclesiastes¹ before we die. I commend myself to your prayers. Christian² and his family had moved to Berlin, but the Margrave Joachim ordered him to quit his dominions the same day because of danger from the plague. Behold the wickedness of Satan and of men! We Wittenbergers are the hatred and the disgust and the fear of all men; as says the Psalm,³ "A reproach of men and despised of the people," but we are, as we hope, the joy and crown of angels and saints. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER, *Christi lutum*.⁴

781. ANTONY BIDEMARIO, CAPTAIN OF THE TOWN AND COMMUNITY OF VENZONE, TO JOHN MORO, LIEUTENANT OF THE FRIULI.

Brown, 1527-33, no. 1085.

VENZONE, November 15, 1527.

Have heard that at Saltzburg the bishop⁵ is burning, hanging and drowning divers persons for Lutheranism; he has 150 in prison, including priests, laymen and women; and he caused one of the principal priests in his service to be burned. He has also lately abrogated a corrupt practice, thus,—the male inhabitants of Saltzburg on meeting a married man would say to him, "Lend me thy wife for to-night, and to-morrow I will give her back to thee." Some assented from sheer goodwill, and some for hire. This abuse the bishop has determined utterly to extirpate. The writer spoke with persons come from Saltzburg who affirmed they had witnessed the burning of individuals for these irregularities, and that many of the inhabitants have made their escape; also that the Duke of Bavaria is doing the like in his duchy; adding, moreover, that the Archduke Ferdinand sent fifty halberdiers with a sheriff or provost to Wels near Lintz

¹ Luther had lectured on Ecclesiastes during 1526, but the lectures were still unpublished.

² Döring.

³ Psalm xxii, 6.

⁴ "Christ's mud," a pun on his own name.

⁵ Matthew Lang.

(where the late Emperor died) to frustrate and punish the Lutherans, but the people of Wels cut the halberdiers to pieces; which disturbances will greatly prejudice the affairs of the Archduke Ferdinand.

782. PAUL ARNDT TO STEPHEN ROTH AT ZWICKAU.

Buchwald, *Wittenberger Briefe*, 16. WITTENBERG, November 19, 1527.

. . . Your good wife¹ knows how the tavernkeepers here are faring these days. Even the brewers have beer in their cellars. The students, who should be drinking it, are away; so are the journeymen; the boothkeepers² should be drinking it, but people are everywhere discouraging the holding of the market and saying that they cannot sell their wares and cannot keep any help, so who is going to drink our beer? The peasants are buying their beer in the nearby hamlets, and the nobles brew their own and make their peasants buy it, so that there is no way to make a living here. God order it for the best! To be sure there have been only three deaths this week, thank God! and in the last three or four days none at all, but everybody is avoiding us poor folk and nobody is bringing anything into the town. A scheffel of flour costs five groschen,³ and the officials and the nobles have forbidden the peasants to use it; a goose costs two groschen. . . .

783. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK IN NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 121,

(WITTENBERG), November 22, 1527.

Grace and peace. Lo, I am breaking my silence, my dearest Wenzel; and what wonder that I am silent! By God's mercy I am alive and am well enough in body, but what I am or what

¹ Roth's wife was living in Wittenberg; cf. *infra*, no. 795.

² *I.e.*, the people who set up booths at the weekly market. The university had moved on account of the plague.

³ The difficulty of reducing this to our standards lies in the fact that the scheffel and gulden both varied. The Saxon scheffel, probably used here, is 104 litres. As a litre is rather more than seven-eighths of a quart, there would be about 36 litres to a bushel; a scheffel would, therefore, equal 2.9 bushels. The gulden used at this time in Saxony was worth 2.33 marks, or about 56 cents. A groschen was a twentieth part of a gulden, or about 2.8 cents. In other words, if wheat was 5 groschen a scheffel it would be about 5 cents a bushel. Luther mentions 3 groschen a scheffel as very cheap and 1 gulden as very high for wheat, Enders, xii, 127, xiv, 221. Money had at this time twenty times the purchasing power that it had in 1911, and twenty-five times that of 1917.

I do in spirit, I scarcely know myself. What the world does—the Pope, the Emperor, the kings—I care little. I sigh for Christ and His grace unto salvation. I certainly told my Wolfgang¹ to send you and Enderisch the books you wanted,² and have told him again to get them ready, though the fact that I must send this letter the same hour that I received yours may hinder him. I think, however, that I have sent you again the whole of Genesis,³ indeed, I am almost certain of it, but I am sending, or will send, another complete copy. I have almost finished Zechariah.⁴ I am answering the fanatics again with a confession of my faith.⁵ Satan is busy and wants to keep me from writing anything more, but rather to take me with him down to hell; may Christ trample him under foot. Amen. . . .

784. LUTHER TO JOHN BRENZ IN SWABIAN HALL.

Enders, vi, 124.

TORGAU, November 28, 1527.

John Brenz (1499-1570) became in later years the most important Lutheran theologian of South Germany. As early as 1518, while still a student at Heidelberg, he had met Luther and been won for the cause of reform. In 1522 he was obliged to leave Heidelberg and became pastor at Hall, in Württemberg, which came to be, under his leadership, the center of the reform-movement in South Germany. His *Kirchenordnung* for Hall (1526) is one of the earliest of the Lutheran Church Orders, and his Catechism (1527-28) is the first Protestant work of this nature, antedating Luther's own Catechisms by a year. In the controversies over the Lord's Supper and with the Anabaptists he was Luther's firm ally, and his *Syngramma Suevicum* is the first important work on the Lutheran side of the former controversy. He appeared with Luther at Marburg (1529), and with Melancthon at Augsburg (1530). His strict Lutheranism involved him deeply in the confessional controversies that followed Luther's death. Biographies by Hartmann and Jäger (2 vols.), 1840-42; J. Hartmann, 1862, and A. Hegler, 1899. Cf. also W. Köhler, *Bibliographia Brentiana* (in *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*), 1904. His letters edited by Pressel, *Anecdota Brentiana*, Tübingen, 1868.

¹ Wolf Sieberger, Luther's famulus.

² Cf. *supra*, no. 763.

³ The sermons on Genesis, preached 1523-24, and published 1527 (Weimar, xiv, 97ff).

⁴ It was published in January, 1528.

⁵ *Von Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis* (Weimar, xxvi, 261ff.). It was not published till February or March, 1528. Cf. Smith, 242f.; Köstlin-Kawerau, II, 98ff.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord. My beloved Spalatin has showed me your letter to him, and surely I have read it with joy, my dear Brenz, seeing the grace of God through Christ His Son, which dwells in you who faithfully keep and purely teach the Word of God in the midst of that wicked and perverse nation.¹ Blessed be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ Who permits me amidst the many ills by which I am surrounded, to see some brethren who are the true and legitimate seed of Israel; except for them there are nothing but furious and raging monsters everywhere. We have been cherishing Carlstadt in our bosom with all kindness in the hope that he might return to the true way; but the miserable man is more hardened every day, though cowardice compels him to be silent. He still holds fast even to his *Touto*,² though it is repudiated even by his own friends. So great is God's wrath if one once assails His Word. I pray Christ to keep you and your brethren with us in His own purity and simplicity until the day of His glory. Amen.

Your Spalatin has got this letter out of me (though I was quite willing to write it) in order that I might make your acquaintance, if only by writing letters, for by the grace of God we are already of one spirit and one mind. Do you and your brethren pray that Christ may make this joy full and permanent in us. Bugenhagen sends you greetings. He is my only companion, since all the rest have fled because of the plague. Commend us, and especially me, a miserable sinner, to your church, for Satan has been let loose upon me and is trying in secret to take Christ from me, now that he sees that he can take nothing from me publicly, as regards the profession of the Word. I wonder what sort of man Zwingli is. He is ignorant of grammar and logic, to say nothing of the other arts, and yet he ventures to boast of victories. That kind of glory hastens quickly to confusion. Farewell to you, my dearest joy and my crown in Christ our Master and Lord, and to all the brethren.

Very sincerely your brother,

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹A reference to the prevalence of Zwinglian views in South Germany.

²*I.e.*, his interpretation of the Words of Institution of the Lord's Supper, *supra*, no. 728.

785. LUTHER TO JUSTUS JONAS AT NORDHAUSEN.

Enders, vi, 145.

(WITTENBERG), December 10, 1527.

Grace and peace. At this very hour of ten I came home from my lecture¹ and got your letter. I had only read ten lines of it when at that very moment I was told that my Katie had a little daughter.² Glory and praise to the Father in heaven! Amen. The mother is well, but weak. Little Hans, too, is well and happy. The wife of Augustine³ is recovering, and Margaret von Mochau has unexpectedly escaped death. In their stead we have given up the five pigs that I have lost. May Christ our comforter make the plague content with this tribute and cease. My own condition is just what it has been; like the Apostle, "As dying, behold I live."⁴ . . .

Our much talked of dissension at Torgau⁵ amounted to scarcely anything. There was nothing before us except what you have already got from Agricola,⁶ and it was quickly settled and we all came to complete agreement. The whole of the Visitation Articles will now be printed soon. The greatest thing we did was to lay the cost on the Elector, but the best thing we did was to bury the rumor or suspicion of disagreement, thanks and glory to God. The reason why I did not write you anything about this tragedy was that there was nothing in it, and I held it in contempt. . . .

You may say that I had thought of writing Duke George a letter of sympathy, for I was very indignant that the name of their own prince should be so shamelessly abused by those who live under his shadow. If they were not willing to spare their own prince, they ought at least to have had some regard for the honor of the Saxon name and for the nation. It affords me no pleasure, but rather moves me to anger, that the

¹ Though the university had moved away from Wittenberg, Luther was continuing to lecture to the small number of students who remained in the city.

² This was Luther's second child, Elizabeth, who died the next year. Cf. *infra*, no. 802.

³ Augustine Schurff.

⁴ II Corinthians vi, 9.

⁵ Agricola had taken exception to some of the statements in the Visitation Articles, which Melancthon had prepared (cf. *supra*, nos. 774, 776), and Luther and Bugenhagen had been called to Torgau, November 26, to settle the dispute.

⁶ Who was the chief cause of the "dissension."

name of a prince, even though he is my enemy, should be so basely and foully polluted with the eternal ignominy of that Preface.¹ But now that Emser is dead² and Prince George himself is ill, I have changed my mind.

The deacon John³ intends to leave your house and move back into the parish. Bugenhagen will await his wife's confinement at my home. The students are returning little by little. Dr. Jerome⁴ expects to arrive at Christmas if the plague shall be as it now is. May Christ gather us together again in one. Amen. Marriages are becoming more frequent here; in the fishermen's quarter⁵ nothing has been heard of pestilence or death for almost two months. The Lord keep you and return you to us shortly with all of yours. Give greetings to little Justus⁶ and his mother, to whom I am writing. The grace of God be with you. Amen.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

It is reported here that the Emperor has concluded a peace with the Pope and the Frenchman, in which both the Englishman and the Venetians are thought to be included;⁷ also that the Turk is preparing a great expedition, though it is uncertain whether against Apulia or Hungary; if against Hungary, it will certainly strike Germany with fear and drive Ferdinand to flight.

¹ Duke George's Preface to Emser's translation of the New Testament. The date of the preface is August 1, 1527. Text in Walch,² xix, 494ff. In the passage above Luther insinuates that the duke did not write it himself, but that it is the work of his subject and theological adviser, Emser, who has slandered the duke by ascribing it to him.

² Emser died November 8.

³ Mantel.

⁴ Schurff.

⁵ Where the plague had been most severe.

⁶ Justus Jonas junior (December 3, 1525-1567), studied at Wittenberg, B.A. 1539, M.A. 1544. He studied law and entered the service of Duke Albert of Mecklenburg in 1557. He was then employed by the Elector August of Saxony, and suspected of disloyalty. In 1566 he was sent to Sweden to make a league between that country and Saxony against Denmark, but, the ship being forced into a Danish harbor by a storm, was there captured and beheaded. His arrogance as a youth made his father much trouble. Cf. *supra*, no. 777. ADB.

⁷ After the second sacking of Rome (September, 1527) the Emperor offered terms of peace, which were accepted on November 26, but afterwards repudiated by the Pope. It was doubtless the report of these negotiations that had come to Wittenberg.

786. LUTHER TO GERARD WILSKAMP¹ AT HERFORD.

Enders, vi 173.

(WITTENBERG), January 1, 1528.

Grace and peace. I received your last letters of condolence, my dear Gerard, with great joy and gratitude; may Christ repay you. It is true that this trial² is the worst I have ever had, and though I have had similar experiences ever since my youth, I had not expected that it would become so much worse now. So far Christ has triumphed, but He holds me by a very slender thread.³ I commend myself to your prayers and those of your brethren; I have saved others, myself I cannot save. Blessed be my Christ, even amid despair, death and blasphemy! May He grant us to see one another in His kingdom! Meanwhile we are sure that what we have built, by word or deed, is His; but we are not justified thereby, nay, we are unprofitable servants, except that we have lived even in this world according to Christ's will and have forgotten our former evil way of life; it remains for Christ to be our life and righteousness, and oh! how hard it is, and repugnant to the flesh and always hid in God. . . .

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

787. JUSTUS JONAS TO LUTHER.

Enders, vi, 175

Kawerau, i, 112.

NORDHAUSEN, January 3 (?) 1528.

Greeting and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord. I envy this letter, my beloved father in the Lord, because it will reach you before I shall. I had made up my mind to put an end to my long desire and see you within a week, but when I was all ready to start I was detained and delayed by necessary matters, of which you will hear when I see you, for they will not detain or delay me much longer. I will bid farewell to all the pleasures that my native place can ever hold in order to see you again and hear you talking about that fatherland

¹ Of whom we know little except that he preached in Herford from 1518 till his death in 1542, and was imprisoned for a time, in 1525, for his Lutheran views.

² *I.e.*, his illness of 1527.

³ Following the St. Louis editors (Walch,² xxia, 1058), we read *filio* for Enders's *facto*.

of which the man in Hebrews talks so confidently and so splendidly. I find that the men who seriously look for good things to come are different from those who live only for the day, not only in their doctrine and their public utterances, but in their other conversation too. . . .

The contention between Philip and Agricola¹ grieved me deeply, because I knew that it would be distasteful to you and add to your already heavy trials, which we, your disciples, ought to lessen, not increase. . . . In this church at Nordhausen there is, by God's grace, a marvelous silence about the sacramentarians, nor has the poison of the Anabaptists reached this far as yet. . . . I am rejoiced to hear that you have a little daughter. You write that you wish I would come to you, if only for the sake of going for a walk; there has not been a month since I have been here that I have not intended to get on horseback and come to you, but every month the stone² has prostrated me and kept me back; only this last month I have had such relief that I hope I am permanently freed from it by the mighty hand of the Lord, for I am in the best of health, and, God willing, I shall be with you in two or three weeks at the latest. . . .

I am glad to hear that your little son John is well and strong and active, and runs around and chatters, and is the joy of his parents. I am sending him as a New Year's present a silver John, that he may have a little gift from Jonas and a token of the love I bear to him and his father. . . . My son sends greetings to your daughter, his future wife.

Your

JONAS.

788. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 256. German.³

(WITTENBERG), January 16, 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene and highborn Prince, gracious Lord. Concerning the Zwinglian views of Hans Mohr⁴ at Coburg, I submit to your Grace the following

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 426, n. 5.

² *I.e.*, renal calculus, from which Luther and Spalatin, as well as Jonas, were chronic sufferers.

³ With the mistaken date "January 9," cf. Enders, vi, 195, n. 1.

⁴ John Mohr was captain at the Elector's castle at Coburg. He was accused of

humble opinion. In the first place, since the said Hans Mohr has no call to speak of these things publicly, and yet is worse than others because no one asks him or compels him to testify to his faith, he ought to refrain from speaking of these things in the presence of simple-minded folk until he is forced to do so. In the second place, since he is not and cannot be certain about the matter he ought not, even according to the divine law in I Peter iii, to talk about it to anyone, learned or unlearned, thinking that he is certain about it; but if he will not be silent, let him speak to the preacher or the pastor. Let him hear them and ask them questions, and let them be the first to understand the reason for his opinions and deal with him as becomes Christians. In the third place, since he blasphemes our faith with evident lies when he says that we make the Creator out of the creature, he has deserved to be sentenced to perpetual silence, for he plainly shows that he understands neither our faith nor his own and wishes, out of mere wantonness and ignorance, to satisfy his own desire for blasphemy and to stir up the poor common people to like lies and blasphemies. For we do not say that the creature is made the Creator when we say that Christ's body is in the Lord's Supper, or is the bread. He does not wish to know that we do not make bread and body one thing with one single nature, but only say that bread and body are both there. But to blaspheme is the way of all fanatics. Even if one were to say that the creature has become the Creator (which we do not), it would not be altogether false, for we all believe that God is man and man is God in Christ; yet man is a creature and God the Creator. Such a manner of speech among Christians is, therefore, not so horrible as they blasphemously say. If they go on still farther, it will be false at last that God is man. This blasphemy and lying, then, ought to be reason enough for muzzling him, for it gives us reason to believe that he would rather lie and blaspheme than tell the truth. This is

denying the real presence, and Melanchthon wrote against him to Balthasar Thüring, pastor at Coburg, November 18, 1527, CR., i, 909. The Elector asked Luther's opinion in a letter, Enders, vi, 194. Mohr lost his place. From 1534 to 1540 he was under-bailiff at Herrenberg; in 1542 a soldier in the service of Württemberg. Clemen: *Beiträge*, ii, 44, iii, 106.

the verdict that I humbly recommend your Grace to find. God have your Grace in His keeping.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

789. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN IN ZWICKAU.

Enders, vi, 217.

(WITTENBERG), February 25,¹ 1528.

Grace and peace. The edition of the Visitation Articles is not yet finished, my dear Nicholas, as the printers have put it off for lack of paper; it will be finished about Laetare.² . . . There is no news here except the terrible threats of the priests, who have great hopes of the assembly soon to be held at Ratisbon. Do you and your church pray diligently for the princes of Germany, that God may at last give them grace, so that they may not always spend money in vain on their meetings, but may sometime give a thought to peace and justice, as they ought. We have seen many diets recently, and have not observed any fruit of them, for God has deserted them and us, and the devil and his angels have hindered all progress. Farewell in the Lord, and greet Paul your evangelist³ in the Lord together with all the brethren.

MARTIN LUTHER.

790. LUTHER TO GABRIEL ZWILLING IN TORGAU.

Enders, vi, 222.

WITTENBERG, March 7, 1528.

Grace and peace. I am glad to hear what you write concerning the Venetians, my dear Gabriel, that they have received the Word of God.⁴ Thanks and glory to God. Do not let the spoons⁵ at Torgau disturb you; I have heard for certain,

¹ This letter is dated by Enders March 2. We have followed the dating of the St. Louis editors (Walch,² xxia, 1107). The question is whether Luther's *altera post Matthiae* means "the day after" or "the Monday after" St. Mathias' Day.

² The fourth Sunday in Lent. The Articles actually appeared March 22.

³ Paul Lindenau, born in Chemnitz 1489, student at Leipsic after 1505. From 1523 Hausmann's associate in the Church of our Lady in Zwickau, where he was more than once in trouble with city authorities because of the lack of tact and moderation in his advocacy of church reforms. In 1529 he became pastor at Elsterberg. In 1540 he was one of those who reformed the church at Sagan.

⁴ On the efforts to introduce the Reformation in Venice, *vide* Benrath, *Reformation in Venedig*, Halle, 1887 (*Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*, no. 18). C. Hare: *Men and Women of the Italian Reformation* (1913).

⁵ *Cochlearia* can mean only "spoons." The meaning, which has puzzled other

and I believe it, that there are more fire-places in Venice than there are spoons even in Erfurt, for many houses have ten, twenty, thirty or more fire-places.

I report to you again that Brunswick,¹ too, has received the Word, and the city council and people have written asking for our Bugenhagen; their request has been denied, however; perhaps they will ask for someone else. May Christ make His glory to increase! At Halle, again, on Ashwednesday, the chaplain of the nuns was stricken with sudden death because when the sacrament was given to the knight von Selwitz,² he said it was a "pocket-god" that was given him.³ But not even these things move the raging blasphemers. The disputation at Berne⁴ in Switzerland has come to an end. Nothing was done except that the mass has been abrogated and the boys in the streets sing about how they have been freed from a baked God.⁵ Zwingli was conducted there and back by a thousand men, a proud and imperial triumph; his end, which is perdition and confusion, will quickly come; only let us be diligent in prayer. Give my greetings to Sebastian Kammer-

readers, is surely as follows: Torgau was one of the seats of the electoral court, and a place where there was great luxury, which Luther often bemoaned, *Colloquia*, ed. Bindseil, i, 339, iii, 103. Indeed, he derived the name Torgau from *teuerei* or "dearness," *ibid.*, iii, 102. One sign of this luxury was the silver or gold utensils, among them the spoons of an elaborate nature, such as are now shown in the Saxon palace at Dresden. This worried the simple Zwillling, but Luther consoles him by saying that there are signs of even greater luxury in Venice. Fire-places (*caminus* in the sense of the French *cheminée*) were a luxury then as they were the only means of heating, except stoves. But at Venice, says Luther, there are more fire-places than there are spoons even at Erfurt. Erfurt passed for the largest and wealthiest town of Germany. W. Köhler: *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, ed. Pflugk-Hartung, 1912, p. 347, gave it 32,000 inhabitants in 1505. A chronicler of 1572 called it the largest city in Germany. *Mitteilungen des Vereins für anhaltische Geschichte*, x, 61.

¹ The first attempts to introduce the Reformation in Brunswick were made in 1524, but failed of immediate success because of the opposition of the city council. In 1527, however, the council yielded to the increasing demand for evangelical preaching, and sent to the Wittenberg University, then located at Jena, for a preacher. The Wittenbergers sent Heinrich Winkel, but his work proving unsatisfactory, they now sent again to Wittenberg asking this time for Bugenhagen.

² Friedemann von Selmnitz (?), *cf.* Enders, vi, 223, n. 5.

³ This was the second case of the sort which had come to Luther's ears; the first was that of Dr. John Krause, also of Halle (Enders, vi, 143f. and 147, n. 9).

⁴ Held in January, 1528. *Vide* Jackson, *Zwingli*, 280ff., Stähelin, *Zwingli*, ii, 333ff.

⁵ Oecolampadius's "Reasonable Answer" (*Billiche Antwort J. Ecolampadij auf Dr. Martin Luthers Bericht des sacraments halb*, 1526, copy at Union Seminary) speaks of the doctrine of the real presence as making God "a baked God" and "a bread God." Luther naturally took this very ill. See *Conversations with Luther*, translated by Smith and Gallinger, 1915, pp. 14f.

meister, and tell him I got what he sent. Farewell to you and all of yours. Greet your deacons and tell them to ask me for the books they want.

MARTIN LUTHER.

791. LUTHER TO WILLIAM PRAVEST AT KIEL.

Enders, vi, 225.

(WITTENBERG), March 14, 1528.

Pravest, a former Austin friar of Bordesholm, since 1526 pastor at Kiel, wrote Luther February 21. He soon after returned to Catholicism, and published lampoons on Luther. Enders, vi, 210f.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I know, dear brother in Christ, that several scandals are fathered on the evangelical teaching, and that all of them are imputed to me, but what can I do? All the sectaries think they are a hundred times wiser than I, and do not listen to me; I am more at war with them than with the Pope, and they do more harm. I condemn no ceremonies whatever save those which are repugnant to the Gospel; all others I preserve entire in my own church. The service for baptism remains the same, except that it is celebrated in the vernacular. Nay, more, I allow such images in my church as were not broken by the fanatics before my return from the Wartburg. In like manner we celebrate mass with the wonted vestments and rites, except that we insert some German hymns in the service and use the vernacular in the words of consecration; but I would by no means entirely abolish the Latin mass except under compulsion. In short, I hate none more than those who root out free and innocent forms and turn our liberty into bondage. If you read my books you must grant that I was never pleased with those disturbers of the peace who destroy without cause what might remain without offence. I am innocent of their fury and tumult. Here, by God's grace, we have a peaceful, quiet church, a free, united temple, as it has always been except when disturbed by Carlstadt. Beware of Melchior Hoffmann,¹

¹ Melchior Hoffmann, born at Swabian Hall in Württemberg in the last years of the 15th century, died about 1543, a mystic and Anabaptist. An uneducated but fervent lay-preacher, he began his career in Livonia. Driven from place to place, he came to Stockholm in 1526, and there published a commentary on Daniel XII with chiliastic ideas, setting the end of the world in 1533. In 1527 he went to Holstein. On April 8, 1529, at Flensburg, in the presence of the King of Denmark and other dignitaries, Hoffmann and the Anabaptists maintained that all who

and see that the magistrates do not allow him to preach, even if he shows letters from the King of Denmark; he left us in a tantrum because we would not approve of his wild dreams. He has no ability nor calling to teach. Say this to all from me, that they may shun him and compel him to keep silence. Farewell, pray for me and commend me to the brethren.

MARTIN LUTHER, with his own hand.

792. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 233.

(WITTENBERG or TORGAU)¹ March 28, 1528.

Grace and peace. I gave John Hoffmann² copies of the work against the sacramentarians,³ to be divided among you; the Lord grant that they may bear fruit in many hearts. I have determined to let those empty talkers alone, and to stop writing against them, because I see that they are ruled by such dense ignorance of logic that it is impossible, even if their error concerned only the things of nature, either to teach them anything or to bring them to the point where they can be refuted. For there can be neither instruction nor argumentation without dialectic, even though it is only the dialectic of nature, and of this art Zwingli is so destitute that he might be compared to an ass.

There is no news here except that the bishops are said to be breathing wars and slaughter and that the fool at Meissen⁴ is burning with threats, as is his wont. In your preaching do

believed that the body of Christ was really in the Eucharist were false prophets. Bugenhagen upheld the Lutheran view (*Acta der Disputation zu Flensburg die sache des Hochwirdigen Sacraments betreffend*, Wittenberg, 1529. Copy at Union Seminary). For this he was banished. In all probability he then went to Italy and Spain, a fact never before noticed, but virtually proved by the records of the Inquisition at Valencia, Spain. In 1529 it is there stated that a certain "Melchior de Württemberg" came to Valencia from Naples, preached that the world would be drowned in blood in three years (as did Hoffmann), and said that he had visited Luther to see if the truth was in him but had found that it was not. He was scourged and let go. H. C. Lea: *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, iii, 1907, p. 422 (the identification is not made by Lea). The next three years we find him at Strassburg and in Holland. In 1533 he was arrested at Strassburg and kept in prison until his death. His followers, the Melchiorites, were quite numerous. ADB., *Realencyklopädie*.

¹ On March 28 Luther left Torgau for Wittenberg, from which place probably this letter was written.

² Formerly pastor at Schwabach, at this time studying at Wittenberg, where he took his master's degree September 15, 1528.

³ The *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntniss*.

⁴ Duke George.

you exhort the people to pray that Christ may tread Satan under foot, for like a savage and hungry lion he is roaring for our blood. The margravine¹ has fled from Berlin to our Elector, aided by her brother, the King of Denmark, because the margrave had determined (so it is said) to immure her on account of her having received the eucharist in both kinds. Pray for our Elector. *The good and kindly man is sorely plagued,*² and deserves that we aid him with our prayers. Farewell, with your wife and children.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

793. LUTHER TO GREGORY BRÜCK, CHANCELLOR OF
ELECTORAL SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 319. German.

Enders, vi, 231.

(TORGAU), March 28, 1528

In February, 1528, Otto Von Pack, Vice-Chancellor of Ducal Saxony, communicated to Philip of Hesse the news of a secret alliance of Catholic princes, alleged to have been formed at Breslau in May, 1527, for the purpose of putting down the Reformation by force of arms. The parties to the alleged agreement were Ferdinand, Duke George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg, and the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg. On February 18, Pack laid before the Landgrave what purported to be a copy of the original agreement among these princes. He promised to furnish the original for 4000 gulden.

Believing the document to be genuine, Philip at once laid the matter before the Elector of Saxony and his son, and on March 9, 1528, they agreed upon terms for a counter alliance into which they hoped to draw other of the Protestant princes. Philip was anxious to take the offensive and strike the first blow, but the Elector desired first to lay the matter before his theologians. On March 26 he summoned Luther to Torgau, where Luther prepared the opinion here given. The contents were communicated to Philip, who replied to it April 11. When the matter became known to the Catholic princes they denounced Pack's alleged revelations as lies and his documents as forgeries. Philip caused the latter's arrest, and secured from him finally a confession that the documents were false. Despite his confession and the protestations of the Catholic princes, Luther continued to believe that the league against the Protestants had really existed. Cf. Köstlin-

¹ Elizabeth, wife of Joachim of Brandenburg and sister of the exiled Christian II of Denmark. She left Berlin March 24 to escape the anger of her husband, because at Easter, 1527, she had received the sacrament in both kinds. He had given her a year in which to repent.

² These words in German.

Kawerau,¹ ii, 111ff.; Smith, 224, and literature 461; Walch,² xix, 17ff.; ARG., i, 172ff.

Reverend and learned Lord Chancellor. According to the command of my gracious Lord, given me yesterday, I send you here my opinion in writing.

First, in order that my gracious Lord may have a good conscience toward the outrages of the opposing princes, in case it shall be necessary for him to defend himself, it is to be remembered—and no one can deny it—that his Grace, as an Elector of the empire, has no overlord with the right and authority to punish him or pass judgment on him, save only his Imperial Majesty alone. All the other princes and kings are either his equals or his inferiors, and have no power or authority over his Grace.

Second, it is his Grace's duty to protect his subjects against such other princes and so conduct his administration that, as St. Paul teaches in Romans xiii, the temporal power may be God's servant to punish the evil and protect the good. For if it is his duty to protect them against one murderer or murderers of low rank, it is also his duty to protect them against many and great murderers. For there is no difference among murderers, whether they are princes or tramps.

Third, if these murdering princes pretend to attack his Grace at the command of his Imperial Majesty, his Grace's conscience may be guided as follows: First, his Grace is not obliged to believe or receive any such commandment, but to interpret it as a false, wicked and seditious trick, because his Imperial Majesty has promised to be a gracious Lord to his Grace, and to take no measures against him without first notifying him; I hear that this is the reply that has come from Spain. His Grace must firmly and faithfully stand upon this promise of his Imperial Majesty, as he is bound to hold his Imperial Majesty a true and honest man, and not be turned away from it by any commandment until his Imperial Majesty himself revokes the promise. For his Grace is in duty bound to believe his Imperial Majesty himself more than all princes, and especially more than such suspicious enemies, no matter how they boast about commands.

In the second place, it is a fact, and there can be no doubt

about it, that the plan of these princely enemies has been made without the knowledge, will or commandment of his Imperial Majesty, because they themselves testify that they will not produce the imperial mandate until after their plans have been made; by which we must perceive that their undertaking is neither by human nor divine ordinance, but comes only from an envious, rebellious, wicked source, and they wish to use his Imperial Majesty only as a cloak. All true and good subjects of his Imperial Majesty ought to take ground against them; for they are not discharging a duty to his Imperial Majesty, but his Imperial Majesty is to be the pretext for their wicked undertaking.

In the third place, it is a matter of common knowledge throughout the empire that the decree published at Worms¹ was not concurred in by the Estates of the Empire, but was even protested against by the highest and most important Estates, so that it is to be regarded without doubt as the decree of the mob of priests and not of the Emperor or the empire. It was afterwards suspended at Nuremberg,² and at Spire³ it was resolved to request that it be suspended by imperial decree as well. Therefore, when the rebellious princes take their stand upon this edict, it is done out of sheer malice and merely as a pretence, the emptiness of which is apparent to all the world. Therefore, any mandate which can be produced, based on this invalid decree, may, beyond all doubt and with a good conscience before God and the world, be held as false and as one that his Imperial Majesty has not issued and cannot and will not issue, and everything that the rebellious princes do on such a pretext is to be regarded as a real rebellion and revolt against his Imperial Majesty. It is not only not to be obeyed, but it is to be resisted every way, before God and the world.

In the fourth place, there remains the right of appeal and protest, which can be entered if necessity demands (which may God forbid!) with every advantage to his Grace and with every disadvantage to the rebellious priests and princes, who

¹ The Edict of Worms of 1521.

² At the Second Diet, 1523.

³ At the Diet, August 27, 1526. The "Recess" in Kidd, 185; Smith, 221.

are deceiving his Imperial Majesty and disturbing the whole empire. Necessity and right will decide this. Meanwhile much water will run by the mill, and the one night allowed for appeal will become a year, if God will. But we hope and will pray, because God has given us His Word, that it will not come to this.

But to attack these princes and to anticipate them in the war, is not at all to be advised, but rather most of all to be avoided. For the Word of God says,¹ "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword." In this case we have no command to use the sword, for the guilt and the deeds of our opponents are not yet proved and have not yet come to light, and, besides, the hostile princes are not subject to our Lord's authority. That would be to punish, nay, wickedly to attack men who had committed no overt act and had not been convicted. They would gain from it not only the advantage of appearing to be wronged, but they would actually get the right to defend themselves as of necessity against those who, without imperial command, were lawlessly attacking the innocent. For God can still prevent them from carrying out their secret plans. But if they were to make the attack, then it could no longer be prevented, and the matter would proceed aright. For it is our confidence and consolation that the enemy will be the rebels and attack my lord without regard to process of law and to his rights and without first giving him a hearing; but they would have this same thing to rely on if they were attacked and forced to self-defence without previous process of law, as innocent men who had as yet done nothing. God keep us from this abominable deed! That would indeed be fishing for the hook and using might for right. No greater shame could be put upon the Gospel, for out of it would come not a Peasants' War,² but a Princes' War, which would utterly destroy Germany; and this Satan would be glad to see.

But if my gracious lord the Landgrave is not willing to follow this advice, but wishes to proceed, then my gracious lord is not bound to keep the agreement, for we must obey God rather than men. All agreements must be subject to God's will and to the law and must neither do nor undertake any-

¹ Matthew xxvi, 52.

² *I.e.*, like that of 1525.

thing to the contrary. But if my gracious lord the Landgrave, or they of Magdeburg,¹ were attacked, then my gracious lord is bound by the terms of the agreement to aid them as though it were his Grace himself that was attacked, for it is God's will that men keep faith.

794. THE LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSE'S REPLY TO
LUTHER'S OPINION.²

Enders, vi, 238.

CASSEL, April 11, 1528.

This letter did not move Luther from his previous opinion, which is repeated substantially in the advice given by him and Melanchthon in April (Erlangen, liii, 450). Philip's "foolish idea" was carried out, however, at least in part. His letter of May 17, to Duke George (Walch,³ xvi, 380ff.), called forth an indignant denial of the whole plot (*ibid.*, 382ff.) and led to the final settlement of the matter.

I have heard Luther's advice and the first part of it pleases me well, but I observe that Dr. Martin is not sufficiently instructed about the case when he says that it is not yet fully known and proved. On this point it is necessary only to refer to the report of the whole matter and to say that I have seen it and read it, and also hope, God willing, to get the original into my possession. For this reason Dr. Martin can be assured that the case is certain; and also for another reason. Why should I presume to bring such a charge against a man who is my close friend, because of my sister and his daughter,³ unless I certainly knew the truth? For I must confess that he has been of far more help to me than has the Elector. But I am moved thereto by God's Word, which I would not willingly see quenched, for if their plans are carried out it will not only be quenched, but suppressed; all good people, too, would be hanged for it, drowned, driven out of the country; their property would be taken, the books would be destroyed, the preachers would be displaced, and what more shall I say? Wives and children would be put to shame, idolatry and the

¹ It was reported that the city of Magdeburg had been placed under the ban of the empire, and that Joachim of Brandenburg and George of Saxony had been appointed executors of the decree.

² Contained in the document addressed to the Chancellor Brück (*supra*, no. 793).

³ Duke George, whose son John was the husband of Philip's sister, and whose daughter Christine was Philip's wife.

devil's preaching re-established, the poor-funds robbed, maids and matrons ruined.

Now comes the question whether we are to let this come upon us, or, by God's help, to prevent it as best we may. Doctor Martin has given it as his opinion that we have the authority and right to protect our subjects; and that is true. But I would kindly inquire of Martin whether it is better that we let the house catch fire and then put it out, or prevent the fire and keep it from burning. Again I ask, if a child were about to fall into the fire or into the water, whether the mother ought to pray until the child falls into the fire, or hold it so that it does not fall. Now, I suppose that Martin will answer easily, and perhaps he will laugh at my questions. But if he will remember the consequences that may follow, and how the existence of land and people, body and soul, is at stake, he will, without doubt, advise correctly in this matter.

In the third place, I say: Since it is certain that the authorities are in duty bound to protect their subjects against any misuse of power, and one brother is bound to help another, if he sees him in danger of his life, therefore I ask whether I am to protect my subjects living or dead, in exile or before they are driven away. If I am to protect them after they are dead, then my protection is of no use to them. . . . I know very well that all this is reason and human planning; but he must also confess that God has given us our reasoning faculty in order that we may use it for the good of our subjects. If in temporal matters we were not to make use of human plans, provided they are not contrary to the will of God, what need would we have for the universities, where a great deal of reason is taught that is not contained in God's Word. Even Luther's own advice is not entirely without reason and worldly wisdom. He will say that we must trust God. That is true; why not? I certainly hold that God knows those who trust Him. Therefore we must not boast about it, or there is danger that we may deceive ourselves. But it is also written, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."

. . . It would be my own foolish idea, though I do not wish to urge it, that before the attack is made, the King¹ and each

¹ Ferdinand.

of his allies should be notified that their alliance has become certainly known, and because their agreement is against God, law, nature and all fairness, because, too, God, law and nature make it our duty to protect our subjects against violence, and not to allow ourselves to be forced away from God's Word; therefore it would be our desire that they should come at a certain time to a place that could be named and come to agreement with us about the matter, give pledges that they will give up the project and undertake no other of the same sort, leave everyone free to preach the Gospel and indemnify us in the amount of the expense to which they have unfairly put us, the amount to be set down in the presence of their representatives, and certified to them; if they would not do this we would be compelled to defend our subjects, friends and brethren against such a misuse of force; our honor would demand that we should not leave them in ignorance of this last. . . .

795. LUTHER AND BUGENHAGEN TO STEPHEN ROTH AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vi, 245.

(WITTENBERG), April 12, 1528.

Stephen Roth (born 1492) had been rector of the schools at Zwickau (1517) and Joachimsthal (1520). He came to Wittenberg in the fall of 1523 and remained there until 1528, occupying himself with the translating and editing of writings of Luther and Bugenhagen. In 1528 he was appointed town-clerk (*Stadtschreiber*) of Zwickau. He had married (1524) a Wittenberg lady by the name of Ursula Krüger, who left him at Zwickau and returned to Wittenberg. Life by G. Müller in *Beiträge zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte*, 11ff., 1, 1882, 43ff. Many letters to him, 1521-46, published by Buchwald: *Zur Wittenberger Stadt- und Universitäts-Geschichte*, 1893.

Grace and peace in Christ, and authority over your wife. Your lord and mistress has not yet come to me, my dear Stephen, and this disobedience of hers to your wishes displeases me. Indeed, I am beginning to be somewhat put out with you, too, because you are so soft-hearted and out of the service by which you should have helped her, you have made a tyranny, and have treated her so tenderly heretofore that it would seem to be your own fault, too, that she now ventures to defy you in everything. Certainly when you saw that the ass was greedy for fodder, that is, that your wife, because of

your indulgence and consideration, was becoming unmanageable, you should have remembered that you ought to obey God rather than your wife, and not have allowed her to despise and trample under foot the marital authority, which is the glory of God, as St. Paul tells us.¹ It is going far enough when you so far give up this glory of God as to assume the form of a servant;² but when it is done away, wiped out and brought to nothing,—this is too much. Therefore be a man. Bear with your wife's infirmity, but do not encourage her malice by serving her too slavishly and dishonoring the glory of God that is in you, for that would be the worst kind of an example. It is easy to tell whether it is infirmity or malice. Infirmity is to be borne with; malice must be coerced. Infirmity is ready to learn and to listen, at least once in twelve hours; malice is stubborn and resists and insists on having its own way. When she sees that you mistake her malice for infirmity, what wonder if she gets worse and worse? But now by your own fault you are opening a window in this weaker vessel through which Satan can enter and laugh at you, and irritate you and vex you every way. You are a wise man, and the Lord will grant you to understand what I say, and see how sincerely I wish you and her to come to an agreement³ and Satan to be driven off. Farewell in Christ.

MARTIN LUTHER,

JOHN BUGENHAGEN POMERANUS.

796. LUTHER TO EOBAN HESS AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 255.

WITTENBERG, April or May,⁴ 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. I have received your second

¹ I Corinthians xi, 7.

² Philippians ii, 7.

³ The whole unhappy quarrel of Roth and his wife is set forth in great detail in the letters published by Buchwald. She had gone to Zwickau with Roth, but did not like it, and accused him of unfaithfulness with the wife of Stephan Wild. She, therefore, returned to Wittenberg in March. Luther opined that God was thus humiliating Roth for something he had done. Ursula had been ill on the journey, but recovered in her native air. After receiving this letter of Luther and Bugenhagen, Roth sent his wife so severe a letter that she became melancholy, and Mantel warned him, to be gentler, May 13. In June she finally returned to her husband, Rörer informing him that her absence was as great a relief to him as her presence was to Roth.

⁴ This letter is without date. Enders (n. 2) surmises that Hess's letter, to which this is a reply, was written April 20.

letter, enclosing the *Dirge for Dürer*.¹ Thus you have anticipated me, and written me before I answered your first letter, which I had certainly not expected. I had put it where I could see it, so that I would be sure to answer it by the first available messenger. It is indeed a pious duty to grieve over Dürer, who was a most excellent man; but it was also right for you to call him happy, as one whom, well-prepared and by a blessed death, Christ has taken out of these times that are so turbulent and likely to become even more turbulent, so that he, who was worthy to see only the best things, might not be compelled to look upon the worst. May he rest in peace with his fathers. Amen. . . .

. . . There is no news here to send to your market-place, for Nuremberg is almost the very eyes and ears of Germany, seeing and hearing everything, much of which never reaches us. Greet your dear hind and her dear little fawns. The Lord's blessing upon you. We bless you in the name of the Lord.

MART. LUTHERUS.

797. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 263.

(WITTENBERG), May 12, 1528.

Grace and peace. I congratulate you, my dear Wenzel, on the birth of your second daughter, and on the new love and joy that has come into your heart. May Christ bless you and make you happy and keep you all well.

From other places I am getting many letters about the Anabaptists, but here, thank God! there is peace. Carlstadt is still what he was, or, rather, he is more stubborn than ever, but he is compelled to keep silence. I think you have seen my *Antifanaticum*² and the theses on the second marriage of bishops.³ The constancy which the Anabaptists show when dying I think to be like that which Augustine relates of the Donatists, and Josephus of the Jews at the destruction of Jerusalem. There is no doubt that many of these cases are only the raging of Satan, especially when they die blaspheming

¹ *Epicedion in funere Alberti Dureri*, a copy of which Hess sent also to Lang April 20. Dürer died April 6.

² *Antischwermernum*, i.e., the *Von Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis*.

³ Weimar, xxvi, 510ff.

of the sacrament. Holy martyrs, like our Leonard Kayser,¹ die with fear and humility and great gentleness of mind toward their enemies; but in their case disgust and indignation at their enemies seems to make them only the more stubborn, and in this state they die.

Thank you for the seeds you sent me. I commend myself and my trials to your prayers. It seems to me that Dürer and Volpracht,² both excellent men, have been taken away lest they should see the furious evils that are impending. Wars are threatening everywhere. Christ have mercy on us.

Bugenhagen is going to Brunswick to-day, to serve Christ there for awhile in His Gospel. MARTIN LUTHER.

798. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 289.

(WITTENBERG), June 14, 1528.

This letter caused a new outbreak of literary hostilities between Luther and Duke George. Link was indiscreet enough to show it and allow copies of it to be made. One of these came into the hands of the Duke. *Vide* Smith, 225; Köstlin-Kawerau, ii, 114f.

Grace and peace. You know more of the news than I can write you. You see what a commotion this confederacy of wicked princes³ has caused. They deny it, to be sure, but I consider Duke George's worthless excuse as almost equivalent to a confession. Let them deny and excuse and pretend as they please, I know what I know, and that confederacy is no mere nothing or chimera, but a monstrous monster. All the world knows, too, that by thought and deed, by edict and by the most obstinate efforts they have publicly tried to do the same thing before, and are still trying it. They wish to wipe out the Gospel, and that no one can deny. But why should I write all this to you? for beyond a doubt you know all this. It is only that you may know that we, too, do not trust those wicked men, though we offer and grant them peace, and hope they will accept it. May God confound

¹ Executed at Scharding, in the diocese of Passau, August 16, 1527. During his imprisonment (May, 1527) Luther wrote him a letter (Enders, vi, 53).

² Wolfgang Volpracht, formerly Augustinian Prior at Nuremberg, who was one of the first to advocate the abolition of the mass at Nuremberg, 1524. Enders, iii, 407.

³ *Vide supra*, no. 793.

the worst of fools,¹ who, like Moab,² is bold beyond his power and proud beyond his strength, as he has always been. We shall pray against these murderers. Hitherto we have spared them, but if they try anything again, we shall pray God and advise our princes to destroy them without mercy, for those insatiable blood-suckers will not rest until they see Germany dripping with blood.

We are sweating over the work of putting the Prophets into German. God, how much of it there is, and how hard it is to make these Hebrew writers talk German! They resist us, and do not want to leave their Hebrew and imitate our German barbarisms. It is like making a nightingale leave her own sweet song and imitate the monotonous voice of the cuckoo, which she detests. Farewell, and pray for us.

MARTIN LUTHER.

799. FRANCIS DYNAMIS TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 4396. (June 19, 1528.)

Presumably "Dynamis" is a Greek form of the English name "Strong."

Confesses a previous acquaintance with George Constantine,³ Fische,⁴ Bilney⁵ and others, whom he abhors as pestiferous followers of Luther, at whose suggestion he had translated into English the first book of Francis Lambert, *De Causis Excaecationis*,⁶ and a letter which Bugenhagen sent "ad fideles (sic enim eos vocat) in Angliam."⁷ He had visited Paris and spent ten months in Constantine's house, and there he had bought Luther's works, *De Servo Arbitrio* and *De Captivitate*

¹ Duke George.

² Isaiah xvi, 6.

³ Constantine (1501?-1559) Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge, 1524. He went to Antwerp, where he assisted Tyndale and Joy in translating the New Testament. After being seized (the DNB. says in or about 1530) for distributing prohibited books, he escaped and returned to England, becoming an Anglican clergyman. DNB.

⁴ Simon Fish (†1531) studied at Oxford, fled to Antwerp 1525, and again, 1527. In 1528 he wrote a book called "The Supplication of Beggars," DNB.

⁵ Thomas Bilney (†1531) studied at Cambridge, where he became Bachelor of Laws. In 1525 he began preaching, was arrested in 1527, recanted and released 1529, but was rearrested and burned 1531, DNB.

⁶ *De causis excaecationis multorum seculorum*, Nuremberg, 1525.

⁷ *Epistola ad fideles in Anglia*, Wittenberg, 1525.

Babylonica, Lambert's *Commentarii de Prophetia*,¹ etc., *De Littera et Spiritu*,² Luther on the *Magnificat*, *De Instituendis Ministris*,³ Hieronymus Savonarola *Super Psalmum "Miserere,"*⁴ *de Cursu Verbi Dei*,⁵ by Gasper Schwenckfeld, *Luther's Letter to King Henry VIII*,⁶ and a little book of an author unknown against Natalis Beda;⁷ in French, also, *The Book of Deuteronomy*,⁸ *Oratio Dominica cum Expositione*,⁹ *De uno Mediatore Christo*,¹⁰ *De Imaginibus*,¹¹ *De Fundamento Evangelicae Doctrinae*,¹² the *Epistles and Gospels for 52 Weeks*,¹³ the New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans,¹⁴ etc. But being taken and committed to prison, these books were found among his effects, and he was brought before the English ambassador at St. Germain's [Clerk, Bishop of Bath]. He ends by bespeaking the usual clemency of the Cardinal.

800. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vi, 298.

(WITTENBERG), July 14, 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. First thank the Abbot Pistorius for me for his gift of oranges. I do not write him only because pressure of business makes it absolutely impossible. I rejoice that Nuremberg and the Margrave George of Branden-

¹ Which of Lambert's several commentaries, 1524-5, I cannot say.

² By Augustine, presumably the edition by Carlstadt, which preface dated November 18, 1517; see Barge: *Karlstadt*, ii, 533ff.

³ Weimar, xii, 169ff., 1523.

⁴ *Hieronymi Savonarolae, a papa exusti, meditatio pia et erudita super psalmos; Miserere mei: In te Domine speravi*. Wittenberg, 1523. Luther's preface to it, Weimar, xii, 248.

⁵ Cannot be identified.

⁶ Presumably the English edition, published by Henry, *supra*, no. 700.

⁷ Cannot be identified; on him *supra*, p. 44, n. 4.

⁸ Cannot be identified.

⁹ This work by William Farel completely perished at the hands of the censors. The preface to it has survived in MS., and is published, under date "end of July, 1524," by Herminjard: *Correspondance des Réformateurs des Pays de la langue française*, i, 246ff.

¹⁰, ¹¹, ¹² Cannot be identified.

¹³ One obscure allusion sometimes explains another. In letters of Vaugris and Coet to Farel, August 29 and September 2, 1524, the writers speak of sending him "50 Epistolae." Herminjard, *op. cit.*, pp. 279ff., is unable to explain what work is alluded to, but thinks it must be some letters written by Farel against Erasmus. But it is probable that the *Epistles and Gospels for the 52 Weeks*, here alluded to by Dynamis, are meant. It was a work written by Farel.

¹⁴ Tyndale's work, of course, first published 1526.

burg have adopted our system of church visitation;¹ may Christ bless it. I believe you know that Urban Rhegius has come to his senses again and will fight vigorously on our side against the sacramentarians. Why could the Margrave not call him? I think he would go not unwillingly, especially as I cannot promise to give up Amsdorf, whose presence at Magdeburg is necessary for many reasons.

You ask whether the government may lawfully put false prophets to death.² I hesitate to give capital punishment even when it is evidently deserved, for I am terrified to think what happened when the papists and Jews, before Christ, persecuted with death. Whenever and wherever it has been the law to put false prophets and heretics to death, in the course of time it has come to pass that none but the most holy prophets and most innocent men were slain by this law, for wicked rulers made it a pretext and judged whom they wished as false prophets and heretics. I fear the same will happen with us, if we ever allow ourselves to put men to death for opinions even in one just instance, as now we see the papists shed innocent blood instead of guilty by this law. Wherefore, I am not able to admit in any case that false teachers be put to death; it is sufficient to banish them, and if our posterity abuse this penalty at least their sin will be less and will hurt only themselves.

My opinion of lunatics is, that all idiots and insane persons are possessed by devils, though on that account they will not be damned; but I think Satan tries men in different ways, some severely, some lightly, some for a long time, some for a short one. Physicians may attribute such things to natural causes, and sometimes partly cure them by medicine, but they are ignorant of the power of devils. Christ did not hesitate to say in the Gospel that the old woman bowed down with

¹ This was decided on at the conference of theologians of George of Brandenburg and of Nuremberg at Schwabach, June 14, 1528. Enders, vi, 304.

² On Luther's tolerance, see J. A. Faulkner, in *Papers of the American Church History Society*, Second Series, vol. iv, pp. 169ff., 1914; N. Paulus: *Protestantismus und Toleranz*, 1911; K. Völker: *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1912, especially pp. 75-96; Smith: *Life and Letters of Luther*, preface to Second Edition, 1914, pp. xiiiff. In general it may be said that Luther was fairly tolerant until 1525, but after the Peasants' War came out more and more strongly for the duty of the state to enforce orthodoxy.

infirmity was bound by Satan,¹ and Peter asserts that all whom Christ cured were possessed by devils,² so I am forced to believe that many are made dumb, deaf and lame by Satan's malice, nor can I doubt that pestilence, fever, and other severe illnesses are caused by devils, who also bring on tempests, conflagrations and blights in fruit and grain. What wonder if these wicked angels scourge the human race with all kinds of harm and peril as much as God permits? If some are cured by herbs and other natural remedies, it is by God's mercy. I suppose a physician would have said that the sufferings Satan caused Job were due to natural agents and could be cured by natural remedies. So I believe your lunatics are tempted by Satan for a time. Indeed, does not Satan make those lunatics whose hearts he fills with fornication, murder, rapine and all evil lusts? He has more power over us than some think; especially over the saints, since he buffeted Paul³ and carried Christ where he would.⁴

I should console those tempted by doubt and despair, first by warning them to beware of solitude, and rather to converse with others on the Psalms and Scriptures; and then—although this is hard to do it is a very present remedy—let them persuade themselves that such thoughts are not really theirs, but Satan's, and that they should strive with all their might to turn their minds to other things and leave such thoughts to him. Dwelling on these ideas, fighting with them and wishing to argue them down, or waiting idly for them to come to an end, is only irritating them and making them desperately strong unto perdition. The best thing is to let them vanish as they came and not to think of them or dispute with them long; I have no other counsel for him who neglects to follow this. You must know, however, that it is hard to follow this advice. For when we think such thoughts of God and eternal salvation, our nature vehemently refuses to leave or to despise them until we are satisfied, for we know not that the certainty and victory desired are impossible by means of reason, because our own powers are not sufficient to cope with such matters, as Satan well knows. Therefore he suggests such

¹ Luke xiii, 16.

² Acts x, 38.

³ II Corinthians xii, 7.

⁴ Matthew iv.

thoughts and makes them seem so dear to us that no one wishes to leave them or to turn away, but all wish to scrutinize them and think them through to the end. To do so is to surrender to Satan.

But that those who are tempted may divert their thoughts, let them harken to the words of some good man as the voice of God from heaven. So I have often been refreshed by the words of Bugenhagen, which he once said to me: "You ought not to despise my consolation"; this convinced me that his words were from God. Then they will understand the text: "Thy Word hath made me alive."¹ Christ suffered this temptation when He said to Satan: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God,"² by which He conquered the devil and enabled us to conquer him too. For truly thoughts of this kind are nothing but tempting God, although we do not think it while they are present but esteem them heavenly and profitable unto salvation, but they do tempt by opposing God, even if we do not go so far as to despise Him and deny His existence. It is necessary to resolve to turn away from them and to think of God in a different manner, which can be done by believing the Word of the Comforter who leads you back to God if you let Him. I have been diffuse (although I have not said enough) because I know from experience what Satan can do in this way. . . .

I have decided to print the third part of my book.³ It does not need another preface by me; you can write one if you wish. I have left out the portion on auricular confession, which I enclose on a separate sheet for you to insert or not, as you think best. I do not enclose the other parts because the book is large and many of the topics treated are digressions from the main point. Farewell in the Lord and pray for me. . . .

Hamburg has adopted the evangelical faith, following the example of Brunswick, and has called Bugenhagen. We have hopes also of Lübeck, for many citizens favor it and the town council opposes it less strenuously than before.

¹ I Samuel ii, 5.(?)

² Matthew iv, 7.

³ The last part of the work against Zwingli: *The Great Confession on the Lord's Supper*. Luther sent it to Link, who published it with a preface of his own.

Dr. Pack¹ is a captive—a willing one, I suspect—of the Landgrave. At first he pretended that he had forged the treaty of the princes; now it is said that he will be heard and has promised to clear himself with honor. May Christ grant that Duke George's plan fall on his own head, for I suspect that he is the author of the whole conspiracy. Amen. There are still mysteries about that league, but let them pass; nothing is secret which shall not be revealed. Farewell again with your wife and children.

MARTIN LUTHER.

801. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS GERBEL AT STRASSBURG.

Enders, vi, 312.

(WITTENBERG), July 28, 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. I previously knew enough, and more than enough, of Bucer's baseness, my dear Gerbel, and so I am not surprised that he turns my treatise against me,² mentioning it by name. In this treatise, following the opinion of St. Augustine, I spoke of the body of Christ, arguing not against, but for the sacrament. The whole world knows that we do not condemn the dicta of the Fathers, even though they conflict with one another, so long as they are not compelled to contradict true piety. In a word, if Zwingli had made such an assertion there would have been a *sweet reasonableness*³ ready to interpret it properly and fairly; but because Luther said it, it was at once subjected to the most virulent calumnies. May Christ visit those vipers and either convert them or render them their dues. . . . Away with those vipers! I pray with all my might that Christ may keep you safe, who dwell in the midst of these wild beasts, vipers, lionesses⁴ and leopards, in almost greater peril than Daniel himself in the den of lions.⁵

Christ is keeping the Church here at peace and of one mind, and the university prospering in letters and in studies, and Satan is like to burst. Carlstadt alone, the viper in our bosom, mutters a little, but dares not come out boldly; would that your fanatics had him for a comrade and that we were

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 793.

² *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*. The reference is to Bucer's *Dialogue*, of June, 1528, written as a refutation of the *Bekenntnis*.

³ *Epieikeia*, cf. II Corinthians x, 1; Matthew Arnold's translation.

⁴ The feminine used in allusion to Job iv, 10, which is so in the Vulgate.

⁵ Daniel vi.

rid of him. All our friends send you greetings. There is no news here except that the Margrave¹ is undertaking a campaign against a certain knight who invaded his lands and committed a robbery. Farewell in Christ, dear friend, you and your wife. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

802. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, vi, 314.

WITTENBERG, August 5, 1528.

Grace and peace. My little Hans thanks you, dear Nicholas, for the rattles. He is very proud of them and takes great pleasure in them. I had determined to write something about the Turkish war,² but I hope it will be needless. My little daughter Elizabeth is dead.³ It is marvellous how sick at heart, how almost womanish it has left me, so much do I grieve for her. I would never have believed that a father's heart could be so tender for his child. Pray the Lord for me, and farewell.

About the release of that nun in Freiberg⁴ nothing has been done; it was merely a plan, so your mind may be at rest.

MARTIN LUTHER.

803. JOHN HASENBERG TO MARTIN LUTHER AT WITTENBERG.

Enders, vi, 322.

LEIPSIC, August 10, 1528.

Hasenberg, a protégé of Duke George, at whose request he was made dean of the faculty of arts (1525) and Vice-Chancellor, 1533, in the University of Leipsic, later (1546) preceptor of Ferdinand's children, sent this letter, with the one next translated, from Heyden to Catharine Luther, to Wittenberg by special messenger. Luther refused to see the messenger, and let him know that he used the letters for toilet paper. The letters were soon printed, and Luther answered, in *Ein neue Fabel Aesops*, reprinted Weimar, xxvi, 534. Hasenberg replied by publishing, in 1530, a *Ludus Lutherum ludens*. Further particulars in Weimar, *loc. cit.* Cf. also ARG., ix, 240ff. Förstemann and Günther: *Briefe an Erasmus*, 1904, p. 366f.

¹ The Margrave of Brandenburg; the knight in question is Nicholas (Nickel) von Minkwitz.

² The purpose was only postponed, not abandoned, for the tract *Vom Kriege wider die Türcken* (Weimar, xxx,² 108ff.) was published in April, 1529.

³ She died August 3, at the age of less than eight months.

⁴ Ursula von Münsterberg. Luther had written to Hausmann, June 29 (Enders, vi, 295), that she had asked his help in releasing her from the nunnery. *Vide infra*, no. 809.

How long, pray, most insane and libidinous of apostates, will you abuse the patience, the lenity, the tender forbearance of the most learned men and the most illustrious princes of Germany, of our most august Emperor, of the most holy vicar of Christ—that column and support of the truth—in short, of God, most good and great? Do you despise, or do you only not know, the inexpressible goodness, humanity and clemency of them all, which summons you, most miserable of all miserable manikins to simple repentance? . . . Now, if you can remember so far, it is a whole decade since you have—I cannot say lived, but—rotted in every sort of turpitude and heresy among the buried heretics of Wittenberg. This in spite of our grave, powerful, Christian princes, or rather God Himself, most good and great, daily shouting in your ear: Luther, arise! Luther, come forth! Luther, leave that seat of pestilence, Wittenberg! Luther, flee, if you can, your flagitious inventions, more pestilent than Sodom and Gomorrah! . . . You have truly sinned heavily in much, most of all in this, that, an apostate monk, almost as lustful as Priapus, you daily and nightly wanton and chamber with a nun, more libidinous, as it were, than Venus, like the horse and the mule which have no understanding. . . . Obstinate and contumacious wretch, abandoned to your own desires, proceed from bad to worse. Fall into the pit of impiety, be snared in the springs of sin, be captured by the net of eternal damnation; be merry until you descend into hell, as you surely will, where, infernal brand! you will burn forever, and be eaten by the never dying worm. Return, return, O Shunamite! Return, return that we may see thee!

804. JOACHIM VON DER HEYDEN TO CATHARINE LUTHER.

Enders, vi, 334. German.

LEIPSIK, August 10, 1528.

Heyden, whose name was Latinized as Myricianus, of Friesland, an M.A. and Fellow of Leipsic University, and a notary public both of the Pope and of the university. This letter, sent to Wittenberg with the last, was soon printed as the preface to his translation of a work, *The Case of a dedicated Virgin and her Seducer*, then ascribed to Ambrose (Migne: *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, 367-84; perhaps the real author was Nicetas, Bishop of Romatiana). Grisar, ii, 518f.

Joachim von der Heyden wishes Katie von Bora, Luther's

putative wife, grace for conversion in Christ Jesus our Saviour.

Woe unto you, poor, misled woman, not only that you have been led from light into darkness, from God's grace into His disfavor, from the holy monastic devotion into a damnable and shameless life, but also because you left the cloister in lay clothes, like a dancing girl, and went to the University of Wittenberg and cast your eyes on that old spitfire, Luther, and lived with him, as they say, in flagrant immorality, and finally took him for your husband, by which breach of faith to your bridegroom Christ you became faithless and perjured. . . . You had better think of eternal punishment, and speedily leave this devilish life and free yourself from that nasty, black monk, and betake yourself again to the Christian cloister, and there heavily bewail all your past sins, as did Magdalene, and repent, after her example, and lead a severe life and give back your perjured soul to the Lord, for in remorse, confession, penance and a new life consists true repentance. Therefore let neither your monk nor your children nor anything which might make you stubborn hinder you, since nothing is more dangerous than perseverance in sin. . . .

805. ANDREW CARLSTADT TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

Barge, ii, 585. German.

KEMBERG, August 12, 1528.

After his "recantation," *cf. supra*, no. 703. Carlstadt was not allowed to live in peace. In August, 1527, he was asked for another statement of his views, and handed one to Gregory Brück, Chancellor of Electoral Saxony, pointedly refraining from expressing his agreement with Luther. The Wittenberg professor remonstrated with him quite gently, end of November, Enders, vi, 127, *cf. Barge*, ii, 381. Carlstadt was exasperated by Luther's *Confession on Christ's Supper* (1528), and Luther, intercepting a letter written by his old friend to Schwenckfeld, believed he had found evidence of a conspiracy. He demanded satisfaction, and even said that Carlstadt should be imprisoned (Barge, ii, 388), instead of which he got two pamphlets arguing the case. Early in 1529 Carlstadt fled from Saxony. Luther's hatred of him became almost demoniac. He said he hoped God would never be gracious to him (Luther), if Carlstadt really believed in a God. Smith and Gallinger: *Conversations with Luther*, 1915, pp. 38ff.

. . . I humbly thank your Grace for your permission, in case my recantation is sufficient, to live in your Grace's land;

also for your favor and Christian zeal. I believe that your Grace has received a sufficient copy of the desired recantation. I hope your Grace kindly remembers how I was driven against my will to write against Zwingli and Oecolampadius,¹ or else to give my reasons in writing why I still hoped it would be impossible to write concerning the sacraments; but though I heard Christian admonition, I found it impossible to do that without your Grace's foreknowledge and gracious consent. I hope your Grace also remembers your further permission and other reason, not set forth in the book sent to your Grace, why I should treat with Dr. Luther and others.

Thereupon I wrote to Dr. Luther, and sent him two pamphlets, and he tried to get rid of me easily with this answer: "If Dr. Carlstadt has an argument in the words 'dedit'² and 'donec veniet,'³ to prove that the body and blood of Christ are not in the bread and wine, and are not corporeally enjoyed, let him make the most of these words, no matter what parts of speech they are."

Whether this answer was Christian, suitable to my humility and his office, I will let anyone judge who will read my enclosed books and his answer.

Gracious Elector and Lord, your Grace will take my business and words kindly. I say that I was not helped by such an answer, nor did I deserve it. Truly it were just as possible for me to take Dr. Luther's opinion about the sacrament with good conscience and whole heart, merely on the ground of what he has hitherto written, as it would be for me to fly in the air like a bird. And I believe that anyone else who reads both our writings will say the same. . . . I know that if an angel came from heaven, and said that there was another body of Christ than His natural body given and broken for us on the cross, that angel would be an abomination and curse to me and all believers. *And if I am asked to-day what body was given for us, I must answer, the natural body of Christ conceived in Mary by the Holy Ghost. And I know that all prophets, apostles and angels could give no other answer.*⁴ . . .

¹ The recantation of 1525; cf. *supra*, no. 703.

² Mark xiv, 22.

³ I Corinthians xi, 26.

⁴ Underlined in the original with red ink.

806. ZWINGLI TO CONRAD SOM AT ULM.

R. Stähelin: *Briefe aus der Reformationszeit*, 1887, p. 21.

ZURICH, August 30, 1528.

Som (Sam, Saum) (1483-1533) of Rotenacker on the Danube, studied at Freiberg and Tübingen, called to Ulm in June, 1524, a Zwinglian. CR., xcv, 632.

Grace and peace from the Lord. Dearest Conrad, I am sending you the replies¹ which Oecolampadius and I are making to Luther. That rash man keeps killing human and divine wisdom in his books, though it would have been easy to restore this wisdom among the pious. But since the heretics, that is his followers, together with the wicked, have become so deaf to all truth that they not only refuse to listen, but even to let us approach, I was for a long time doubtful about expending this enormous labor, which I knew would be vain, among those who chiefly ought to profit by it. But I did it for the sake of charity, which beareth all things, and for the consciences of fair-minded men, who might be seduced by the light diligence of these men who call things blacker than an Ethiope white. So charity coupled with truth conquered. I have answered in the style that you see. Luther has called us back to Scotists and Thomists [whom we quote] not because we trust them or think that he gets any advantage from these poor schoolmen, but simply to take all his weapons from him. Now I see these Urbans,² who, by reason of the male-diction rather than argument of this man, give themselves out as cultured scholars, but are really swindlers. May I die if he does not surpass Eck in impurity, Cochlaeus in audacity, and, in brief, all the vices of all men. . . .

Devotedly yours, ULRICH ZWINGLI.

807. LUTHER TO JOHN AGRICOLA AT EISLEBEN.

Enders, vi, 281.

(WITTENBERG), September 11, 1528.

Grace and peace. A certain person told me a story about you recently, my dear Agricola, and insisted that it was true,

¹ Published in the same book, under the title: *Two Answers to Martin Luther's Book, called a Confession*. Both reprinted in Walch,² xx, cols. 1228-1473.

² Rhegius, formerly a Zwinglian, now a Lutheran.

and would not leave off until I told him I would write to you and find out. The story was that you had come out with a new doctrine and were contending that faith could be without works. He said that you were publishing this doctrine and crying it up with much diligence and with the use of Greek words. But I, who by the harassing of Satan have been taught to fear even for things that are safe, am writing to you not only because I promised to do so, but also to admonish you to take heed to Satan and your own flesh. For you know that no safeguards avail against the plots of Satan unless we are always guarded from heaven, and that in his plots there is so much poison and danger that from a spark a fire is kindled, or, as Paul puts it,¹ a little leaven spoils the whole lump. In so great a matter there must be no jesting and no chances must be taken, however small, for the enemy enters by the smallest cracks and does quite as much harm as if he had come storming in by the open doors. I hope you will take this admonition kindly, for you see in what spirit it is given, and please tell me, if you have time, about the whole case. For what was less to fear than that Oecolampadius and Rhegius and others would fall? And what fears do I not feel even for our intimate friends here? It is not strange if I fear for you, with whom I should most of all be sorry to disagree. Farewell in the Lord, and greet your Elsa and her grapes. The Lord has taken my Elsa, that she may see no evil.

Yours,
MARTIN LUTHER.

808. LUTHER TO THE LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSE.

Weimar, xxx,² 107. German.

(WITTENBERG), October 9, 1528.

This letter is Luther's dedication of the little treatise *On War Against the Turks*, though the treatise did not appear in print until April, 1529. It was written at the time that all Germany was expecting the great Turkish invasion, which was finally repulsed in October, 1529, and when the danger from the Turks was one of the strongest political safeguards against persecution that the Lutheran princes had. On the whole subject *vide* Cohrs' excellent introduction to the treatise in Weimar, xxx,² 81ff.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour.

¹ I Corinthians v, 6.

Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. Certain persons have been begging me for the past five years to write about war against the Turks, and encourage our people and stir them up to it, and now that the Turk is actually approaching, my friends are compelling me to do this duty, especially since there are some stupid preachers among us Germans (as I am sorry to hear) who are making the people believe that we ought not and must not fight against the Turks. Some are even so crazy as to say that it is not proper for Christians to bear the temporal sword or to be rulers; also because our German people is such a wild and uncivilized people there are some who want the Turk to come and rule. All the blame for this wicked error among the people is laid on Luther and must be called "the fruit of my Gospel," just as I must bear the blame for the rebellion¹ and for everything bad that happens anywhere in the world. My accusers know better, but God and His Word to the contrary, they pretend not to know better, and seek occasion to speak evil of the Holy Ghost and of the truth that is openly confessed, so that they may earn the reward of hell and never receive repentance or the forgiveness of their sins.

Therefore it is necessary for me to write of these things for my own sake and the Gospel's sake and to enter our defence; not because of the blasphemers, however. They are not good enough to make it worth while to say a single word of defence to them, for to them the Gospel must always be a stench and a savor of death unto death, as they have deserved by their willful blasphemy. But I must write in order that innocent consciences may not any longer be deceived by these slandermongers, and made suspicious of me or my doctrine, and may not be deceived into believing that we must not fight against the Turks. I have thought best to publish this little book under the name of your Grace, who are a famous and mighty prince, so that it may be the better received and the more diligently read. Thus, if it came to a discussion of a campaign against the Turks, the princes and lords would readily recall it. I commend your Grace to our merciful God's grace and favor, that He may keep your Grace against

¹ The Peasants' Revolt of 1525.

all error and against the craft of the devil, and illumine and strengthen your Grace for a blessed reign.

Your Grace's devoted

MARTIN LUTHER.

809. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, vii, 1.

(WITTENBERG), October 20, 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. . . . I believe you have heard the news, that by a great miracle the Duchess of Münsterberg¹ has got away from the monastery at Freiberg; just now she is a member of my household, together with two virgins, Margaret Volkmar, daughter of a citizen of Leipsic, and Dorothea,² daughter of a citizen of Freiberg, who brought to the monastery 1400 guldens inherited from her father. She has left it behind her, and is now, with Mistress Ursula herself, a poor follower of the poor Christ; neither of them brought a farthing with her. Duke George is worrying our Prince; what will come of it, I do not know. For she is a relative of Duke George, as I think you know, that is to say, their mothers were sisters.³ Nicholas von Minkwitz is said to be enlisting a great army, but where he will attack I do not know. I wonder what the princes think that they see and allow such things, for it is to be feared that this spark will start a fire in Germany. Some say that he is leading them against the Wowaida,⁴ others that he is preparing to move against the Margrave,⁵ who is snoring peacefully. Bugenhagen has gone to Hamburg, Philip⁶ to Thuringia. On the day after St. Ursula's day⁷ we shall go at our part of the Visitation; I hope that you will do, or are already doing, the same.⁸ Christ

¹ Ursula von Münsterberg. *Vide supra*, no. 802.

² Dorothea Tanberg, afterwards married to George Scharff, pastor at Briesnitz, near Dresden.

³ Both were grandchildren of George Podiebrad, but not sisters' children. Duke George's mother and Ursula's father were brother and sister.

⁴ John Zapolya, a prince (Woiwode) of Transylvania in Hungary, near Roumania, Ferdinand's rival for the throne of Hungary after the death of Louis the King, 1526. Zapolya died 1540.

⁵ Joachim of Brandenburg.

⁶ Melanchthon, absent on the Visitation.

⁷ October 22.

⁸ Spalatin's district was the Voigtland. *Vide Enders*, vi, 310.

be with us all and bless us. Amen. Greet Eberhard¹ and Ehrhard² and all the Hards that are with you.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

810. LUTHER TO SPALATIN AT ALTENBURG.

Enders, vii, 11.

WITTENBERG, October 29, 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. You ought not to grieve, my dear Spalatin, because your marriage is called harlotry, but you ought rather to be glad, knowing now for certain that this way of life is approved by God, praised by the angels, honored by all the saints. Now you have this seal in addition, that it is given the sign of the Cross, forsooth that it is evil spoken of by devils and wicked men, and even by false brethren, a thing which happens to every work and word of God. See to it, then, that you do not think the sacrilegious words that the wicked hurl against you to be anything else than precious jewels, by which you are indeed befouled in the world's eyes, but glorified in God's eyes, remembering that the world is not worthy to see the honor and glory of this work of God, which you see and have. It is the same with your ministry, only more so. Let the world and its prince go, with their foolish, rash, blind, mad condemnations and calumnies. It is written,³ "The wicked shall be destroyed that he may not see the glory of God," but ⁴ "the heavens declare the glory of God." Beyond doubt the world belches up dishonor against God.

I do not understand what you write about the danger to your livelihood, for I do not believe that the priests of Bethaven⁵ can make you any trouble. But whatever they are, you now have the office of visitation, and the especial favor of the Elector, who will not allow *your living*⁶ to be taken from you. The Lord Jesus strengthen you with His Spirit and direct you *in this bishop's work*⁴ of yours. Amen. Pray for me, I beg of you.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Brisger.

² Either Steinbach or Schaubis, both of whom were serving in the Altenburg churches.

³ Ecclesiasticus xv, 7.

⁴ Psalm xix, 1.

⁵ The canons of Altenburg.

⁶ These words in Greek.

811. LUTHER TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 399. German.

WITTENBERG, October 31, 1528.

Luther's letter of June 14 to Wenzel Link (*supra*, no. 798) was shown to a number of the latter's friends in Nuremberg, among others to Christopher Scheurl, through whose indiscretion or worse (*der Verrather soll D Scheurll gewest sein*, Brück to Luther, December 4, Enders, vii, 32) a copy of it came into the hands of Duke George. October 28 the Duke wrote Luther a curt letter, asking an immediate Yes or No to the question whether he had actually written such a letter. Luther's answer is here given. It was forwarded, along with a copy of the letter to Link, to the Elector, the Duke demanding that Luther be punished. Failing to secure this object, the Duke published (December 19) an invective against Luther, to which the latter replied in kind (*Von gestohlenen Briefen*, etc. Weimar, xxx,² 25ff). On the whole controversy *vide* Cohrs in Weimar, xxx,² 1ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. I have received your Grace's letter, in which your Grace asks me to say whether I recall any such letter as that of which a copy is enclosed, as though, like the least of your Grace's subjects, or like a man who is in prison, I had to sit here awaiting your Grace's pleasure. This is my brief answer. Your Grace well knows the great patience I have shown with the Introduction to Emser's New Testament¹ and with the answer I received to my very humble letter.² I shall be patient again in this matter out of consideration for your Grace's great and severe ailments. I only ask very humbly that your Grace will not tempt me with copies of letters. From those who prepared and sent him these copies your Grace will be able to ascertain, without Luther's help, who wrote them. For these men are closer to your Grace and under greater obligations to him than I am. I shall this time say nothing more severe about these good people, for I should feel it a Christian duty to be sorry for your Grace and to pray for your Grace in his affliction, if your Grace could allow it. God have your Grace in His keeping. Amen.

Your Grace's obedient servant, MARTIN LUTHER.

812. LUTHER TO AMSDORF AT MAGDEBURG.

Enders, vii, 15.

WITTENBERG, November 1, 1528.

Grace and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ. I marvel at your

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 427, n. 1.

² Of December 21, 1525; the Duke's answer, December 28. *Supra* nos. 720, 721.

silence, my dear Amsdorf, for it accords neither with your habit nor with my deserts, especially in this time of trials and perils.¹ The plague no longer rules us, and yet it comes out every now and then and shows itself in some corner or other. Christ keep you well in the midst of that conflagration. Amen. We are visitators, *i.e.*, bishops, and have found poverty and want everywhere. May the Lord send laborers into His harvest. Amen. Pray the Lord for me, I beseech you, and farewell.

MARTIN LUTHER.

813. LUTHER TO A WIDOW,² MARGARET.

De Wette, iii, 407. German.

WITTENBERG, December 15, 1528.

Grace and peace in Christ. Your son has told me of the grief and misfortune that has befallen you in the death of your good husband, and I am moved by Christian love to write you this letter of consolation.

In the first place it should comfort you that in the hard battle that your husband fought Christ finally won the victory, and that your husband died at last in his right mind and in Christian confidence in our Lord. This I was exceedingly glad to hear, for thus Christ Himself struggled in the garden, and won the victory at last, and was raised from the dead.

That your husband inflicted injury upon himself may have been because the devil has power over our members, and he may have directed his hand, even against his own will, for if he had done it of his own free will, he would surely not have come to himself and been turned to such a confession of Christ as he made. How often the devil breaks arms and legs and backs and all the members. He can be master of the body and its members against our will.

Therefore you ought to be content with God's will, and number yourself among those of whom Christ says, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."³ All the saints have to sing the Psalm, "For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter."⁴

¹ The reformation of the city of Magdeburg was bitterly opposed, especially by the Archbishop of Mayence and the Catholic princes. *Cf. supra*, p. 439, n. 1.

² Her husband had committed suicide, but lived long enough to repent the deed.

³ Matthew v, 4.

⁴ Psalm xliv, 22.

Suffering and misfortune must come if we are to be partakers of comfort.

Thank God, too, for His great grace, that your husband did not remain in his despair, as some do, but was lifted out of it by God's grace, and was, at the end, in the faith and Word of Christ. Of such it is said, "Blessed are they that die in the Lord,"¹ and Christ Himself says, "He that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live."² May God the Father comfort and strengthen you in Christ Jesus. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

814. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vii, 26.

(WITTENBERG, end of December,³ 1528.)

Grace and peace in Christ. I received your letter, my dear Wenzel, in which you tell of what Duke George has tried to do at Nuremberg.⁴ He had made the same demand of me and then of our Elector, but accomplished nothing in that quarter. Nevertheless he has published a copy of the letter with an invective against me as a sign of his great folly and accursed rage. It is said that eight thousand copies have been printed, and he is sending them all around under his own seal. Thus Luther will be put down at last and the glorious Duke George will triumph. He will put them out at the fair.⁵ I secured a copy secretly, however, and have prepared an answer⁶ which will be made public at the same time, quite unexpectedly to him. I wish that that thief of a Miricionus⁷ had got from you the letter written with my own hand, for I have no fear whatever of that Satan, though I am surprised at Scheurl, not because he gave up the letter, but because he is

¹ Revelation xiv, 13.

² John xi, 25.

³ After the publication (December 19) of Duke George's invective (*vide supra*, no. 811).

⁴ He had attempted, by application to the Nuremberg Council, to secure the original of Luther's letter of June 14.

⁵ The Nuremberg New Year's fair, 1529.

⁶ *Von gestohlenen Briefen*, etc.

⁷ Thomas von der Heyden, Duke George's secretary, who had vainly tried to secure at Nuremberg the original letter of June 14. Joachim von der Hayden called himself Miricianus. Luther changed this to Miricionus, in allusion to the ass, ὄνος, in his satire, *A new Aesop's Fable*. Thomas, born c. 1500, M.A. at Leipsic 1521, and was secretary of Duke Henry in 1540. De Wette-Seidemann, vi, 540.

so intimate with our worst enemies. You will see this news at the fair, and will hear at the same time what he intends to do with our Prince. I beg that you and your church will pray against that raging murderer and bloody robber, as against one who is possessed by more than one devil, and does nothing but breathe out slaughter and threatenings, that Christ may either save him, as He saved Paul, or else remove him. Why should this dangerous and restless tool of Satan tear heaven and earth to pieces? There is no news here, except that the violent winds continue; what that forbodes I know not. Farewell in the Lord.

MARTIN LUTHER.

815. DR. PHILIP FABER (SMITH) TO WOLSEY.

Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, iv, no. 5094.

(After December, 1528.)¹

Thanks the cardinal for absolving him from his errors at the intercession of Cardinal Campeggio. He had confessed to Campeggio the holding of heretical communications with one Dynamus,² who had come to Calais two or three years ago. Dynamus having asked him to what studies he was most devoted, he replied, "To the Scriptures"; and being again asked what interpreter he chiefly followed, he said, "Johannes Lyranus,³ because he is esteemed (*habetur*) in the booksellers' shops above all the books of the Old and New Testaments." To which Dynamus facetiously replied, "Dimitte delirum illum Lynam, and take this new preacher of the Gospel," giving him Luther's treatises, *De Abroganda Missa*, *Expositio super Visionem Danielis*, *In octavum Danielis*;⁴—which the writer had never seen before. He also received from him three books which Dynamus had bought at the market of Antwerp, viz., Melancthon on the Epistle to the Romans⁵ and on the Gospel

¹ This letter, placed in the *Letters and Papers* after December, 1528, was certainly written before Wolsey's disgrace, October 9, 1529, and presumably after the arrival of Campeggio in England, October 7, 1528.

² On Dynamus or Dynamis *vide ante*, no. 799.

³ Nicholas de Lyra is meant, the most valued of all medieval commentators on the Bible.

⁴ *Ad Librum M. Ambrosii Catharini . . . Responsio M. Lutheri, cum exposita visione Daniel VIII de Antichristo*. 1521. Weimar, vii, 704ff.

⁵ *Annotationes in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos unam et ad Corinthios duas*, Strassburg, 1523.

of Matthew,¹ and Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*. Melanchthon on the Gospel of John² and on the two Epistles to the Corinthians,³ with Francis Lambert on the rule of the Minorites,⁴ he had resold to James Yates; and some other volumes in English and German, which he had copied out with his own hand.

816. LUTHER TO SPALATIN.

Enders, vii, 44.

(WITTENBERG, about January 15), 1529.

Grace and peace. We, too, wish to know what you are doing with the visitation and how you are succeeding with it, my dear Spalatin, and wonder why you say nothing about it when you write. It is our custom, when necessary, to demand a contribution, however small. It affords some aid to poor pastors who have only two yoke of oxen and a little farm. Besides this, we strictly require an offering from everybody. But the condition of the churches everywhere is most miserable. The peasants learn nothing, know nothing, pray nothing, do nothing except abuse their liberty. They go neither to confession nor to communion, as though they had been liberated from all the duties of religion. They have neglected their papistical rites and despise ours, so that it is terrible to see the administration of the papistical bishops. Bruno⁵ will tell you the rest. Greet Eberhard⁶ and all the brethren, and pray for me, a poor wretch and a sinner. Christ be with you.

MART. LUTHER.

817. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, vii, 45. German.

WEIMAR, January 18, 1529.

Greeting. Reverend and learned, dear and good Sir. We wish to inform you that the highborn Prince, George, Duke of Saxony, our own dear cousin, has had his counsellors here with us and has made complaint of the book which you re-

¹ *Annotationes in Evangelium Matthæi*, Basle, 1523.

² *Annotationes in Johannem*, 1523.

³ See note 4.

⁴ *Christianissimi Doc. M. Lutheri et A. Cocti Quintis Galli pro sequentibus commentariis epistolae. Evangelici in Minoritarum Regulam Commentarii* (Tübingen? 1523?). Title in the Catalogue of the British Museum. Luther's preface, Weimar, xi, 461.

⁵ Bruno Brauer, who apparently took the letter to Altenburg.

⁶ Brisger.

cently published against him;¹ and since this book is somewhat sharp in tone it is to be feared that if more copies were to be printed it would cause ill will between his Grace and us; since, too, because of the agreement we have made with some of those who are named in the book, it is not a good thing to write against them or give them cause for complaint; therefore it is our desire that you shall henceforth cause nothing to be printed touching our aforesaid cousin, or any other princes or persons of princely rank, unless you have first sent it to us and secured our permission to print it. In regard to other books in which you treat of Christian doctrine, you will obey the command issued by our dear brother of blessed memory, Frederic, late Duke and Elector of Saxony, that nothing is to be sent to press unless it has first been examined by the rector and other members of our university.² We wish to inform you of this our pleasure.

818. ANONYMOUS LETTER.

Brown, 1527-33, no. 384. (Somewhere in Germany) February, 1529.

As this is registered by Sanuto on February 28, it was presumably written in that month (not January) by one of the Venetian ambassadors to the Venetian Signory. It is in Italian.

Here (—?) we are in peace and health, and there is bread, but dearer than usual, though throughout Germany it is cheap; the whole country being quiet, with the exception of the Duke of Guelders,³ who is always at strife with someone. and his present dispute is with the Bishop of Würzburg; both parties have a strong army and are doing their worst. Between the Prince Elector, Duke John of Saxony, and his cousin, Duke George, there is a wish for war rather than war itself, because the former and the Elector Frederic [his

¹ Von heimlichen und gestohlenen Briefen. Cf. *supra*, no. 811.

² Cf. Luther to Brück, January 7, 1524 (Enders, iv, 276).

³ Guelders, near Holland, could have no dispute and did not have any with distant Würzburg. By "Duke of Guelders" the writer means "Duke of Hesse," i.e., the Landgrave Philip, who, as a consequence of the Pack affair, attacked the bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, and in a treaty of June 5, forced the former to pay an indemnity of 40,000 gulden and the latter an indemnity of 20,000. Janssen-Pastor,¹⁸ iii, 133. These indemnities were referred to as "Gelder"; can this lie at the bottom of the writer's confusion of names? If some other bishop is meant by *episcopo di Verbotte*, I cannot suggest his identity.

son?] favour Luther. Duke George is a good Catholic, and when able to catch a heretic he disposes of him without mercy, for from this Lutheran root six or eight diabolically heretical sects have sprung up, more opposed and hostile to each other than to the good Catholics. At Zurich in Switzerland there is one Zuingli, who seduced Zurich, Berne and Basle, and who also seduced a great part of Constance,¹ and chose to hold a disputation about certain articles.² The controversy was attended by but a few persons; and when King Ferdinand and the other Cantons wrote stringent letters to the effect that it did not appertain to them to dispute or judge about faith, and they must persevere in that faith in which they and their ancestors were born, and whereby they swore to their confederation, they refused to do so, and remain in their errors.

The most important of the articles are as follows:

That human precepts, not being based on the Word of God, are not binding.

That Christ is the only redemption and atonement for all sins, and to acknowledge any other is to deny Christ Himself.

That the consecrated Host does not essentially contain the true body and blood of Christ.

That the mass which is in use is contrary to Scripture, and a scandal to the atonement—an abomination to the passion and death of Christ.

That Christ alone is mediator between God the Father and man, and the intercession (*suffragia*) of the Virgin Mary and other saints is to be abolished.

That to no class or condition of persons is matrimony forbidden.

There were also some other dogmas, so that at these disputations they proceeded from words to blows (*de verbis devenērunt ad verbera*); the magistrates withdrew, and the plague interrupted their controversies; they (the Reformers)

¹ The text in Sanuto reads: "Ale qual ha sedutto molto Costanza." Brown reads "ale qual ha veduto molto costanza," and translates "where he found great firmness."

² The disputation between Protestants and Catholics held at Berne, in January, 1528. The articles as here given agree substantially with the official list, as printed in Müller: *Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, 1903, pp. xviii, 30. See Lindsay, ii, 1908, 41ff.

remaining in great dispute and hatred with these Cantons, and the others, which will, perhaps, cause the rejection of some of the articles.

That there is no purgatory, wherefore those things which are done for the dead are done in vain.

That the images of the saints are to be abolished.

There is another heretical sect¹ which increases greatly, notwithstanding their being violently persecuted everywhere, namely of Brethren and Sisters, who have everything in common, and cause themselves to be rebaptized.

The heresy maintained by them is that infant baptism is unnecessary, as children are pure, but adults, being in sin, require it.

That original sin is removed by the death of Christ.

That the real body of Christ is not contained under the sacrament of the Eucharist.

They do not acknowledge any other sacrament.

They break the communion bread without any regard for the sacrament or the regulation.

They choose everything to be in common, and those who refuse are compelled to consent.

There are also others who maintain that Lucifer is not damned.

Others admit two principles, and two Gods, one good and one evil.

Others have no belief at all in our Lady or the saints.

These sectarians multiply so that in many places they might constrain the others, but, being all discordant, it may be expected instead that they will all dissolve, though in the meanwhile they might doubtless do some mischief, most especially those who, having wasted their own property, would fain consume in the like manner that of their neighbors, and, therefore, choose everything to be in common.

¹ The Anabaptists. They were spread widely throughout South Germany and Switzerland, and the dogmas of the different groups and teachers were diverse. The teachings here described cannot be identified as the doctrines of any particular group. They agree only in small part with the Seven Articles of Schlatt, prepared by Michael Sattler, February 24, 1527, and adopted by several of the Swiss and South German groups as a confession of faith. Cf. H. Böhmer, *Urkunden zur geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wildertaüfer* (1910), pp. 25ff., and W. Köhler, *Brüderlich Vereinigung ertzlicher Kinder gottes* (1908).

819. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vii, 53.

(WITTENBERG), February 13, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. I am wonderfully delighted, my dear Hausmann, that the visitation of your churches¹ has by God's grace, passed off so well. There is hope that all the other things that the Church needs may in the course of time be similarly granted.

In our church we sing the litanies in Latin and German; it is possible that the notes or melody of both litanies will be published.² The directions for fasts, excommunication and other important ceremonies will follow in due time, though of these, too, there is enough for a beginning.

I have been suffering from vertigo, beside the other afflictions which the messenger of Satan lays upon me. Do you pray God for me, that He may strengthen me in faith and in His Word.

I shall make no further answer to Duke George. I hope shortly to publish the book on the Turkish war;³ it would have been out already if the first sheets had not been lost through the carelessness of the servants. It was difficult to recover the ideas and the scheme. This is what has caused the delay. My Katie sends you a reverent greeting, so do also Dr. Jonas and Philip and all our friends. We fear that Bugenhagen will scarcely get back before Whitsunday, though his wife expects to be confined about Easter time. Christ be with you. Amen.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

820. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vii, 60.

(WITTENBERG), March 3, 1529.

Grace and peace in the Lord. The catechism⁴ is not yet finished, my dear Hausmann, but will be done shortly. The

¹ The visitation of the Zwickau churches was conducted by the commission of which Spalatin was the head, January 25 to 31.

² They were published in the third edition of *The Small Catechism*. Weimar, xxx.

³ Cf. *supra*, no. 808.

⁴ The Large Catechism, which appeared in April. The Small Catechism had already been published (January, 1529) as a wall chart; it appeared in book form in May. There is a vast literature on Luther's Catechisms. The best summaries are by Cohrs in *Realencyklopædie*, and Weimar, xxx,¹ with full bibliographies. Cf. also Smith, 234ff., Köstlin-Kawerau,² ii, 49-62.

book against the Turk¹ is now in press and will be finished before Judica² Sunday, Christ willing. Though I am well, I am compelled to be a sick man almost all the time, for Satan is harassing me, and that keeps me from writing and doing other things, for I must seek society so that I may not run the risk of solitude. Do you pray for me. . . .

MARTIN LUTHER.

821. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vii, 62.

(WITTENBERG), March 7, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. I have received your two newsy letters, my dear Wenzel. But I have begun to despise my Moab,³ and shall make no further reply to his maledictions. It is like Erasmus thus to persecute the Lutheran name⁴ when he cannot live in safety except under its protection. Why does he not go to his own Hollanders or Frenchmen or Italians or Englishmen? He smells a rat. By these flatteries he is trying to prepare a place for himself, but he will not find it; he will fall between the two chairs. If the Lutherans had hated him as he hates them, he would, indeed, be in peril of his life at Basle.⁵ But Christ will judge this atheist and Epicurean Lucian.

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 808.

² Two Sundays before Easter; in this year March 14.

³ Duke George of Saxony.

⁴ The suggestion that Luther refers to Erasmus's epistle, *Contra Quosdam qui se falso jactant evangelicos*, made by De Wette and adopted by Enders and the St. Louis editors, is impossible, for this is dated November 4, 1529, *Opera*, x, 1573, and was published in that year still later, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*. It is certain that Luther alludes to a letter of Erasmus to Pirckheimer, as is shown both by the resemblances of the present letter to it, and because he says he saw that Erasmus was attacking him in the latter's (private) letters, cf. *infra*, to Montanus, no. 834. The letter to Pirckheimer, *Erasmi Epistolae*, 1642, xix, 50, and *Opera*, 1703, iii, col. 1138ff., has simply the year date 1528, but states that it was written in answer to a letter of Pirckheimer's of February 14. In all probability the year 1529 is meant (whether by a misprint or by reckoning the beginning of the year March 25) both here and in the letter to Duke George, evidently about the same time, dated February 5, 1528. Erasmus's epistle to Pirckheimer I believe to have been written about February 21, 1529, sent at once to Nuremberg, and there shown by Pirckheimer to his friend Link, and by him reported to Luther. In this letter Erasmus speaks of his plan to leave Basle, and says: "Where Lutheranism reigns, learning dies. And yet this sort of men is chiefly nourished by learning. They seek only two things: good pay and a wife. The gospel offers them the rest—that is, the power of living as they please."

⁵ Basle had by this time become too Protestant for Erasmus, and in the letter just cited he wrote Pirckheimer that he meditated flight. He actually left, in April,

There is no news here. As regards the visions in Bohemia that they talk about, there is no certainty; many people say there is nothing in it. But the meteor that was here, which I myself saw at eight o'clock in the evening on the Saturday after Epiphany, was seen in many places, even to the ocean.

Dr. Hess writes that one night in December there was a fiery sky over the principal church in Ratisbon, and that in another place two fiery beams were seen with a broom of fire between them. I think these fires mean that the last day is at the door. The empire is falling, kings are falling, popes are falling, and the world is going to pieces like a great house that begins to fall in ruins by the breaking off of little bits. Only the Turk must first boast of a great victory and be destroyed, along with the Pope, his ally, as Ezekiel prophesies of Gog and Magog. Pray for me, a sinner, and greet his lordship, the abbot,¹ and commend me to his prayers. May Christ be with your wife in her confinement. Grace be with you.

MARTIN LUTHER.

822. MELANCHTHON TO JOACHIM CAMERARIUS.

CR., i, 1039.

SPIRES, March 15, 1529.

The Diet of Spires, to which Melanchthon went as the adviser of the Elector, was called to meet February 21, but the opening session was not held until March 15, and the diet adjourned in April. On the significance of the diet *vide* Smith, 227; Köstlin-Kawerau,² ii, 117ff.

Greeting. We reached Spires on the day³ before *the Sunday before Palm Sunday*. To-day, which is the day after that Sunday, the commands of the Emperor were made known; *they are quite terrible*. The decree of the convention at Spires

for Freiburg in the Breisgau, where he spent six years. Erasmus had quarreled with Oecolampadius, partly over the Eucharist, partly because he sneered at the other's marriage as "a mortification of the flesh" (*Epistolae*, xix, 41, March 21, 1528), and he was accused of lampooning Oecolampadius in his *Colloquies*, Dialogue on the Cyclops. A rather violent Reformation took place during the week February 3-8, *cf.* Kidd, 464ff.; Baum: *Capito und Bucer*, 447. Erasmus had already written Pirckheimer of the quarrel with Oecolampadius, as he mentions in the letter here cited. He also speaks of the places of refuge to which he may go. He says that the King of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury had invited him there, but that the theologians at Paris and Louvain are hostile to him. As Luther says, he frequently flattered those in power, to prepare a place for himself.

¹ Pistorius.

² *I.e.*, March 13. The italicized words throughout this letter are in Greek.

of two years ago¹ has been abrogated, and *many heavy penalties* are appointed for those who do not observe the new edict. The rest concerns *the Turkish war*. From this summary of what has been done so far, you can easily perceive in what danger we are. There has never been so large an attendance of *high ecclesiastics* at any other diet as at this one. Some of them show in their very faces how they hate us and what they are plotting against us. But Christ will have regard to His poor people and save them. In this city we are indeed *dregs and offscouring*. You know that I have felt that our people are not all they ought to be, but what is done here is not for the correction of our faults, but for the suppression of a good cause. I hope Christ will hinder them and bring to nought the counsels of the nations who long for wars. . . .

Φίλιππος

823. JOHN VON MINKWITZ TO PRINCE JOHN FREDERIC AT WEIMAR.

ZKG., xxix, 1908, 341.

SPIRES, March 30, 1529.

Minkwitz (†1534), one of the most trusted councillors of Frederic the Wise and of John the Steadfast. On March 24, 1532, he was made Grand Marshal of the court by John Frederic. He was now at Spires with John. Much of his correspondence at this time is published in Menz: *Johann Friedrich*, vol. i, and a facsimile of a letter from him to John Frederic, dated Spires, April 13, 1529, is given in Menz: *Handschriften*, no. 41a.

There is a plan to have Dr. Luther and Philip Melanchthon meet Zwingli and Oecolampadius at Nuremberg to confer about the schism concerning the sacrament. We have good hope that they will come together and agree in Christian wise.²

¹ The first Diet of Spires (1526). It had left the enforcement of the Edict of Worms to the discretion of the territorial powers, pending the convention of a Council of the Church.

² This project was later carried out at Marburg, in the same year. The political weakness of the Protestants, due to their division, made Philip of Hesse very anxious to unite the two parties. The idea of a conference between the leaders was first suggested by James Sturm, at Spires, in 1526. Duke Ulrich of Württemberg was anxious to see it accomplished. Philip approached Luther on the subject in 1527, but found him unwilling to consider it, cf. Schubert in ZKG., xxix, 1908, 330ff. Raising the question again in the summer of 1529, Melanchthon objected, and suggested that if a conference were held, some "honorable and reasonable papists" ought to be present. H. von Schubert: *Bekenntnisbildung und Religionspolitik*, 1529-30. 1910.

824. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1527-33, no. 444.

ROME, April 7, 1529.

Lord Andrew dal Borgo, ambassador from King Ferdinand, went to the Pope on the day before yesterday, and narrated to him how in Germany the Lutherans had so multiplied and prevailed in such a manner that in some of the chief cities the one single mass which was celebrated for the Catholics had been abolished, and in another city¹ a crucifix had been shamefully defaced, so that well nigh all Germany might be considered Lutheran.

825. MELANCHTHON TO JOACHIM CAMERARIUS.

CR., i, 1059.

SPIRES, April 21, 1529.

Greeting. So far there has been nothing to write about, but yesterday the decree of which I told you was passed.² In it we seem to agree that our adversaries may keep their papal laws. Therefore the men of our party have entered a protest,³ in which they declare that they do not consent to this edict, and some of the cities have subscribed our protest.⁴ You see it is a horrible business. There are two factions in the Empire which Faber and Eck, by their foolish and wicked advice, are arming against one another, *but it seems to me that the antagonists are afraid of each other and equally sorry for the whole shameful business.*⁵ They are now trying to get our people to stay here, saying that they will moderate the

¹ Perhaps Basle is meant, though this was in Switzerland.

² The Recess of Spires (Walch,² xvi, 258ff., Kidd, p. 242) attempted to establish the *status quo* in matters of religion. It forbade the introduction of any further innovations in religious practices, pending the meeting of a General Council, and provided for the suppression of all sects and teachers who spoke against the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper. The enforcement of the law was left to the territorial princes, but the evangelical party rightly conceived it to be an attempt to localize the Reformation, and prevent its spread into any new territory.

³ The protest was made at the time of the adoption of the Recess, it was then put in writing and the *Instrument of Appeal* was formally handed in on April 25. Text in Walch,² xvi, 286-332; excerpts in Kidd, 243f. Cf. also Ney, *Die Apellation und Protestation . . . auf dem RT. zu Speier*, Leipsic, 1906 (*Quellenschriften zur geschichte des Prot.*, no. 5). It was from this protest that the evangelical party received the name of "Protestant."

⁴ The subscribers to the protest were John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, George of Brandenburg, Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneberg, Wolfgang of Anhalt, and fourteen of the free cities—Strassburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbrunn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gall, Weissenburg and Windsheim.

⁵ This in Greek.

harshness of the decree. What will come of it I do not know. We should be in no danger if our people would only be a little more accommodating and would be fairer about other matters—raising money for the Turkish war and for the expenses of the imperial government.

About what the papal orator¹ did, I wrote you before. He made a submissive and timid little speech, exhorting them to prepare for war against the Turks. *Concerning the schism in the Church he said,*² “As regards the faith, his Holiness is deeply grieved hearing that the old heresies and new ones are sowed in Germany and are spreading little by little.” He did not say anything harsher than that. Then he exhorted those who had remained in the Church, as he put it, to remain in their opinion, and those who had left the Church to return. At the end he made excuses for the failure to call a Council.

I have no more news. Christ keep and guard you. We may leave here in two days. I will write at the first opportunity on the way. Farewell. . . .

Φίλιππος

826. THE LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSE TO ULRICH ZWINGLI.

Schuler and Schulthess, viii, 287.³

SPIRES, April 22, 1529.

Philip of Hesse had found his plans for the formation of a union of evangelical princes and cities continually balked by the theological differences between the Wittenbergers and the South Germans, especially the Strassburgers. As early as 1526 he had conceived the idea of bringing these theologians together in a conference where their differences might be discussed and a general agreement reached. Early in 1529 he began his efforts to this end, including the presence of Zwingli as a part of his plan. At Spire (April 22, 1529) a secret agreement for defence against the Catholic party was formed (*vide infra*, no. 831), which made the holding of such a conference all the more important. It was on the same day that he sent this letter to Zwingli. Neither Luther nor Melancthon favored the project (*vide infra*, nos. 837, 829), but after some negotiations the Elector of Saxony gave his consent, and Philip issued a formal invitation for the colloquy to be held at Marburg, September 29. Cf. *supra*, no. 823, n. 1.

Our gracious goodwill to you, learned, dear and excellent

¹ Thomas (Gian Tomaso) Pico della Mirandola, a lay noble and papal ambassador at Spire. *Vide* Pastor-Kerr, x, 123f.

² This in Greek.

³ With the date “May 9.” The letter was written on the “Thursday after Jubilate,” and in 1529 Jubilate Sunday was April 18.

Sir. We are endeavoring to bring together at some suitable place Luther and Melanchthon and some of those who hold your view of the sacrament, so that if a merciful and almighty God grants us His favor, they may come to some Scriptural agreement about that doctrine and live in harmony, as becomes Christians. For at this diet the papists were unable to assign any other reason for clinging to their perverse life and customs except to say that we who profess the entire and clear Word of God do not agree among ourselves on the doctrines of our religion. If this were not the case it would be easy to remedy matters so that these childish things could quickly be changed. We therefore ask you to help us all you can to bring together some of your party and some of the Lutherans at the said time and place, in order that, as I said above, we may be led to some agreement about these matters, which shall be based on a firm foundation and be worthy of Christians. We shall gratefully remember your offices in this behalf.

PHILIP, Landgrave of Hesse.

827. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vii, 92.

(WITTENBERG), May 6, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. The clock¹ you sent me has come, my dear Wenzel, and, perhaps, it is weary from the journey, or unused to its new home; at all events it is resting for a little while, but it will probably take up its course again presently. I thank you; poor man that I am, I have nothing to give you in return. I think you have already got the books we published lately, but they are of such a kind that they do not deserve the name of a present. They are old things gotten out in new form. The Lord has added to my family a little daughter, Magdalena;² the mother is well and had an easy confinement.

Another diet³ has come to an end, but with scarcely any re-

¹ This was Luther's second Nuremberg clock. Cf. *supra*, no. 756.

² Who died September 20, 1542. There is a sweet painting of her at the Luther House in Wittenberg. See *Conversations with Luther*, ed. Smith and Gallinger, pp. 47f.

³ The Diet of Spires.

sult except that the Christ-scourgers and soul-tyrants were not able to give full vent to their fury. That is enough for the Lord to grant us, for there is nothing to hope from the council that is talked of.

A man who has come here from Venice declares that the son of the Doge of Venice is at the court of the Turk. Thus we have been fighting the Turk while the Pope, the Venetians, the French have been openly and shamelessly becoming Turks. Then, too, he says that in the French army at Pavia¹ there were 800 Turks, 300 of whom were saved, and, tiring of the war, returned home. You say nothing about the portents,² and so I supposed that you knew nothing of them, but I have heard and read such circumstantial reports of them that I believe they are true. Thus we are coming to the middle of that night in which the shout is heard, "The Bridegroom cometh; go ye forth to meet Him."³ Pray for me, and farewell, with all your family; greet all our friends.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

828. MICHAEL MAI TO THE EMPEROR.

Gayangos, 1529-30, no. 6.

ROME, May 11, 1529.

. . . In Siena, during this past Lent, a Lutheran friar⁴ has been preaching in favor of his sect, or, at least, of some of its most important tenets. Thought at first of putting a stop to the nuisance by such means as he himself could command, but finding there was difference of opinion on this point among the citizens he (Mai) was afraid of stirring up some new excitement, especially as Siena is so close to Florence, where all the strength of the League is now concentrated. Fortunately the bishop (John Piccolomini), who is also cardinal of that place, had the man arrested, and his guilt was proved, for letters and papers were found on him in connection with Germany and the Lutheran sect. The Pope then

¹ Besieged and captured by the French in September, 1528. The report is not substantiated by other contemporary authorities.

² Referred to in a previous letter to Link, *supra*, no. 821.

³ Matthew xxv, 6.

⁴ In all probability this was Peter Martyr Vermigli (1500-62) an Augustinian of Florence, often employed as Lenten preacher. About this time he became one of the leading Protestants of Italy. *Realencyklopädie*, and on his historical work: E. Fueter: *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, 1911, pp. 232ff., 295f.

sent for him, and he (Mai) was requested to dispatch one of his secretaries to Siena to accompany the Pope's officer and bring the culprit to Rome. Villaverde was the person chosen for the purpose, but neither he nor the papal officer, his colleague, thought it prudent to deliver the papal breves, and take charge of the prisoner, lest some disturbance should be raised in the city, and thus the affair remains to this day.

829. MELANCHTHON TO DUKE JOHN FREDERIC OF ELECTORAL SAXONY.

CR., i, 1064. German.

WITTENBERG, May 14, 1529.

Serene, highborn Prince and Lord. My humble service to your princely Grace. Your Grace knows how greatly my gracious lord, the landgrave, desires that Doctor Martin shall confer with Oecolampadius and others about the sacrament.¹ Now, in a matter of such moment, it is not proper for us to do anything without the advice and consent of our gracious lord² and of your Grace. If your Grace thinks it would be a good thing to undertake such a conference, we shall not be found wanting, for, of course, it must be discussed sometime, but I gave your Grace my foolish opinion³ (which is here enclosed) at Weimar,³ with my reasons why the proposal for a conference between Doctor Martin, Oecolampadius and others should not be accepted at this time. I have talked with Doctor Martin about it, and he fears that it would be fruitless if they were to discuss the matter by themselves; he also thinks there is no hope that the leaders of the opposition will amend their views. I know, however, that this is a cherished plan of my gracious lord, the landgrave, and I fear that if his Grace were to hear that Dr. Martin had again declined the conference, his Grace would be more inclined to Zwingli, and I have good reason for this fear. Therefore I humbly request your Grace to consider what is to be done. I think it would be well for my gracious lord to let it appear that I had asked him about the matter and he had refused, so that I could then give this answer to my gracious lord,

¹ Melanchthon had met the landgrave at Spire and the matter had been discussed between them there. *Vide supra*, no. 826.

² The Elector.

³ The opinion given orally at Weimar has now been reduced to writing.

the landgrave, "My gracious lord, the Elector, will not give us permission at this time." Thus his Grace would be silenced with a polite answer. I humbly beg that your Grace will take this matter (which, in my judgment, is no small one) under advisement, and graciously give me an answer, so that I may reply to my gracious lord, the landgrave, as I have to do. God keep your Grace eternally, by His mercy.

Your Grace's humble servant,

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

830. MELANCHTHON'S OPINION CONCERNING A COLLOQUY WITH ZWINGLI AND OECOLAMPADIUS.

CR., i, 1066. German.

(WITTENBERG, May 14, 1529.)

So far as I am concerned, I am not afraid to discuss the sacrament with Oecolampadius and his like, and, therefore, I did not decline the landgrave's proposal. Would to God it could be done in a proper way, for their case sounds well, and, for reasons that I know, it has a great following among the men throughout Germany who are reputed to be learned, but it has one great defect,—they do not yet know how hard it is to stand before God without God's Word. Curiosity and conceit can act in no other way than they act.

It is quite useless to deal with Zwingli, and so it is purposed to invite not him,¹ but Oecolampadius, and even if he were invited it is not to be hoped that he would come. If the others, who dance this dance as Zwingli wants them to, are well enough instructed, they will be afraid to measure themselves with us. Then, too, if we were to come together, it ought not to be only they and our people, but there should be some papists present, learned and reasonable men, to listen to the arguments on both sides; otherwise there would be great talk about the Lutherans and Zwinglians coming together to make conspiracies, etc.; besides, if there were no neutral parties there the Zwinglians would probably do more boasting. I have told the landgrave, therefore, that if we came together there ought to be some papists there because they would be neutral. I know some of them² who I hope

¹ But Zwingli had already been invited; cf. *supra*, no. 826.

² I.e., of the Zwinglians.

could be moved to abandon their error—men like Hedio and Ambrose Blaurer; but the others would only become worse and there would be more disturbance afterwards, as it happened after the Leipsic Disputation.¹ Moreover, it is not a good thing that the landgrave should have much to do with the Zwinglians; as it is, he is fonder of them than is good. For the subject is one that makes trouble for clever people—and such a one is the Landgrave—and a man's reason readily takes hold of what it can grasp, especially if learned people agree to it and make out a plausible case from the Scriptures; and there are many learned men among the adherents of Zwingli. But this matter means much to me, and I have studied it as much as I could, and insist that I will never in my life agree with the Strassburgers, and I know that what Zwingli and his followers write about the sacrament is not true.

831. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 454. German.

WITTENBERG, May 22, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ, serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. Among other news which Master Philip has brought me from the diet is the report that a new alliance² is on foot, especially between his Grace, the Landgrave of Hesse, and certain cities. The report has disturbed me not a little since I burned my fingers a year ago,³ when, by a miracle of grace, God delivered us from the other perilous alliance. Though I hope that God will continue to have us in His keeping and will give your Grace His Spirit and counsel him to beware henceforth of such alliances, nevertheless, because I am over-anxious, and because my conscience compels me, I cannot help writing your Grace about the matter, since I have learned by experience that one cannot be too diligent in anticipating Satan and his evil desires. Christ our Lord will grant our prayer that even though the landgrave proceed with the making of alliances (which may God forbid!), your Grace will not

¹ Of 1519.

² On Luther's view of a previous alliance of the kind *vide supra*, no. 793. This new alliance had actually been concluded, April 22. The parties to it were the landgrave, the Elector of Saxony, and the cities of Strassburg, Nuremberg and Ulm.

³ *I.e.*, in the Pack conspiracy.

allow himself to be involved in them; for we cannot even conceive the evil that will come out of it.

In the first place, it is certain that such an alliance is not of God and does not come of trust in Him, but is a device of human wits. Its purpose is to seek for human help and rely on that which has no firm foundation and can have no good results, in view of the fact that the alliance is unnecessary. For the papists are not strong enough and have not courage enough to begin anything, and God has already provided us with a defence against them in the good walls of His power. Then, too, such an alliance does nothing more than cause our opponents also to make alliances, and, perhaps, in self-defence, they might do some things that otherwise they would leave undone. Moreover the fear is only too well grounded that when the landgrave, who is a restless young prince, has made this league, he will not be quiet, but, as he did a year ago, will find some occasion not only for self-defence, but for aggression. It is not God's will that we should so act when as yet no one either pursues or seeks us.

In the second place, the worst thing of all is that in this league the most of the members are those who strive against God and the Sacrament,¹ willful enemies of God and His Word. By making a league with them we take upon ourselves the burden of all their wickedness and blasphemy, become partakers in it and defenders of it. In truth, no more perilous league could be proposed for the shaming and the quenching of the Gospel and for our own damnation, body and soul. That is what the devil, sad to say, is seeking. If it cannot be otherwise, God help your Grace to desert the landgrave and be separate from him, as I hear that my gracious lord, the Margrave George,² has said he will do. Our Lord Christ, Who has marvelously helped your Grace hitherto, without the landgrave, nay, against the landgrave, will continue to give you His help and counsel.

In the third place, in the Old Testament God always condemned leagues for human help, as, for instance, in Isaiah vii, viii and xxx. He says,³ "If ye remain quiet and trust, ye

¹ *I.e.*, the Zwinglians and the Strassburgers.

² George of Brandenburg.

³ Isaiah xxx, 15.

shall be helped." We ought to be God's children of faith, in true confidence. But if we are to have a league, He will send us one without our seeking it or worrying about it, as He promises in Matthew vi,¹ "Have no care; all this will come to you if you seek first the kingdom of God"; and St. Peter says,² "Cast your care upon Him, for He careth for you"; and Isaiah,³ "Who art thou that thou fearest mortal men?" In the landgrave, who has made one serious error, no such trust is possible, especially since he shows no evidence of a change, nor of any repentance or regret.

I have desired submissively to write all this to your Grace, hoping that Christ has already put more and better counsel into your Grace's heart. We pray and will pray, and shall be heard, that God the Father of all grace may counsel us and keep your Grace against all the crafty assaults and attempts of the devil. Amen. Your Grace will graciously not take this letter of mine amiss.

Your Grace's humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

832. GASPAR CONTARINI TO THE SIGNORY AT VENICE.

Brown, 1527-33, no. 460

ROME, May 24, 1529.

Yesterday in chapel the Emperor's ambassador⁴ told me that Dom. Andrea dal Borgo had received letters of a recent date from the diet at Spires, announcing its determination to give King Ferdinand 16,000 infantry and 4000 horse for the expedition against the Turks. With regard to the Lutheran affairs, it was decided that until the next council, which will be held within a year, all persons are to follow their own fashion, but, on the other hand, that the masses are to be re-established in those places where the Lutherans suppressed them, because they were more powerful there than the Roman Catholics.

833. THOMAS LIPPOMANO, PODESTA AND CAPTAIN OF FELTRE, TO THE SIGNORY OF VENICE.

Brown, 1527-33, no. 462.

FELTRE, May 26, 1529.

A trustworthy person, who quitted Trent on Tuesday morn-

¹ Matthew vi, 33.

² I Peter v, 7.

³ Isaiah li, 12.

⁴ Mai.

ing, the 25th, reports that on Sunday, the 23d, the governor of the town desired the preachers of the convents to preach, and, on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, to have processions made for the coming of the Emperor, and to pray that he may have the divine assistance for the establishment of peace and quiet, and that he may prosper in this his coming to take the crown;¹ so they preached and made the procession accordingly. He also said that at Spires the archduke [King Ferdinand] had a procession made, and attended it in person, carrying the host, and that the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse would not attend the procession because they were Lutherans, and they stood at a window scoffing the procession, and using gross language,² and when the archduke passed, Saxony withdrew, Hesse remaining at the window, jeering more than ever.

The Emperor does not choose the affair of the Lutherans to be discussed at the diets, saying he will hold a council about it; but in Germany Lutheranism has more followers than ever.

834. LUTHER TO JAMES MONTANUS³ AT HERVORD.

Enders, vii, 105.

WITTENBERG, May 28, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. You write that Erasmus is foaming over against me, my dear James.⁴ I knew it before, for I have seen it in his letters. He does not publish a single book without showing the impotence of his mind, or, rather,

¹ Charles reached Italy August 12, 1529, but his coronation was postponed until February 24, 1530.

² Or "big words," *parole grande*.

³ Montanus (†c. 1534) was an older contemporary of Luther's, who had been a schoolmate of Erasmus at Deventer. He spent the greater part of his life as a teacher at Hervord, and was a correspondent of Melancthon and Bugenhagen as well as of Luther. A sketch of his life in ADB. Twenty letters of Montanus to Pirkheimer, 1525-30, are published by K. Löffler in *Zeitschrift für vaterlandische Geschichte und Altertum*, lxxii, Heft, i, pp. 22-46. Münster, 1914.

⁴ It is probable that Montanus got this information from Pirkheimer, who presumably sent him the letter from Erasmus described *supra*, no. 821. On April 23, 1526, (*op. cit.*, pp. 35f.) Montanus asks Pirkheimer to return his letters to Luther and Erasmus (both lost) and to tell him what he thinks of the matters now in controversy between them. He says he does not see how Erasmus can answer Luther. There is no further reference in the published correspondence to show that Pirkheimer sent him Erasmus's letter, but it is not improbable. On the other hand Montanus may have heard something from Erasmus directly, as the above shows he wrote to him, although no correspondence between them has been published.

the pain of the wounds he has received. But I despise him, nor shall I honor the fellow by arguing with him any more, and if I write anything of the kind I shall deal only with the subject in hand. I shall mention Erasmus only as one speaks of a third person, condemning, rather than refuting his ideas. He is a light-minded man, scoffing at all religion, after the fashion of his own dear Lucian, and never writes seriously unless he is setting down calumnies and slanders.

All here are well, thanks to your prayers. Thank you for the gifts; they show your goodwill; I would send books in return, as I promised before, if I knew what books you were without; however, I am sending those that have appeared most recently. Farewell in Christ, and pray for me.

MART. LUTHER.

835. MICHAEL MAI, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR AT ROME, TO
THE EMPEROR.

Gayangos, 1529-30, no. 29.

ROME, June 5, 1529.

. . . This threatening message¹ was sent verbatim to the Pope, because he (Mai) knew very well that owing to certain disagreements now existing between the Pope and the cardinals, and of which Burgo gave him (Mai) notice, his Holiness would be rather glad than otherwise, and also that the Emperor's enemies may know at once how matters stand, and not be surprised at what the Lutherans say and profess to believe; for certainly, excepting in matters of faith, in most other things concerning Rome, the right is on their side.

836. LUTHER TO JUSTUS JONAS.

Enders, vii, 116.

(WITTENBERG), June 15, 1529.

. . . Carlstadt has for some time been settled in Frisia.²

¹On the relations between Pope and Emperor at this time, see Pastor-Kerr, x, 35ff. Mai was imperial ambassador at Rome. Jerome de Schio was sent as papal nuncio to Charles at Barcelona on May 25, arriving May 30, 1529. On June 23 the treaty of Barcelona was signed, disposing of the Italian questions, and agreeing that Alexander de'Medici, a relative of Clement, should marry Mary, the Emperor's natural daughter. *Vide infra*, no. 839.

²This same passage appears verbatim in an earlier letter to Jonas (Enders, vii, 97) dated by Enders "May 5(?)," by Walch,² "between the 5th and 15th June." It is probable that its inclusion in the earlier letter is due to a copyist's error. The original is lost. On Carlstadt's stay in East Frisia, *vide* Barge, ii, 399ff.

He is joyful and triumphant. In two boastful and congratulatory letters he has summoned his wife to him. That is to say, Satan will make new portents for us there. Christ is our confidence; may He strengthen us, who are weary and heavily-laden. Truly we are compelled to be Herculeses and Atlases, so entirely does the whole world rest on our shoulders. There is no bishop and no prince that is doing his duty. No bishop is caring for a single church, nay, for a single soul; no prince for a single city, nay, for a single household. They all rage together for the injury of the will of God. Pray for us.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

837. LUTHER TO PHILIP OF HESSE.

Enders, vii, 121. German.

WITTENBERG, June 23, 1529.

Grace and peace from Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. I was glad to receive your Grace's letter and invitation, addressed to me, beyond all doubt, but in a gracious and Christian spirit; together with the letter of his Grace Duke John, the Elector, in which he strongly urges me to give your Grace a favorable answer, in the hope that God will graciously grant that the division among us on the subject of the sacrament may be ended. With this in view your Grace appoints Michaelmas¹ as a time for us to come together at Marburg to talk over the matter with our opponents in a kindly and private way.

I thoroughly believe that your Grace is altogether serious about this matter and really means it well, and, therefore, I, too, am willingly inclined to render your Grace's Christian project what I fear is a vain, and for us, possibly, a dangerous service. For I, too, heartily delight in peace; others boast of it much with mouth and pen, but when it comes to deeds they take such a stand that there is no hope of it.

There is all the more reason, then, why I should speak out in time and tell your Grace dryly what I think. It seems to me that our opponents are seeking to use your Grace's diligence to accomplish an end from which no good will come, namely, that they may hereafter be able to boast that it was

¹ September 29.

not their fault; that they had gotten so great a prince to move, etc. Thus they will use your Grace's name to accuse us of harshness and to decorate us most beautifully, as though we had no desire for peace and truth. I know the devil well. God grant I be not a prophet! For twelve years now my wits have been sharpened on such tricks, and often I have been badly burned.

If this were not a trick, and they were really serious about it, they would not need to go at it with such pomp and circumstance, through such great princes, who have other things to do. A mere bit of dry wood would serve, for we are not of such high station nor are we so wild and ruffianly. They could long ago have written to us and showed us and convinced us of their great desire for peace and truth (as they say).

Therefore, if your Grace is willing to do it, I should be glad if your Grace, since your Grace is going to take a hand in the matter, would inquire of the other side whether they are inclined to yield their opinion, so that the trouble may not become worse than ever. For your Grace can readily understand that all conferences are wasted and all meetings are in vain if both parties come to them with no intention of yielding anything. It has been my past experience that they will insist on their own ideas after our arguments have been fairly presented; that I cannot yield after their arguments have been presented, I know as certainly as I know they are in error.

If, then, we were to part without agreement, not only would your Grace's expense and trouble and our time and labor be lost, but they, too, would not cease their boasting—it has been their custom hitherto—and would thus compel us to answer them anew. In that case it would have been better if things had been left as they now are. In a word, I can expect no good of the devil, however prettily he acts.

But since your Grace fears that bloodshed may result from this disunity, your Grace must also know that if this should result (which God forbid!) we shall be altogether guiltless of it. It is nothing new that turbulent spirits cause bloodshed. They have proved it before by Francis von Sickingen, and by Carlstadt and Münzer, and, afterwards, by God's grace,

we were found entirely innocent. But may Christ our Lord tread Satan under His feet and ours.

Your Grace's obedient servant, MARTIN LUTHER.

838. PHILIP OF HESSE TO LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON.

Enders, vii, 125. German.

(FRIEDEWALD, July 1, 1529.)¹

Grace and peace from God through Christ our Lord, and the illumination of the Holy Spirit for true understanding and true steadfastness. Amen.

Learned, especial and dear friends. We have received and read your separate answers² to our recent letter, addressed you by our own hand, in regard to a friendly and pacific colloquy with Oecolampadius and others of his following,³ concerning the division in our Christian religion on the subject of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in which you write us that you will come to Marburg on the appointed day, Michaelmas, and take part in this friendly conference. Because, then, we have the comfortable and assured confidence that such a colloquy will lead to a friendly understanding and be productive of all good (if God gives us grace; for which we will heartily and earnestly pray); and since the other party has promised, if God graciously wills it, to appear on that day;⁴ therefore we ask you again, kindly and courteously, that you will show your goodwill by appearing on that day, and will certainly come to us to Marburg on Michaelmas, in order to begin, on the Thursday following, this friendly and kindly and pacific colloquy, at which we ourselves, God willing, shall be present in person. We ask that you do not refuse this invitation or hinder the meeting, so that no offence may be given. Thereby you will, without doubt, be comforting weak consciences and doing a good and Christian work, which we hope will be for our good. But since in matters of this kind we can propose no special measures

¹ Though undated, this letter was probably written at the same time with the dated letter to Zwingli (Schuler and Schulthess, viii, 313ff.).

² *Supra*, no 837.

³ No mention is made of Zwingli even here, though as early as April 22 he had been invited to participate in the colloquy.

⁴ Zwingli had promised, but Oecolampadius, who alone is mentioned here, received the invitation on the day his letter was written (Enders). His letter, promising to come, dated July 12, given in facsimile in Mentz: *Handschriften*, 23a.

that will be suitable or proper (as you who are experts can well understand), it is therefore our gracious desire that you will yourselves consider ways and means by which harmony and unity may be reached. . . .

839. LETTER WRITTEN BY ORDER OF JOHN MATTHEW GIBERTI, BISHOP OF VERONA, TO MARK CONTARINI.

Brown, 1527-33, no. 1086.

VERONA, July 16 (?), 1529.

Understands, by advices from Trent, that the Diet of Spires has been dissolved, and it was determined to take the silver vessels from the churches, to make money; and that *pro nunc*, all men are to profess what religion they please; and the Lutherans are more in favor.

Erasmus has quitted Basle.¹

In the neighborhood of Frankfort, a priest carrying the sacrament to a communicant, the Lutherans dashed it to the ground with great ignominy, and the priest was beaten.

An agreement has been concluded between the Pope and the Emperor,² and the Lord Chancellor of Spain [Gattinara] is made cardinal.

840. LUTHER TO THE MARGRAVE GEORGE OF BRANDENBURG.

De Wette, iii, 485. German.

(WITTENBERG), July 18, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. I have long delayed my answer³ to your Grace, though unwillingly; for at first, when the messenger was urging me, I had no leisure, and afterwards I had no trustworthy messenger. Your Grace will graciously pardon me. But now that I have got this George Schlegel,⁴ who is a reliable messenger, I shall tell your Grace what I consider the best thing to do in this matter, after having advised with Master Philip Melanchthon.

In the first place, we think it well that the monasteries and foundations should be left as they are until they die out, for

¹ For Freiberg in the Breisgau, April, 1529. Cf. *supra*, p. 469, n. 5.

² The treaty of Barcelona, signed June 23; *vide supra*, no. 835.

³ The Margrave's letter is dated June 15 (Enders, vii, 118).

⁴ A student of Gunzenhausen, who matriculated at Wittenberg January 20, 1529. In 1542 and 1548 mentioned as pastor at Erlangen.

so long as the old inmates still live there is little hope that there will be any peace if they are forced either to introduce or put up with such innovations.¹ Moreover, such worship, established on the foundation of the old manner of worship, becomes after while an unprofitable thing, as has occurred before. But whatever of the old, good order of worship it is desired to reintroduce is best put into the schools and the parish churches where the common man, too, can be present and be touched by it, etc., as we do here in Wittenberg and in other cities.

In the second place, it would be good if in your Grace's principality your Grace would establish one or two universities, where not only the Holy Scriptures, but law and all the sciences would be taught. From these schools learned men could be got as preachers, pastors, secretaries, councilors, etc., for the whole principality. To this purpose the income of the monasteries and foundations could be applied so that scholars could be maintained in the schools at proper salaries, viz., two theologians, two jurists, one professor of medicine, one mathematician, and for logic, rhetoric, etc., four or five men.

For, if studying is to be good you must have not empty cloisters and deserted monasteries and endowed churches, but a city, in which many people come together and practice on one another and stir each other up and drive each other on. Solitary studies do not accomplish this, but common studies do, for where many are together one gives another incentive and example.

In the third place, it is well that in all towns and villages good primary schools should be established out of which could be picked and chosen those who were fit for the universities, out of which the men can then be taken who are to serve your land and people. If the towns or their citizens cannot do this, then it would be well to establish new stipends for the support of a few bright fellows in the deserted monasteries, so that every town might have one or two students. In the course of time, when the common people see that their sons can become pastors and preachers, and get other offices, many of

¹ The Margrave had asked Luther's advice about the introduction into the monasteries of evangelical forms of worship.

those who now think that a scholar cannot get a living will again keep their sons in school.

If some of the scholars who are trained in these schools take service and hold office in the dominions of other princes, and the objection is made that you are training people for other lords, it must be remembered that this does no harm, for, beyond a doubt, these men will promote the founding and endowment of schools in the lands of other princes and peoples, etc.

This is the advice that, in my little wisdom, I have desired to give your Grace. God grant your Grace His Holy Spirit to improve on all this, and in all things perfectly to do His will. Amen.

Your Grace's obedient servant, MARTIN LUTHER.

841. LUTHER TO JOHN BRISMANN AT RIGA.

Enders, vii, 139.

WITTENBERG, July 31, 1529.

Briesmann or Brismann (1488-1549), a Franciscan, became acquainted with Luther during a six-year residence at Wittenberg, 1513-19. In 1519 he went to Cottbus, but was driven out because of his Lutheran views. In 1522-23 he was again at Wittenberg, going to Prussia in 1523 as an evangelical preacher. He was at Riga 1527-31, and at Königsberg 1531-46. He was one of the founders of the University of Königsberg and its vice-chancellor from its foundation until his death.

. . . The Landgrave of Hesse has summoned us to Marburg on Michaelmas,¹ in the attempt to bring about an agreement between us and the sacramentarians. Though Philip and I refused to go, and held back vainly, we were at last compelled by his shameless insistence² to promise we would come.³

¹ September 29.

² *Improbitate*.

³ Luther and Melancthon had promised to go in a letter to Philip of July 8, Enders, vii, 128; Erlangen, lvi (not liv, as quoted in Enders), no. 840. On thinking it over he became pretty angry about it, and just about this time sent a very strong letter to the Elector John, telling him not to conclude any alliance with men who thought differently, either seditious Münzerites, or sacramentarians or Anabaptists or doubters of the Trinity, like Erasmus. None, says he, has oppressed the sacramentarians but we; the papists were overwhelmed by them. Letter in De Wette, iii, 465ff., and registered Enders, vii, 110, with the wrong date, end of May, in both. Schubert has shown that the letter has allusions to one written by the landgrave on July 18, published by J. J. Müller: *Historie von der evangelischen Stand Protestation*, 1705, and must, therefore, have been written about the end of July or beginning of August. ZKG., xxix, 375.

I do not know yet, however, whether the journey will take place. We hope for nothing good from it, but suspect that the whole thing is a plot to give them the glory of a victory. We see that in the days of Arius these meetings did more harm than good, and the boastful Arians spread their teaching all the farther. Osiander¹ of Nuremberg, John Brenz and others have been summoned, but they manfully refuse to go. Whatever happens, pray for us that Christ may rule us for our salvation. Amen. . . . That youth of Hesse is restless and hot-headed. In the last two years the Lord has kept us from two great conflagrations with which he would have set all Germany afire unless God, out of pity for us, had opposed him with His powerful and wonderful hand and turned his plans upside down. So on all sides we are in greater danger from our friends than from our enemies. And still bloody Satan rests not, breathing out slaughters and blood. Therefore we must diligently pray. . . .

842. URBAN BALDWIN TO STEPHEN ROTH AT ZWICKAU.
Buchwald, *Wittenberger Briefe*, 62. (WITTENBERG, August 1, 1529.)

Baldwin of Luckau in Meissen, matriculated at Wittenberg September 15, 1521. In 1530 he became town clerk of Wittenberg, and on April 6 of the same year married a girl named Schutzenmeister, by whom he had three sons. Many of his letters in Buchwald, *op. cit.* Luther mentions him in 1542 as having given him stone and mortar from the town supply. Enders, xv, 59.

. . . Melanchthon has issued a new Dialectic. I suppose you will receive it. If you wish to hear it you must not long delay, for he will begin to lecture on it next week. . . . One thing more, I have seen Melanchthon dancing with the provost's² wife. It was a strange sight. . . .

¹ Andrew Osiander (1498-1552) of Gunzenhausen in Brandenburg, studied at Leipsic and Ingolstadt, was ordained priest 1520. From 1522 he was the soul of the Reformation in Nuremberg, like Calvin introducing a strenuous moral surveillance. The Interim in 1549 drove him to Königsberg, where he was appointed both pastor and professor at the university. A very bitter altercation on the subject of justification, between him and the other clergy, shook the Protestant Church to its foundation. In 1543 he published the *De revolutionibus orbium caelestium* of the dying Copernicus, with a preface erroneously stating that the famous astronomer regarded his momentous discovery as a doubtful hypothesis. RGG., *Life and Select Works* by W. Möller, 1870.

² Justus Jonas. Another account of Melanchthon's dancing, in 1541, is given in Köstlin-Kawerau, ii, 683, note to p. 506.

843. MICHAEL MAI TO THE EMPEROR.

Gayangos, 1529-30, no. 96.

ROME, August 4, 1529.

. . . All politicians agree in our opinion, namely, that your Majesty ought to conclude peace as soon as possible, for in the state in which Germany and Rome are at present no time should be lost. The Lutherans and Anabaptists, encouraged by certain princes and by those of the electors who withdrew from the last diet, are a calamity sufficient of itself to put an end to the whole world. These are matters that cannot be settled except by reputation, and reputation cannot be obtained by other means than peace. . . .

844. LUTHER TO JUSTUS JONAS.

Enders, vii, 146.

(WITTENBERG), August 17, 1529.

. . . . Last Sunday the Lord took from our Philip his son George.¹ You may imagine how we are trying to console this man, whose heart is so exceedingly tender and easily touched. It is wonderful how hard he takes the boy's death, for he has never before been tried with such a grief. Pray for him all you can, that the Lord may comfort him, and write him a consoling letter with your well-known skill. You know how much depends on this man's life and health. We all grieve and are sad with him, beside my own cares and daily troubles. But the God of the humble and afflicted is not yet conquered, though he is, as always, very weak. Of other things again, when our grief has somewhat abated. Farewell, and reverently greet your fellow-bishops in the Lord.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

845. LUTHER TO JOHN, ELECTOR OF SAXONY.

Enders, vii, 148.

De Wette, iii, 495. German.

(WITTENBERG), August 17, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most serene, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! I have delayed thanking your Grace for the cloth you sent me. I humbly beg your Grace not to believe those who say that I have need of such things. Unfortunately I have more, especially from your Grace, than I

¹ August 15. The child was born in Jena, November 25, 1527.

can reconcile with my conscience; it becomes me, as a minister, not to have superfluity, and, moreover, I do not wish it. I feel your Grace's too favorable kindness so much that I fear for myself, for I would not willingly in this life be found with those to whom Christ says: "Woe unto you rich, for ye have received your consolation." Moreover, even from worldly reasons, I would not be burdensome to your Grace, as I know that you are obliged to give so much that you can hardly have anything left over for me, for too much bursts the sack. The liver-colored cloth is too rich for me, albeit I thank your Grace for it, but I shall wear the black one in your Grace's honor, although even that is too costly for me, and were it not your Grace's gift I could never wear such clothes. I beg your Grace hereafter to wait until I ask for things myself, that I may not be bashful, on account of your Grace's kindness, to beg for others who are worthier of your favor. Without such gifts your Grace already does too much for me. I pray from my heart that Christ will reward you richly. Amen.

Your Grace's subject,

MARTIN LUTHER.

846. LUTHER TO JOSEPH LEVIN METZSCH AT MILAU.

De Wette, iii, 498. German.

(WITTENBERG), August 26, 1529.

Metzsch (†1571), Lord of Reichenbach and Friesen, Councilor of the Burgraves of Meissen, attended the Leipsic Debate, by which he was converted to the Evangelical faith. He remained at Leipsic until 1522, when he removed to Mila. In 1526 he inquired of Luther whether polygamy were permissible, Enders, v, 413. In 1528 Luther wrote him about his marriage with a niece, saying it was not forbidden, De Wette, iii, 300. His wife was a daughter of Günther von Bünau, Enders, vi, 237. He had thirteen children. Luther's last extant letter to him, March 12, 1530, concerns his debts. Enders, i, 350, with the wrong date 1520; *cf.* Enders, vii, 249.

Grace and peace in Christ. Faithful and dear sir and friend! I answer the pastor's question in my letter to him. No one is to be compelled to profess the faith, but, on the other hand, no one should be permitted to injure it. Let them give their objections and hear the answers. If by this means they are converted, well and good; if not, let them hold their tongues and believe what they wish. Our friends at Nurem-

berg and we, at Wittenberg, have acted thus. For, in order to avoid trouble, we should not, if possible, suffer contrary teachings in the same state.¹ Even unbelievers should be forced to obey the Ten Commandments and attend church, so that they may at least outwardly conform. Your pastor will tell you my opinion further. God bless you.

MARTIN LUTHER.

847. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN.

Enders, vii, 151.

(WITTENBERG), August 27, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. I would not let this messenger go without a letter from me, even though I had nothing of importance to write. The English plague is said to be epidemic among you² and in Zerbst. Many think it is epidemic here also, but I do not believe it. Our prefect³ has made himself ill with his own imagination, though he showed no other symptoms of illness except his own ideas. For if these things were really the beginning of that disease I should have had it often in these last three years or more. Even last night I broke out in a sweat and awoke in distress, and my thoughts began to trouble me; if I had given way to them I should have taken to my bed, as others who make martyrs of themselves have done. I write this so that you may join me in telling the people not to be fearful and not to allow their thoughts to hurry them into an illness which they have not yet. We have aroused almost by force many who had already taken to their beds with the sweat—Aurogallus,⁴ Bleicard,⁵ Dr. Brück,

¹ Luther expressed these ideas more fully in 1530 in his *Exposition of the Eighty-second Psalm*, Weimar, xxx,¹ 208ff. There he says the magistrates should punish four classes of dissenters: 1. Heretics, who are seditious, teaching that no government should be allowed, or that no Christian can be a magistrate, or that there should be no private property, are rebels, like thieves, murderers and adulterers, and cannot be tolerated. 2. Those who teach against some article grounded in Scripture and universally believed, as if one should say, Christ were not God but a mere man, are blasphemers, and should be punished. 3. When there are two sects, like Lutherans and Catholics, the magistrates should expel one for the sake of unity. Luther says he would advise his own followers to yield in such a case. 4. If any taught against an old custom of the Church, even if not grounded in Scripture, he should be silenced.

² I.e., in Zwickau. On the existence of the "English sweat" in Wittenberg at this time, cf. Buchwald, *Wittenberger Briefe*, nos. 71, 73, 74.

³ Hans Metzsch.

⁴ Cf., Vol. I, p. 465, n. 3.

⁵ Bleicard Sindringer, professor of law, afterwards (1537) rector of the university, one of the founders of the University of Jena (1548). He died 1551.

Master Christian¹ and others. They now laugh about it and say that they would, perhaps, be still in bed if we had not aroused them. Not that I think the disease is to be made light of, but we must distinguish between the times when we actually get the contagion and the times when we seem to get it from imagination and fear; imagination brings on the attack and the state of the mind affects the body. But pray for me, a sinner, and if your guest is still there, greet him in my name. Christ the Lord be with you. Amen.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

848. LUTHER TO JOHN BRENZ IN SWABIAN HALL.

Enders, vii, 154.

(WITTENBERG), August 29, 1529.

The original of this letter is in the Castle Library at Ansbach. See Th. Preger in *54 Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken*, 125.

Grace and peace in Christ. Your prophet Amos, venerable and renowned Master Brenz, has been given me, and I have read it through. Far be it from me either to change or add anything in that work. I do not wish to be a Master of Sacred Scripture; would that I were in some measure its pupil. The man to whom you entrusted it is purposely putting off the publication of it, fearing some trick of the printers; but he will publish it unless he pays no attention to my urging.² May Christ go on, and perfect His work in you.

You write, besides, about the meeting in Hesse to which you have been asked. You rightly judge that no good usually comes to the Church of God from these deceitful meetings. Therefore I beg you, if possible, not to be present, and if you have not already promised, do not do so.³ At the beginning we firmly refused, but that young Macedonian⁴ of Hesse wor-

¹ Who is meant? Enders (*l.c.*, n. 3) shows that it could not have been either Beyer or Doering. It is quite possible that Luther was thinking of Christian Neumayer, who matriculated on March 18, 1529, and took his M.A. September 4, 1531. Luther might have called him "Master" proleptically, as older students are frequently called "Herr Doktor" in German universities now. Luther speaks of the girl he married, Enders, vii, 77. Neumayer was later professor at Wittenberg, ordained pastor of Döbeln in 1540, died 1543. Enders, xv, 160.

² It was a full year, however, before Brenz's Commentary on Amos appeared.

³ Brenz had already promised in a letter of July 19. (Enders.)

⁴ A nickname derived from the famous Philip of Macedon.

ried our Elector until we were compelled to promise that we would come, but we informed him two or three times at length, that we had no hope of any good results, but feared that everything would be for the worse. Still he persisted, and we promised to be present if he would invite others also, and even honorable papists as witnesses against the future bragging of these boastful saints.¹ Now, if you do not come it will be to our advantage,² and though I greatly desire to see you, I would rather give up that personal satisfaction than gratify my wish at the cost of public danger. May Christ build you up and increase you to His glory. Amen. Pray for me, a sinner.

Your
MARTIN LUTHER.

849. LUTHER TO JUSTUS JONAS.

Enders, vii, 157.

(WITTENBERG, August or September, 1529.)

Grace and peace in Christ. Prepare yourself, and make up your mind to it, my dear Jonas, that all who come to me seeking parishes, whether they are bellies or spirits, I will send to you. This man that I send is one of them. You will see what kind of a man he is. To me he seems to be fitted for the field or the plow; he might, indeed, make a sexton. You may find something else in him, for the spirit can deceive me and hide itself from me. Do as you please.

Philip still grieves.³ We are standing by him, as is our duty. Would that all the Timons,⁴ rather than he, had such afflictions to bear, so that they might be humbled. For they are so proud of their own wisdom that they do not know how much a single public character, even a weak man and a sinner, is better than many, nay, than all the thousands of private Jeromes, Hilarions⁵ and Macariuses.⁶ And yet they boast to us about their ceremonial, celibate saints, all of whom together are not worthy to unloose the shoe's latchet of a single Philip; nay, to boast a little, not yours, nor Bugenhagen's, nor mine. For what have they all done, either private saints or celibate

¹ So Melancthon to the Elector on May 14, *supra*, no. 829.

² *I.e.*, it will give them an excuse for not going.

³ *Cf. supra*, no. 844.

⁴ Timon of Athens, proverbial for misanthropy.

⁵ Hilarion, the founder of monasticism in Palestine (d. 371).

⁶ Macarius of Thebes, the most famous of the pupils of St. Anthony (d. 391).

bishops, which can be compared with one year of Philip's work, or even with his one book of *Commonplaces*?¹ But this was no place for these complaints; we will talk about it sometime. Farewell. Be a holy enemy of the country saints, and all other private saints, and cultivate the publicans, *i.e.*, the holy sinners in public station, and pray for me.

MARTIN LUTHER.

850. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS GERBEL AT STRASSBURG.

Enders, vii, 166.

MARBURG, October 4, 1529.

This letter and those immediately following have to do with the Marburg Colloquy. On the last day of September a large number of leading Protestant divines assembled at Philip's fine castle at Marburg on the Lahn, to discuss the doctrine of the sacrament. As a basis of discussion Luther and Melanchthon drew up a confession called the Schwabach Articles, in which their differences with the Swiss were sharply set forth. It is commonly said that the Schwabach Articles came after Marburg, but Schubert: *Bekenntnisbildung und Religionspolitik, 1529-30*, 1910, pp. 20ff., has shown that they were really drawn up before. On October 1 there were private discussions: Luther with Oecolampadius, Melanchthon with Zwingli, Bucer with Hedio, and Brenz with Osiander. On October 2 and 3 there was a debate before a large audience, Luther speaking on one side and Zwingli and Oecolampadius alternately on the other. Eight contemporary accounts of the debate are given in Weimar, xxx, part iii, pp. 94ff. Another source on Zwingli in Marburg is found in Daniel Greser's autobiography, published in *Zwingliana*, 1910, ii, 324; *cf.* Köhler, *ibid.*, 356ff.; Köstlin-Kawerau,² ii, 121ff.; S. M. Jackson: *Zwingli*, 1900, p. 315; Smith, 243ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. You will know, my dear Gerbel, how far we attained harmony at Marburg, partly by the verbal report of your representatives, partly by the Articles³ they are taking with them. We defended ourselves strongly and they conceded much, but as they were firm in this one article of the sacrament of the altar we dismissed them in peace, fearing that further argument would draw blood. We ought

¹ The *Loci Communes* of 1521.

² The Marburg Articles, signed by Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon, Osiander, Agricola, Brenz, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Bucer and Hedio. The first fourteen articles are on common dogmas, the fifteenth expresses the inability of the two parties to agree on the coporeal presence of the body and blood. They are printed in Kidd, no. 110, and translated into English by H. E. Jacobs: *Book of Concord*, ii, 69ff.

to have charity and peace even with our foes, and so we plainly told them that unless they grow wiser on this point they may indeed have our charity, but cannot by us be considered as brothers and members of Christ. You will judge how much fruit has come of this conference; it seems to me that no small scandal has been removed, since there will be no further occasion for disputation, which is more than we had hoped for. Would that the little difference still remaining might be taken away by Christ. Farewell, brother, and pray for me.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

851. LUTHER TO CATHARINE LUTHER.

Enders, vii, 167.

De Wette, iii, 512. German.

(MARBURG), October 4, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Lord Katie, know that our friendly conference at Marburg is now at an end, and that we are in perfect union in all points except that our opponents insist that there is simply bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and that Christ is only in it in a spiritual sense. To-day the landgrave did his best to make us united, hoping that even though we disagreed yet we should hold each other as brothers and members of Christ. He worked hard for it, but we would not call them brothers or members of Christ, although we wish them well and desire to remain at peace.¹ I think to-morrow, or day after, we shall depart to go and see the Elector at Schleitz² in Vogtland, whither he has summoned us.

Tell Bugenhagen that Zwingli's best argument was that *a body cannot exist without occupying space, and, therefore, Christ's body is not in the bread*,³ and that Oecolampadius' best argument was that the *sacrament is [only] the sign of Christ's body*.³ I think God blinded them that they could not get beyond these points. I have much to do, and the mes-

¹ Luther said he would have no peace with them save what he had with Turks and Jews. Melanchthon showed himself even more unconciliatory, if possible. Bucer to A. Blaurer, October 18, 1529, *Briefwechsel der Blaurer*, i, 197f.

² The Elector summoned Luther, Melanchthon and Jonas to Schleitz to discuss the possibility of a political alliance with the Zwinglians, September 28, 1529. Enders, vii, 162, with better readings in ZKG., xxix, 354.

³ These words in Latin, meant rather for Bugenhagen than for Catharine, though she knew a little of that language.

senger is in a hurry. Say good-night to all and pray for me. We are all sound and well and live like princes. Kiss little Lena and Hans for me.

Your humble servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

852. JUSTUS JONAS TO WILLIAM REIFENSTEIN.

CR., i, 1095.

MARBURG, (October 4, 1529).

William Reifenstein, of a converted Jewish family of Königstein, followed the Lady Anna of Königstein to Stolberg in 1502; became tax collector there in 1508, died 1538. He was a good friend of Luther and his circle. Enders, vi, 378.

The grace and peace of God in Christ Jesus. When at Eisenach recently I promised, dear William, old friend and patron, that I would write you on occasion about the events of that convention of the scholars of Germany, which has now begun at Marburg under the auspices of the Prince of Hesse. Briefly, it was as follows: On the day¹ after Michaelmas we came to Marburg, and, to put it in a word, were graciously received by the Prince of Hesse with every sort of kindness, right *royally*.² Comfortable lodgings had been provided for us in the town, but the Hessian lord changed his mind and took us all to quarters in the castle and to his regal table. This was an honor shown in these forests not only to letters and the Muses, but to the God and Christ, Whose Word we preach. I hope that everything will turn out to Christ's glory.

On the Friday after Michaelmas those who are the leaders of the opposing parties conferred privately, by order of the prince,—Luther with Oecolampadius, Philip with Zwingli. But they failed to come to agreement, and the next day—the Saturday after Michaelmas—the colloquy was begun. It was not open to all, but was held before the Prince, and only the councilors of the Prince of Hesse, other councilors of importance, and those whom the debaters had brought with them, were admitted. On the one side were Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Hedio, and with them James Sturm,³ head of the Strass-

¹ September 30.

² In Greek.

³ Sturm (1489-1553), of good Strassburg family, a kinsman of Wimpfeling, studied at Heidelberg, 1501-4, then under Zasius at Freiberg. In 1517 he became secre-

burg Council, whom you know, a man of no small ability; also Ulrich Funk,¹ from the Zürich Council, and Rudolph Frey,² a councilor of Basle. On the other side were Luther, Philip, Eberhard von der Than,³ prefect of Eisenach, I, Jonas, Casper Cruciger, and the rest of our party. Before the Prince, with all the councilors sitting around, was placed at table at which sat these four—Luther, Philip, Zwingli and Oecolampadius. When the colloquy began and arguments were advanced on both sides, Oecolampadius urged this argument for almost two whole days: "Christ has a true body and is in heaven, but no true body can be in many places." He dwelt, too, upon the sixth chapter of John, which speaks of the spiritual eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood, as though this were merely saying the same thing in other words. Luther would not permit Christ's words about the Supper to be distorted, by force or craft, from the clear words of Him Who said, "This is my body," and the words of Paul, "This I received of the Lord." This offended our opponents, and almost in disgust they cried out that it was a *petitio principii*.⁴ Of this bitter dispute I shall tell you when I see you, or write you from Wittenberg, and you will hear something of it from the bearer, the teacher of your children.

On the Sunday after Michaelmas the colloquy was resumed in hope of an agreement, but when the dispute was prolonged until almost evening with our opponents holding to their error like grim death, and with us defending the side of the truth no whit less zealously, it was given up, and I do not know

tary to Palgrave Henry, Provost of Strassburg Cathedral; in 1524 he was elected Councillor and Provost. From 1527 on he was repeatedly mayor, and in all was sent on 91 diplomatic missions. He was the founder of a famous Strassburg school, and a far-sighted and disinterested statesman. *Realencyklopaedie*, RGG., ADB.

¹ Ulrich Funk, originally a glazier, now a leading member of the Zurich council and an ardent Protestant, who perished at the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531.

² A merchant and justice of the peace (Bannherr), as well as town councilor at Basle.

³ Von der Thann (1495-1574), in 1528 officer at the Wartburg, later captain at Königsburg in Franconia. A great deal about him in Menz: *Johann Friedrich*.

⁴ This is the conjectural reading of Seckendorf (*Historia Lutheranismi*, ii, 140). The reading of the *Corpus Reformatorum* is *vocat perditionem principum*, which is meaningless. The emendation of Kawerau, *vocaret perditionem principum*, is little better (*Jonas' Briefwechsel*, i, 129).

whether there will ever be any agreement among us now about the Sacrament. To-day, Monday, the prince, through his councilors and scholars, is seeking a way to some compromise, but the matter of the Sacrament will not be patched up on anybody's account, and there will be no agreement.

I wish I had an opportunity to talk with you that you might hear what I think about the different people. Zwingli is somewhat boorish and presumptuous; Oecolampadius is a man of wonderful gentleness of spirit and kindness; Hedio is no less suave and broad-minded; Bucer has the craftiness of a fox, making a perverse pretence of wisdom and keenness. They are all scholars, of that there is no doubt; the papists are no opponents at all compared with them; but Zwingli seems to have given himself to letters when the Muses were angry and Minerva was unwilling. But more of all this when I see you. The prince was the most attentive of all the on-lookers at this display, and is said to have declared openly: "Now, I would rather believe the simple words of Christ than the shrewd imaginings of men." The whole thing is in God's hands.

Of the scholars of some repute, Osiander was there from Nuremberg, and Brenz from Swabian Hall. Both of them are learned and cultured men. Then there was Hedio, Lonicer;¹ Dr. Stephen² was the preacher. Many people came from Frankfurt, others from the Rhinelands—Cologne, Strassburg, Basle, Switzerland, etc.—but they were not admitted to the colloquy, for it was held in the inner part of the castle, in the Prince's bedchamber. Everybody was kept out except ourselves. Bucer and I had a long private conference also on the chief articles of faith, the Trinity and Original Sin.³ . . .

¹ Undoubtedly John Lonicer is meant. He was born in Mansfeld 1499, studied at Eisleben and Erfurt, entered the Augustinian Cloister at Wittenberg, where he took his M.A. in 1521. He taught Hebrew at Freiburg, whence he was driven to Strassburg, teaching there four years. In 1527 was made professor of Greek and Hebrew at Marburg, where he died 1569. *Briefwechsel der Blaurer*, i, 42, n. 1.

² Stephen Agricola.

³ The meaning of the closing sentence is merely conjectural. The text is *concordavimus tamen articulo eucharistia, in quoniam gut gerecht, in quoniam concordatum esse*.

853. MELANCHTHON TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.
CR., i, 1098. German. (MARBURG, October 4, (?) 1529.)

The earlier part of this somewhat lengthy letter contains a summary of the arguments presented on both sides at Marburg. The letter is undated and contains no indication of the place where it was written.

. . . When it was all over Zwingli and Oecolampadius earnestly desired that we should acknowledge them as brethren. This we were not willing to grant by any means. They have attacked us so severely that we wonder with what kind of a conscience they would hold us as brethren if they thought we were in error. How could they permit our views to be taught and held and preached alongside their own? But this would have to be allowed unless we excommunicate each other.

In order that the discussion might not be fruitless, however, articles were adopted dealing with other subjects, so as to prevent further errors, if that be possible. For we have found that there have been improper utterances about the articles indicated above.¹ They have accepted our views on all points except the presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper. We think, too, that if this matter is not to go too far it ought never be taken up again; it is to be hoped that if they are dealt with in the right way they will yield. In other respects they have showed themselves not unfriendly to us, but we find that they are not sufficiently informed about the doctrine which Dr. Martin teaches, though they can repeat the words.

854. MICHAEL MAI TO THE EMPEROR.

Gayangos, 1529-30, no. 186.

TERANNI (TERNI), October 11, 1529.

Respecting the Lutherans, the Pope agrees that some sort of remedy must be thought of in time. He thinks that their pertinacious errors may be condoned to a certain extent, provided they do not touch on matters of faith. In all other things he says he cares not a straw, even if they should be left in possession of their churches.

855. LUTHER TO JOHN AGRICOLA IN SAALFELD.²

Enders, vii, 168.

JENA, October 12, 1529.

¹ Original sin, Word and sacrament, the Trinity, and the righteousness of faith.

² Agricola had removed from Eisleben to Saalfeld because of the prevalence of the English plague.

Grace and peace in Christ. We are on our way back from our meeting at Marburg, my dear Agricola, and while in the neighborhood wish to inform you in a few words what was the outcome of it. The Prince of Hesse gave us a magnificent reception and entertained us splendidly. There were present Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Bucer, Hedio, and three high councilors, James Sturm of Strassburg, Ulrich Funk of Zürich and N.¹ of Basle. They were humble beyond measure in asking for peace. We conferred for two days. I replied to both Oecolampadius and Zwingli, and opposed them with the passage, "This is my body." I refuted all their objections. The preceding day we had had courteous private conferences, I with Oecolampadius, Philip with Zwingli. In the meanwhile Andrew Osiander, John Brenz and Stephen,² from Augsburg, arrived. To sum the matter up, the men are clumsy and inexperienced in argument. Even though they perceived that their arguments proved nothing, they were not willing to yield on the one point of the presence of the body of Christ. It was rather, as we think, from fear and shame than from malice. On all other points they yielded, as you will see from the printed page.³ In the end they asked that we would at least acknowledge them as brethren, and the prince was very urgent about it, but that could not be granted. Nevertheless we gave them the right hand of peace and charity, agreeing that for the present harsh words and writings should cease, and each teach his own opinion without invective, but not without defense and refutation. Thus we parted. Tell this to Dr. Caspar Aquila,⁴ and pray for us. The grace of Christ be with you. Amen. Yours, MARTIN LUTHER.

¹ Rudolf Frey, *cf.* no. 853.

² Stephen Agricola or Kastenpaur (died 1547), a member of the Augustinian Order, who was led to adopt the doctrines of the Reformers by his study of Augustine's work of the Scriptures. In 1522 he was imprisoned for heresy, and spent some time in Wittenberg after his release (1523), going thence to Augsburg as a preacher. He was afterwards pastor at Hof, at Sulzbach (1537), and finally at Eisleben. *Realencyklopædie*.

³ *I.e.*, the printed account of the Colloquy which was published at Marburg immediately afterwards.

⁴ Caspar Adler, or Aquila (1488-1560) was at this time pastor in Saalfeld. From 1523-27 he had lived in Wittenberg, and was one of a group that worked on the translation of the Old Testament. He was a pugnacious individual whose life seems to have been chiefly a succession of combats. *Realencyklopædie*.

856. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS AMSDORF AT MAGDEBURG.

Enders, vii, 173.

(WITTENBERG), October 18 (or 19), 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. We got home¹ safe, my dear Amsdorf, and Master George² and John Ziering³ will tell you what was done. The landgrave treated us magnificently. Yesterday and again this evening I was tormented with an illness of the mind. The messenger of Satan—or whatever is the name of the death devil—buffets me thus. He is helped by the fury of the Turks, who are at our very door, and will visit with a rod of iron the horrible blasphemies of those who oppose the Word and the intolerable ingratitude of all the people. Christ have mercy on us! Amen. Admonish your Church, therefore, to penitence and prayer. The time is here, and the need is pressing. The rest again; I cannot write more now because my fingers are so weak and tremble so.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

857. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vii, 175.

(WITTENBERG), October 26, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. I must write hurriedly, my dear Nicholas, because of the sudden departure of the men who will bring you this letter. I thought they would stay here longer or I would have written at greater length both to you and Cordatus,⁴ especially about the Turkish war, which disturbs Germany, and justly, too, for we have earned the wrath of God, and they who have earned it neither repent nor amend their ways, but go on as before. I am publishing a

¹ I.e., from Marburg.

² George Major (1502-74) of Nuremberg, studied at Wittenberg, taught school at Magdeburg, in 1537 became preacher at the Castle Church, Wittenberg, and 1545 professor of theology there. After Luther's death he became a Philippist, and had a bitter controversy with Amsdorf on good works, the so-called Majoristic controversy. RGG.

³ A Wittenberg student whose home was at Magdeburg.

⁴ Conrad Cordatus (1476-1546) of Weissenbach in Austria, an early convert to the Reformation, came to Wittenberg 1524 and spent a year with Luther. Returning home he was imprisoned for his faith, but escaped to Wittenberg in 1526. After teaching school at Liegnitz he returned to Wittenberg in 1528. The next year he was given a church at Zwickau, which his hot temper lost him in 1531. He spent ten months (August, 1531-June, 1532) at Wittenberg, when he got an inferior position at Niemeck. He was the first to note down Luther's "table talk." Cf. Smith: *Luther's Table Talk: A Critical Study*, 1907, pp. 18f.

sermon against the Turks;¹ Philip and Jonas are printing a tract² on the same subject. Do your best to make your own hard-hearted, incredulous and stubborn Zwickauers believe and fear and tremble at the sight of the rod and the wrath of God. It will not be a jest, but the final wrath of God, in which the world will come to an end and Christ will come to destroy Gog and Magog and set free His own, for all the prophecies of Scripture are fulfilled, though we are sure that our humble prayers can avail somewhat against that Turk who will plague us Germans not this winter only but until the end of the world, as says Daniel vii. Farewell in the Lord and pray for me. I will wrestle even unto death against the Turks and the god of the Turks. Greet my dear Cordatus and his Christina.

MARTIN LUTHER.

858. LUTHER TO WENZEL LINK AT NUREMBERG.

Enders, vii, 179.

(WITTENBERG), October 28, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. Of our synod at Marburg there is nothing to write, my dear Wenzel, for you have already learned it all from Osiander. They were humble enough, nay, more than enough, and tried to gain recognition as our brethren. Nicholas Amsdorf is exulting greatly and praising the work of God because, although they sought to be recognized as our brethren, they did not succeed. He thinks Osiander's prophecy has been fulfilled, for two years ago he prophesied to Zwingli, as to a second Ahab, elated with the hope of victory, that within two years either he would be confounded, or he (Osiander) was not "speaking in the Lord,"³ and now they, who condemned us as idolaters,⁴ cannibals, Thyestians, worshipers of an impanate and edible God, Capernaïtes, etc., are seeking the fellowship of such people and are not considered worthy to have it. His story is true, and so is his boast, as we ourselves see.

¹ *Ein Heerpredigt wider den Turken*. Weimar, xxx,² 160ff.

² The tract is usually ascribed to Jonas, who dedicated it to Philip of Hesse (Kawerau, i, 140), but cf. Buchwald, *Wittenberger Briefe*, p. 72.

³ I Kings xxii, 28.

⁴ Epithets applied to the Lutherans because they held the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist.

I wanted to tell you this that you might know what our friends are thinking. I myself scarcely got home, for the angel of Satan buffeted me so that I despaired of getting home alive and well to see my family. But Christ triumphs over these "powers of the air,"¹ so pray for me even more diligently. Perhaps even the Turk, or, at least, his god—the devil—is a part of what I have to bear and to overcome in this struggle. In a word, it seems to me that these men are not bad, but rather have slipped into the wrong way of thinking through error or by accident, and would be glad to be helped out of it if they could. May God, Who has begun this work, have pity on them and bring them back. Amen.

We have heard that the Turk has fled, but Daniel says that he will fight against the saints until the judgment shall come and the Ancient of Days shall sit upon His throne. *We Germans should do well to give heed to that.*² I am publishing a warlike sermon to arouse the army against the Turks. Farewell, with all of yours, and pray for me.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

859. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 526. German.

(WITTENBERG), November 18, 1529.

After the Diet of Spires, the project of a league of Protestant princes in Germany was taken up anew and energetically urged, especially by Philip of Hesse. Cf. von Schubert, *Bekennntnisbildung und Religionspolitik*, 1529-30, pp. 183ff. The Elector had asked the opinion of the Wittenberg theologians, and the following is Luther's reply.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. The reverend and learned Doctor Gregory Brück has brought us three³ a document from your Grace, and after learning your Grace's views from him we have put in writing the best advice we can give your Grace. I beg your Grace to receive it graciously.

Our conscience will not permit us to approve or advise any such league, for we remember to what it may lead, and that bloodshed or some other great misfortune may result, so that

¹ Ephesians ii, 2.

² This in German.

³ Luther, Melancthon and Bugenhagen.

we might be glad to be out of it and yet be unable to get out. Any such disaster would be intolerable and we would ten times rather be dead than have it on our consciences that our Gospel had become, through any fault of ours, the cause of bloodshed or of harm. It is our lot to be the sufferers, and, as the prophet says,¹ to be "counted as sheep for the slaughter," and not to avenge ourselves or defend ourselves, but give place to the wrath of God.²

That this course puts your Grace in danger, does no harm. Our Lord Christ is strong enough and can readily find ways and means to keep this danger from injuring your Grace. He can destroy the thoughts of the ungodly princes.³ For it is our opinion that this undertaking of the Emperor's is only a threat of Satan's which will be powerless and will contribute in the end to the downfall of our opponents; though, to be sure, Christ takes ways—and it is right and proper—to test us and see whether we take His Word seriously, whether we hold it to be sure and certain truth, or not. If we really wish to be Christians and have eternal life yonder, we can have no better way than the way our Lord Himself had and all the saints, nay, the way He still has. Christ must always bear the Cross; the world will not bear it, but lays it upon Him, and we Christians, too, must bear it so that it may never be empty. Your Grace has borne it well heretofore, both in the time of the great uprising⁴ and in the face of great trials—envy, hatred and the many evil wiles of friend and foe. God has always helped your Grace and given your Grace courage, and has not left your Grace comfortless, either in body or in soul, but has graciously revealed and broken up and put to shame all the wiles and snares of the devil, and He will not make it hard for us in the future if we believe and pray. We know for certain that our cause is not our own but God's Himself, and the manifest help that He has given us has proved it. That is our comfort and our confidence, and because of it He has shown Himself a true Father, and has taken up and defended His own cause in such wise that we must confess it would have been beyond our ability and power, and we

¹ Psalm xliv, 11.

² Romans xii, 19.

³ Psalm xxxiii, 10.

⁴ The Peasants' War.

could not have directed, defended and carried on the matter with our own reason.

Therefore I humbly beg and exhort your Grace to be confident and unalarmed at this danger. God willing, we shall accomplish more by our prayers and petitions to God than they with all their defiance of Him. Only we must keep our hands clean of blood and violence, and if it were to come to the pass (though I think it will not) that the Emperor actually attacks us and demands that I or the others be given up, then, by God's help, we shall appear and not put your Grace in any danger, as I have often told your Grace's pious brother, my gracious lord, Duke Frederic.

For your Grace ought not to defend my faith or that of any other, nor can your Grace do so, but everyone must defend his own faith and believe or disbelieve at his own peril and at no one's else, if it goes so far that our overlord, the Emperor, attacks us. Meanwhile "much water is running by the mill," and God will find a way to keep things from going as they want them to. May Christ, our Lord and our Defence, bestow on your Grace the riches of His strength. Amen.

Your Grace's humble servant, MARTIN LUTHER.

860. LUTHER TO DUKE HENRY V OF MECKLENBURG.

De Wette, iii, 529.

Enders, vii, 191. German.

(WITTENBERG), November 27, 1529.

Henry V, "the Peaceable" (1479-1552), on the death of his father, in 1503, began to reign in common with his three brothers. The deaths of two of them, in 1507 and 1508, left him with Albert the only survivor. A partial division of the land was effected in 1534. Henry was a Protestant. ADB.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. I doubt not that my gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, will have written you, or will shortly write you, on my humble request,¹ about a publication that has been undertaken at Rostock. We have been informed by good people of Lübeck that certain Lollards² are printing Emser's Saxon

¹ Cf. Luther to the Elector, November 23 (De Wette, iii, 528).

² These "Lollards" were the Michaelisbrüder, a branch of the Brethren of the Common Life. Cf. *Realencyk.*, iii, 496.

Testament at Rostock.¹ They fear that this may do great harm to pious souls, and have earnestly requested me to labor with my gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, and get him to write to you. This I have done, and am hopeful that he may have written or will shortly do so.

To be sure I can put up with the text of Emser's Testament, for it is almost exactly my own text and is stolen from me word for word, but his poisonous additions and glosses and annotations may be dangerous, and it is chiefly because of them that this Testament of Emser's is being printed. Therefore I humbly beg that for the honor of the Word of God and the salvation of all souls (if such a thing is possible), your Grace will not permit this publication, considering that if this publication were issued by your Grace's favor or negligence, Satan might hereafter make great disturbance and trouble for your Grace, as though your Grace had consented to this great injury done men's souls, inasmuch as your Grace did not prevent it when there was still time. But I hope that Christ will grant your Grace, since your Grace is a lover of God's Word, to do what is in accordance with His divine will. Amen.

Your Grace will graciously take this necessary and well-meaning letter of mine in good part. May God have your Grace in His keeping.

Your Grace's obedient

MARTIN LUTHER.

861. THE LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSE TO LUTHER.

Enders, vii, 199. German.

FRIEDEWALD, December 9, 1529.

We make no doubt that you have knowledge of the unkind, offensive and unheard of treatment which his Imperial Majesty has inflicted on the representatives of the electors, princes and cities that subscribe to the holy Gospel, which they call your doctrine, and to the protest lately made at the Diet of Spire. We sent our agents to his Majesty with important, but humble and submissive petitions and requests, and with

¹As a result of this letter the publication of this Low German edition of Emser's New Testament was prohibited. In spite of this prohibition, the Gospels and the Book of Acts were printed, but the copies were confiscated.

Christian, honorable, proper and lawful proffers, and his Majesty had them bound and imprisoned in their inn. You also know what an uncompliant and severe answer his Majesty made to their petition and how he has made it clear and certain from this answer that his Majesty is seriously angry and ill-disposed against us, the aforesaid electors, princes and cities and against you and others who incline to the Gospel. You know, too, that there is danger that his Majesty may undertake measures even more ungracious, for the suppression of the Gospel, which might cause great difficulty, though we have no doubt that Almighty God, Who in His mercy and grace has so richly and graciously revealed His grace again to us, will protect it mightily against all opponents. And yet the ways and means that God has given us for this purpose are not to be despised. Since, then, such means are at our disposal and necessity demands that his Majesty and his Majesty's brother¹ and others shall ask for help against the Turks from all, and especially from us, the estates, who are not the least but the greatest and the chief source of help; therefore it is our idea that, if we were all agreed not to render any aid unless his Majesty were first to promise that we would be left in peace and not disturbed because of the Gospel (which we consider Christian and inoffensive and blameless), our resolution would under such circumstances have its effect upon his Majesty, and we trust to God that in this way our cause could be maintained and much trouble avoided.² We have no other opinion than that you still stand by your doctrine and will use all diligence to further whatever measures will serve to further it and plant it. Therefore we graciously and kindly ask you that if anything comes to you from the highborn prince, our dear uncle, etc., the Elector of Saxony, if his Grace seeks or asks your opinion or advice in the matter, you will propose to his Grace the way above suggested and do your best to have his Grace accept it, so that thus we may all act in agreement. . . .

¹ Ferdinand of Austria.

² On Philip's policy at this time see Smith, 227f., and the following: A. Westermann: *Die Türkenhilfe und die politisch-kirchlichen Parteien auf dem Reichstag zu Regensburg, 1531*, Heidelberg, 1910, and H. von Schubert: *Reich und Reformation*, Tübingen, 1911.

862. LUTHER TO PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.

Enders, vii, 204.

(WITTENBERG), December 16, 1529.

Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, highborn Prince, gracious Lord. The messenger has just brought your Grace's letter, informing me what unrighteous plots are brewed by the priests and the Emperor. I trust in God, who boasts in the Psalter that He makes naught the plans of godless princes and peoples, that He will hear us now and make these plans, too, come to naught. My hope is confident, because those priests boast loudly and rely on the Emperor and on human help and do not call on God nor ask after Him. May God guard us from relying on our wisdom and strength and make us desire His help and wait on it; then it will certainly come. Your Grace asks me to advise my sovereign not to give the Emperor help against the Turks until a general peace is made. I do not know, and have never cared to inquire what was done at Spires and at Schmalkalden, and so at this time I am unable to answer you; but if my advice is asked, I will, with God's aid, give it to the best of my ability, and pray God that in this matter of binding consciences His will and not that of the princes may be done. Amen. I commend your Grace to Christ. Amen.

MARTIN LUTHER.

863. WILIBALD PIRCKHEIMER TO KILIAN LEIB AT REBDORF.

Kilian Leibs Briefwechsel und Diarien, hg. von J. Schlecht,

Münster, i, W., 1909, p. 12.

(NUREMBERG, 1529.)

Kilian Leib (1471-1550) entered the body of Regular Canons at Rebdorf, 1486; in 1503 he became prior. His Diaries have some historical value. Life in ADB. and J. Deutsch, 1910.

The date of this letter is given by a note of Leib's that it was written 1529. It is interesting as showing the final break of the most important humanist in Germany, next to Erasmus, with the Reformation. Pirckheimer had been quite an enthusiastic Lutheran, and, as lately as 1526, had taken Luther's part in the controversy with Oecolampadius. By 1528, however, he had become thoroughly disappointed in the Reformation. A stronger letter than the present one, written soon after Dürer's death, April 6, 1528, to a correspondent in Vienna, inveighs against the doctrines and morals of all the new sects. It is found in *Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer*, 1828, p. 168.

Just as your silence troubled me extremely, so your letter has entirely wiped out any suspicion of a special reason why you should so long seem to hold your peace. Even had you judged me unworthy of your letters on account of my Lutheranism, you would have done me a grave injury. I do not deny that at the beginning it seemed to me that all Luther's acts were not vain, since no good man could be pleased with all those errors and impostures which have gradually accumulated in the Christian religion. So, with others, I hoped that some remedy might be applied to such great evils, but I was greatly deceived. For before the former errors had been extirpated, far more intolerable ones burst in, compared with which the earlier ones seemed child's play. Therefore I began gradually to withdraw, and the more diligently I observed all things, the more exactly I understood the wiles of the ancient serpent. For this reason I have been attacked by very many, and am slandered by some as a deserter of the Gospel truth, seeing that I am displeased with the liberty, by no means evangelical but simply diabolical, of so many apostates, both men and women, not to mention their innumerable other vices, which have extinguished almost all piety and charity. Indeed, Luther himself with the insolence and impudence of his tongue does not hide what he has in his heart, so that he seems either insane or else possessed by an evil demon. . . .

864. LUTHER TO NICHOLAS HAUSMANN AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vii, 214.

(WITTENBERG), January 3, 1530.

Grace and peace in Christ. Since the Sermon against the Turks has not yet reached you, I am sending two copies of the second edition for you and Cordatus. You write me that your City Council will fulfill its promises; I know nothing about any promises. Gifts of that sort are a burden to me, for they are great and valuable and cause men to suspect me of great wealth, which I loathe and could not bear if I had it; even the name annoys me. The better thing for you, therefore, is to see that it is lessened. No one owes me anything but food and clothing; but I am a debtor in all things to all men.

I shall finish the book on Marriage Laws¹ within three days. A Latin book on the Worship and Character of the Turks,² published almost seventy years ago, is in press. We have finished the corrections on the New Testament and more than half of it is printed; after that we shall go back to translating the Prophets. Farewell and pray for me.

Yours,

MARTIN LUTHER.

865. LUTHER TO CONRAD CORDATUS AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vii, 216.

(WITTENBERG), January 3, 1530.

Grace and peace in the Lord. I congratulate you heartily, my dear Cordatus, that the birth of a son has made you a father. The Lord be with him that you may rejoice in him all your days. Amen. As soon as I can I will send you a certificate accepting sponsorship for him, as you have asked, so that when your son grows up he, too, may have something to remember me by.

The papists are triumphing and scribbling, saying: A saviour is come, that is, the Emperor. But, alas, he is a hard saviour, and will swallow them up! I believe you have heard that the Pope, with the Emperor's consent, has sent to Germany two bishops—one of whom is the Bishop of Trent—bringing a decree that all the gold and silver in the churches of Germany is to be handed over to Ferdinand for use against the Turks.³ If this is not enough (and what is enough for them?) then a third part of all the church revenues is to be added. If even this is not enough (and it cannot be enough for men who want to exhaust and destroy Germany), then they are to sell their castles and cities and all their possessions and hand the proceeds over to Ferdinand, the victor and devourer. When this was read in the cathedral at Paderborn (now you will laugh!) one of the canons said, "The devil smite the Pope's body";⁴ another said, "Now Dr. Martin will last another year."⁵ The

¹ *Von Ehesachen* (Weimar, xxx,⁸ 198ff.).

² *De Ritu et Moribus Turcorum*, written 1475-86, by an unknown author, perhaps George of Hungary, a Dominican. Luther wrote a preface for the edition here mentioned. Weimar, xxx,² pp. 198ff.

³ A bull to this effect, dated August 27, 1529, given to Pimpinella. Pastor-Kerr, x, 183.

⁴ *Dat de Düwel dem Bawest int Lieff fare.*

⁵ *So will Doctor Martinus noch wol ein Jahr bleiben.*

Bishop of Bamberg,¹ in dismissing the two collectors, said he would rather suffer life imprisonment than consent to such a robbery. The Bishop of Würzburg² has sent a legate to secure from the Emperor a revocation of the decree. See how the Pope seeks to destroy Germany with his Florentine arts since he cannot win otherwise. Thus their saviour has begun to save them! It is just and right that they who oppose Luther, their defender, should, under their own preserver, lose everything they have and be destroyed in the wrath of God. At Cronberg in Hesse an unborn child cried out twice in the bath-room in the hearing of the whole family. This is a bad sign. You will communicate these things to your pastor, Dr. Nicholas Hausmann. Farewell, and pray for me.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

866. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER.

Enders, vii, 221. German.

TORGAU, January 18, 1530.

Greetings, reverend, learned, dear Sir. It has been reported to us several times in the past few weeks that you have ceased to preach in our city and parish church at Wittenberg. This has disturbed us greatly, especially since we cannot know the reason for it—whether it is physical inability or something that has aggrieved you. If your physical condition makes it impossible for you to preach so often in the week, it is our desire that your burdens shall be so lightened that you can preach once a week, possibly at the Sunday mass. If the reason for it is a grievance against our subjects at Wittenberg, we should be sorry to hear it, and would be ourselves much aggrieved to learn that the conduct of some of them had been the cause for you to stop your preaching. You know better than we can tell you how important it is, not only for the people of Wittenberg, but for those of our other lands and for foreigners, too, that you should not cease to preach. Therefore it is our especial and gracious request to you that, for the praise of the Almighty and the comfort of poor people who desire it, you will not give up preaching altogether, but will preach at least once a week, on Sunday,

¹ Weigand von Redwitz, Bishop of Bamberg, 1522-56.

² Conrad III von Thüngen, Bishop of Würzburg, 1519-40.

if you cannot do more. If the conduct of our subjects at Wittenberg is the cause of it, we are at your service, and so far as our official knowledge goes we shall, with the help of the Almighty, see that the grievances and causes are done away. If you were finally to give up preaching, it would cause us, as your sovereign, great difficulties, and would be an occasion for great joy to the enemies of the holy Gospel; it would also have other grievous consequences. Therefore we would graciously inform you that, for the praise of God and to retain our gracious will, you shall begin to preach again next week and not give it up. In this you will be following our aforesaid gracious will, which we impart to you in all grace and kindness.

867. MELANCHTHON TO JOACHIM CAMERARIUS AT
NUREMBERG.

CR., ii, 15.

(WITTENBERG), February 13, 1530.

Greeting. The Emperor is coming, and we must come to Augsburg. We shall pass through your city, so make ready your guest chamber; but my stay must be like that of a private in the army, for I am not allowed to go my own way. If it could be done, I should run, nay, I should fly, to you. I do not yet know when we shall start; some say in March, some in April. *The master will stay at some other convenient place, for he has not yet got permission to be present at the diet.*¹ But of all this, of my great cares, my infinite worry and my heavy grief, I shall tell you when I see you. These things are not easy to write, nor can many of them be committed to letters, especially when I am not sure that yours will be the first hands into which they come. Farewell.

PHILIP.

868. LUTHER TO HANS LUTHER AT MANSFELD.

Enders, vii, 230.

De Wette, iii, 550. German.

WITTENBERG, February 15, 1530.

Dear father! My brother James² has written me that you

¹ The italicized words are in Greek.

² This younger brother of Martin's was the only other boy in the family to reach maturity. He followed his father's profession, taking possession of the house on payment of certain sums to the other heirs, according to the agreement on the inheritance drawn up July 10, 1534. De Wette-Seidemann, vi, 150. James survived Martin, whose burial he attended.

are seriously ill.¹ As the weather is bad and the season dangerous, I am very anxious about you. For though God has given you a strong, tough body, yet your age and the inclemency of the weather give me disquieting thoughts. None of us are or should be sure of our bodies at any time. I would have come to you personally with the greatest willingness, but my good friends advised me against it, and have persuaded me not to, and I myself thought it better not to tempt God by putting myself in peril, for you know how lords and peasants feel towards me. But it would be the greatest joy to me if it were possible to you and mother to come hither, which Katie and all of us beg with tears that you will do. I hope we should receive you right well. Therefore I am sending Cyriac Kaufmann,² my nephew, to see whether your weakness would allow you to be moved. For, however, in God's wisdom, your illness turns out, whether you live or die, it would be a heartfelt joy to me to be with you again, and show my gratitude to God and to you according to the fourth commandment, with filial piety and service.

In the meantime I pray that Father, Who has made you my father, from the bottom of my heart, that He will strengthen you according to his immeasurable kindness, and enlighten and protect you with His Spirit, so that you may receive with joy and thanksgiving the blessed teaching of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to which doctrine you have now been called and to which you have come out of the former terrible darkness and error; and I hope that His grace, which has given you such knowledge, and thereby begun His work in you, will guard and complete it to the end of this life, and to the joyous hereafter of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. God has sealed this teaching and faith in you already, and has testified to it by such signs as that you have suffered much slander, abuse, obloquy, mockery, scorn, hatred and odium for His name's sake, as we all have done. These are the true signs of our likeness to the Lord Christ, as Paul says, that we

¹ Hans Luther died May 29, 1530.

² A son of one of Luther's sisters and her husband, George Kaufmann, of Mansfeld. The boy matriculated at Wittenberg, November 22, 1529, living at Luther's house. He accompanied his uncle to Feste Coburg in 1530. In later life he became a judge at Mansfeld.

may be like Him also in future glory.

Let your heart be strong and at ease in your trouble, for we have yonder a true mediator with God, Jesus Christ, who has slain death and sin for us, and now sits in heaven with all His angels, and looks down on us and awaits us so that when we set forth we need have no fear nor care lest we should sink and fall to the ground. He has too great power over sin and death to let them do anything to us, and He is so heartily true and kind that by no chance can He nor will He let us go, at least if we ask His help without doubting. He has promised, and cannot lie, of that we are certain. "Ask," says He, "and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." And elsewhere: "All who call on the name of the Lord shall be blessed." The whole Psalter is full of such comfortable promises; especially the Ninety-first Psalm, which is particularly good to read to the sick.

I wish to write this to you because I am anxious about your illness (for we know not the hour), that I might become a participant of your faith, temptation, consolation and thanks to God for His holy Word, which He has richly and graciously given us at this time. If it is His divine will you should still await that better life and suffer with us in this troubled and unhappy vale of tears, to see and hear sorrow and help other Christians to suffer and conquer, He will give you grace to receive all willingly and obediently. This execrable life is nothing but a vale of tears, the longer a man lives the more sin and wickedness and plague and sorrow he sees and feels, nor is there respite nor cessation this side of the grave; *there* is repose, and we can then sleep in the rest Christ gives us until He comes again to wake us with joy. Amen.

I commend you to Him who loves you more than you love yourself, and has proved His love in taking your sins upon Himself, and paying for them with His blood, as He tells you by the Gospel, and has given you grace to believe by His Spirit, and has prepared and accomplished all most surely, so that you need not care nor fear any more, but only keep your heart strong and reliant on His Word and faith. If you do that, let Him care for the rest; He will do well, yea,

He has done all for the best, more than we can conceive. May our dear Lord and Saviour be with you, so that, God willing, we may see each other, either here or yonder. For our faith is certain, and we doubt not that we shall shortly see one another in the sight of Christ and God; our departure from this life is a smaller thing than the journey from here to Mansfeld. It is only an hour's sleep, after which all will be different.

I hope that your pastor and preacher¹ will point out such things to you in faithful service, so that you will not need what I say at all, but yet I write to ask forgiveness for my bodily absence, which, God knows, causes me heartfelt sorrow. My Katie, little Hans, Magdalene, Aunt Lena,² and all my household send you greetings and pray for you faithfully. Greet my dear mother and all my friends. God's grace and strength be and abide with you forever. Amen.

Your loving son,

MARTIN LUTHER.

869. LUTHER TO JOHN FREDERIC, DUKE OF SAXONY.

De Wette, iii, 555. German. (WITTENBERG, February or March, 1530.)

This is the dedication of the German translation of Daniel, just completed.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord. The world runs and hastens so diligently to its end that it often occurs to me forcibly that the last day will break before we can completely turn the Holy Scripture into German. For it is certain from the Holy Scriptures that we have no more temporal things to expect. All is done and fulfilled: the Roman Empire is at an end; the Turk has reached his highest point; the pomp of the papacy is falling away and the world is cracking on all sides almost as if it would break and fall apart entirely. It is true that this same Roman Empire now under our Emperor Charles is coming up a bit and is becoming mightier than it has been for a long time, but I think that that shows it is the last phase, and that before God it is just as when a light or wisp

¹ Michael Coelius. Luther was fond of telling how when the pastor read his letter to old Hans and asked him if he believed its doctrine, the dying man replied: "Ay, he would be a knave who did not." Smith, p. 190.

² Magdalene von Bora, an aunt of Catharine's, who had also been at Nimbschen with her, and who lived with the Luthers for many years. She died 1537.

of straw is burnt up and about to go out, then it gives forth a flame as if it was going to burn brightly and even at the same moment goes out:—even so Christendom now does with the light of the Gospel.¹

Moreover all prophets in and out of the Bible write that after this time, namely, after the present year of 1530, things will go well again. That which they so rightly point to and prophesy will be, I hope, the last day, which will free us from all evil and help us to everlasting joy. So I reckon this epoch of the Gospel light as none other than the time in which God shortens and restrains tribulation by means of the Gospel, as Christ says in Matthew xxiv: “If the Lord shortened not these days, no man would be saved.” For if the world had to stand longer as it has hitherto stood, the whole world would become Mohammedan or skeptical,² and no Christian would be left, as Christ says:³ “When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?” And, in fact, there was no more right understanding nor doctrine in the Christian faith present, but mere error, darkness and superstition with the innumerable multitude.

Truly there has been no greater tribulation on the earth, and none will come that goes farther, endures longer and rages more fiercely than the abomination of Mohammed and the Pope, for they have destroyed the world temporally with ceaseless blood and murder, but have seduced and murdered souls much more terribly. Thus the third woe in Revelation xii also shows that one must say that the devil is loose, and rules bodily with all rage and wantonness.

Such thoughts have caused me to publish this prophet Daniel before the others who still remain, so that he may come to light before everything perishes, and he may exercise his office and comfort the poor Christians for whom he wrote, and for whom he was spared and preserved unto this last time. . . .

History relates how Alexander the Great always had the poet Homer by him and at night put it under his head and

¹ The last flare of the candle was a favorite simile of Luther's; cf. *Conversations with Luther*, ed. Smith and Gallinger, p. 250f.

² *Epicurisch* always has this sense in Luther, not the modern meaning of hedonist.

³ Luke xviii, 8.

slept on it. How much more fitting would it be that such and still greater honor be done to this Daniel by all kings and princes, that he should lie not only under their heads but in their hearts, inasmuch as he teaches differently and more highly than Homer was able to do.

For in him a prince can learn to fear and to trust God when he sees and recognizes that God loves the pious prince and rules him graciously and gives him all good fortune and safety, and contrariwise that He hates the bad prince, casts him down in anger and lays waste his power. Here we learn that no prince should trust to his own power or wisdom, nor presume upon it nor brag about it. For no realm nor government stands in human strength or wisdom, but it is God alone who gives, establishes, maintains, governs, protects, preserves, and Who also takes away. It is all held in His hand and depends upon His power as a ship on the sea or even as a cloud under the sky. . . .

870. LUTHER TO THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

G. Berbig: *Spalatiniana*, 1908 (*Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts*), p. 90ff. German.

De Wette, iii, 560. German.

Enders, vii, 239.

(WITTENBERG), March 6, 1530.

During the last months of 1529 and the early months of 1530, the governments of Saxony and Hesse were much occupied with the question whether it was right to resist with arms a forcible attempt by the Emperor to suppress Protestantism. The jurists of Saxony replied to the Elector's question with an affirmative, but Luther, *supra*, no. 859, with a negative; Philip of Hesse's similar question to Luther, Enders, vii, 199, brought a similar answer, December 16, 1529, *supra*, no. 863. A meeting for further consideration of a league of Protestants and for bringing pressure to bear on the Emperor by refusing help against the Turks, was held at Nuremberg, January 6, 1530. Smith, 227f. A further request for a complete statement from the Elector, January 27, Enders, vii, 223, brought the following from Luther and a separate opinion from Melanchthon, *Corpus Reformatorum*, ii, no. 666. In view of the political difficulties it was thought expedient to keep Luther's statement private. It was sent to Spengler, the town clerk at Nuremberg, but Melanchthon refused to send it even to Camerarius (*Corpus Reformatorum*, ii, no. 667). He took it with him to Nuremberg, however, in April, and here it was copied by Dietrich,

whose MS. has been published by Berbig, *loc. cit. supra*. Melanchthon then took it to Augsburg, where Cochlaeus, who was in the train of Duke George, got hold of it early in May, and published it with other documents at Leipsic in January, 1531. It was reprinted at the time of the Schmalkaldic War (1546) when the Protestants first came violently into collision with the Emperor. Its genuineness was denied by Bugenhagen, who was not at Wittenberg when it was drawn up, and Melanchthon asserted that in the edition of Cochlaeus he believed certain falsifications had been made. Neither statement was correct. Numerous allusions prove its genuineness; to those given by Enders may now be added one by Anthony Musa, recently published in ARG., ix, 61. And as the copy by Dietrich shows, the publication by Cochlaeus was not tampered with. The document is of great importance, being the last in which Luther stood consistently for passive obedience, as he had done in his letter to Frederic, March 5, 1522, *supra*, no. 529. He soon modified his opinion, Smith, 216f. On this document see Enders, *loc. cit.*, and Clemen in *Th. St. Kr.*, 1909, 471ff.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most serene, highborn Prince, most gracious Lord! At your Grace's request¹ I have inquired and taken counsel of my dear friends, Dr. Jonas, John Bugenhagen and Professor Philip [Melanchthon] on the question whether it is allowable to defend oneself against his Imperial Majesty in the event that his Majesty were to proceed by force against anyone, for the Gospel's sake, etc.

I find that according to the imperial or civil laws certain people² might conclude it allowable in such a case to defend oneself against his Imperial Majesty, especially since his Majesty has bound himself by oath³ not to attack anyone by force, but to allow all former liberties to remain intact. The jurists deal with this subject under the head of "reprisals" and "defiance."⁴ But, according to Scripture, it is in no wise proper for anyone who would be a Christian to set himself against his government, whether it act justly or unjustly, but a Christian ought to endure oppression and injustice, especially at the hands of his government. For although his Imperial Majesty may transgress his duty and oath, that does not destroy his imperial sovereignty or the obedience that is due

¹ *Begehr* omitted in Dietrich's MS.

² *I.e.*, the Saxon jurists who had given this opinion.

³ The coronation oath, or "capitulation."

⁴ *Diffidatio*, renunciation of allegiance; the English word "defiance" had this meaning originally and until after the sixteenth century. See Murray's dictionary. "Diffidation" is also used in English, but not until 1733.

from his subjects so long as the empire and electors recognize him as emperor, and do not depose him. Many¹ an emperor and prince breaks all God's commandments and still remains emperor and prince, and yet his obligation and oath to God are far higher than to men. If the mere fact that the emperor does wrong were sufficient reason why a subject should set himself against him, then there would be a reason for resisting him every time he does anything against God; that would mean that there would be no government and no obedience in the world, for every subject could allege that his ruler was acting against God.

The civil and canon laws do not regard government as a divine institution, and, perhaps, for this very reason they think so much of the oath that in such a case² they would check and resist the government. But since the emperor remains an emperor and the prince remains a prince, even though he break all God's commandments, nay, even though he were a heathen, therefore he is emperor even though he break his oath, until he is deposed and ceases to be emperor. Therefore the word of Christ must stand, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,"³ and the saying of I Peter ii, "Honor the king" also, for we should be subject with all fear not only to good and pious masters but also to wicked and uncouth ones. In a word, not sin but punishment puts an end to government and obedience, *i.e.*, if the empire and the electors agree to depose the emperor, so that he ceases to be emperor. Otherwise, so long as he goes unpunished⁴ and continues to be emperor no one ought to refuse him obedience or to resist him, for that is the beginning of mob rule and sedition and dissension.

Wherefore the legal maxim, "*vim vi repellere licet*,"⁵ that is, force may be resisted by force, does not help them, for these sayings do not apply as against the government, nor, indeed, do they apply to equals if they are other subjects, except in case of necessity or self-defence. And against them stand other legal sayings, as "No one should be judge in his own cause,"⁶ and "Who strikes back is in the wrong." . . .

¹ Dietrich *vyl*; Cochlaeus *wohl*.

² *I.e.*, in case the oath were broken.

³ Matthew xxii, 21.

⁴ Underlined in Dietrich's copy.

⁵ *Corpus juris, Digest lib. 43, c. 16, §27.*

⁶ *Codex Justiniani, lib. iii, tit. 5.*

What, then, is to be done? This is to be done. If the emperor will proceed against us, no prince or lord is to protect us from him, but is to allow his land and people to stand open to the emperor, for they are his, and let him commend the cause to God; nor ought anyone to ask anything else of his prince and lord, but everyone ought to stand for himself and maintain his own faith at risk of his life, and not bring the princes into danger along with him or cause them trouble by asking protection, but allow the emperor to do as he will with his own so long as he is emperor.

But if the emperor is not satisfied with having lands and people open to him and wishes to force the princes to attack their subjects because of the Gospel, imprison them, kill them and drive them out, and the princes believe or know that in this case the emperor is acting unjustly or against God—as happens when the matter concerns their own faith—then they ought not to obey the emperor or consent or aid in his acts, so that they do not become accomplices in his misdeeds. But in leaving their lands and people unprotected and the emperor unhindered they are doing enough. They ought to say: “If the emperor will persecute our subjects, who are also his, let him do it on his own conscience, we cannot prevent him; but we will not help him or consent to it, for we must obey God rather than men.”

In so far as we act in this way and commend our cause to God and pray to Him with complete confidence and put ourselves in such peril for His sake, He is faithful and will not desert us and will find means to help us and maintain His Word, as He has done since the beginning of the Church, and especially in the days of Christ and the apostles. Wherefore I think that *if anyone for the sake of defending¹ the Gospel²* opposes the government it is *like fishing³ for the net²*, and, indeed, *a real lack of faith²*, which does not trust God to help and protect us without our own wit and power. . . .

It should also be considered that even if it *were right to resist the emperor and we did it, we should have to drive the*

¹ *Vertheidigung*, Cochlaeus: *verwürdigung*, Dietrich.

² The words in italics underlined in Dietrich's copy.

³ *Es sey fur dem garnn gefisschet*, i.e., going about a job the wrong way,

*emperor out and become emperor ourselves, for the emperor would certainly defend himself,*¹ and the thing would not end until one side or the other gave up. Then, too, there is the great multitude to consider, and even though we were to win we should sometime have to beat those who had helped us, for no one ought to wish us to be emperor, and in such a miserable turmoil everybody would want to be emperor. What unspeakable bloodshed and misery there would be! A prince ought rather lose three principalities, nay, rather be three times dead than be the cause of such misery or help in it or consent to it. How could any man's conscience bear it? The devil would rejoice in such a game; may God keep us from it and graciously help us. Amen.

This is the answer we give your Grace, submitting it humbly to your Grace's consideration. Christ our Lord give your Grace strength and wisdom to act according to His good pleasure. Amen.

Your Grace's obedient servant,

MARTIN LUTHER.

871. THE ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY TO LUTHER, JONAS, BUGENHAGEN AND MELANCHTHON.

Enders, vii, 249. German.

TORGAU, March 14, 1530.

. . . We graciously desire to inform you that we have received from his Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, the summons to a diet, in which we, together with the other estates of the Holy Empire, are summoned to Augsburg to a diet on the 8th day of April next, where it is said that his Imperial Majesty intends to be present in person. The contents of the said summons² we send you in the enclosed copy.

Since, then, among the weightiest matters that are to be discussed at this diet, one is that of "the division in our Christian religion," and it is expressly said, in regard to this im-

taking trouble in vain; Grimm: *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, iv, part i, 1365f., quoting this passage.

¹ These words underlined in Dietrich's copy.

² The summons for the Diet of Augsburg was issued by the Emperor at Bologna, January 21. It is given in full by Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, i, 2ff., and the most important sections are translated, though very freely and with some inaccuracies, in Kidd, pp. 257f.

portant matter, that it is to be discussed and settled in the following manner, viz., "the suggestions, opinions and ideas of the several estates are to be heard, explained and considered in all love and kindliness, the divisions are to be allayed and brought to one single Christian truth, everything that is not rightly explained and all practices that are not right are to be abolished, one single religion is to be accepted and maintained by all of us, and as we are all under one Christ, so we are all to live in one communion, Church and unity, and, finally, unity and peace are to be made":¹—therefore we consider that great and inevitable necessity requires—since this diet will take the place of a national council—that all the articles because of which the said division continues, those that concern the faith and those that deal with external Church usages and ceremonies, shall be put in such form that before the diet begins we may be firmly and fully decided whether and in what form and how far we and the other estates who have accepted and admitted the pure doctrine in their lands may allow the discussion, with God, a good conscience, with propriety and without grave offence.

Since, however, the matters are to be taken up in such a way—we can place no other interpretation on the said announcement of the diet—that no one can better or more fully consider them or give advice about them than you; therefore it is our gracious request that you will do this, and especially that you will let all other matters rest, and so undertake this consideration as to be finished with it between now and Oculi Sunday² and come together here at Torgau on the said Oculi Sunday, bringing it with you. Seeing that the time before the diet is very short and we must start without delay, we leave the whole matter entirely to you.

And although it is not said in the aforesaid summons that every estate may bring its own preachers under safe conduct, for which reason we cannot understand how it will be possible for everyone's opinion and judgment to be heard and for unity to be reached; nevertheless it is our gracious request to

¹ The passage in quotation marks is taken almost word for word from the Summons.

² March 20. The reports of the Wittenbergers form the basis of the "Torgau Articles."

you, Dr. Martin, Dr. Jonas and Master Philip Melanchthon, that you will arrange your affairs at home and also make provision in our university at Wittenberg, so far as that is possible, for the holding of lectures in your absence, so that on a day which we shall name you will be with us again at Torgau and travel with us, along with Masters Spalatin and Agricola, as far as Coburg. Meanwhile we shall endeavor to get further information, God willing, concerning what is to be done at the diet at Augsburg about the presentation of the opinion and judgment of both sides. If the estates will be allowed, as necessity demands, to bring their preachers and scholars to Augsburg under safe conduct, we shall then have you brought to us from Coburg; but if the preachers and estates shall not be permitted to do this and safe conduct is not given, then you, and especially you, Dr. Martin, will remain at Coburg until our further orders. . . .

872. GEORGE RÖRER TO STEPHEN ROTH AT ZWICKAU.

Buchwald, *Wittenberger Briefe*, 79. (WITTENBERG, March 19, 1530.)

. . . All of us, and especially those of us who have a real interest in religion, are disturbed beyond measure, for not only is Dr. Martin unwilling to preach any more in public,¹ but Philip Melanchthon and some others are going with our prince to the diet. To be sure that is not yet settled, but it is certain that they will leave with him, though where they will go and when they will return they themselves do not know as yet. In short, Satan is diligently plotting against their life and will not rest until he accomplishes the thing he is trying with all his might to do. . . .

873. VEIT DIETRICH TO LAZARUS SPENGLER AT NUREMBERG.

Weimar, xxxi,¹ i, p. 184 (WITTENBERG, latter half of March, 1530.)

On March 17, 1530, Spengler, the town clerk of Nuremberg, wrote to ask Dietrich to find out from Luther what they ought to do with heretics, saying that dissenters in Nuremberg appealed to Luther's printed letter to the Saxon princes on the Seditious Spirit, 1524 (*supra*, no. 631), to show that the magistrate ought not to interfere

¹ Cf. *supra*, no. 266.

with them. This is Dietrich's answer, a postscript to a letter, the date of which is not given. As he speaks of Luther's *Commentary on the Eighty-second Psalm* as still in the future, and as this was completed by April 3, it must have been before that date. Dietrich here gives concisely exactly the position taken by Luther in this work, *loc. cit.*, 189ff. See Smith, preface to second edition, p. xiv.

. . . The other day, when I wrote this, I started that question at dinner whether the magistrate ought to use force against heretics. Then Dr. Martin expounded to me the manner in which he will treat that whole place in the psalm.¹ First he made this division: Heretics are of two sorts. Some are against religion only, not against the civil polity. Concerning those who sin against the civil polity, as do the Anabaptists, there is no doubt that they are to be punished and severely punished by the magistrate as seditious. Those sinning against religion only, as are to-day the sacramentarians and papists, should not be tolerated either. In the first place, because if there are in the state those who teach differently, occasion will be given for riots and tumults. The magistrate ought to guard against this. Secondly, if the magistrate knows who teach against religion, he ought not to tolerate them lest he become an accomplice of others' sins. Thirdly, blasphemers ought not to be tolerated, and everybody of that sort is a blasphemer. But the magistrate ought to be careful not to judge as blasphemy what is not blasphemy. When I first asked him about this he said that he would treat it with more care, and when he had thought it over would undertake to write on it. Nevertheless I thought I would thus show you my affection and regard. You see that you have brought this matter up most opportunely.

VEIT DIETRICH.

874. LUTHER TO CONRAD CORDATUS AT ZWICKAU.

Enders, vii, 291.

(WITTENBERG), April 2, 1530.

Grace and peace in Christ. May He comfort you in your sadness and affliction, my dear Cordatus, for who else can soothe such a grief? For I, too, have had experience of such a calamity as comes to a father's heart, sharper than a two-

¹ *I.e.*, Psalm lxxxii.

edged sword, piercing even to the marrow. But you ought to remember that it is not wonderful if He, Who is more truly a Father than you were, preferred for His own glory that your son, nay, rather His son, should be with Him rather than with you; for he is safer there than here. But all this is vain, a story on deaf ears, when your grief is so new; therefore I yield to your sorrow. Greater and better men than we are have given way to grief and are not blamed for it. Nevertheless it is a good thing for you to have had this kind of a trial, too, and to have tasted the power of conscience, so that you may learn in your own experience what is that power of the Word and of faith which is proved in these agonies. You have not yet felt the goad of the flesh and the buffeting of Satan's messenger; what you have so far suffered you have suffered in glorious and trusting innocence; that is, with a good conscience. Let this be enough.

I hear that you wish to hurry to the diet; I advise against it. First, because I am not called thither, but, for certain reasons, will only go with the prince on the journey through his own lands. Then because the matter of the Gospel will hardly be dealt with, or at least after long delay, for the princes are in no such hurry about the cause of religion, especially since the discussion will rather have to do with the Turk. You will be able to come there at the proper time; meanwhile labor with your Zwickauers and make them more tractable. Greet the comrade of your sorrow, and rejoice in the living Christ more than you grieve over your son who is dead—nay, he is alive but has been taken from you. My Katie and our whole household send you greeting.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

875. JUSTUS JONAS TO JOHN LANG.

Kawerau, i, 145.

WEIMAR, April 9, 1530.

The grace and peace of God in Christ. Last Sunday,¹ my dear Lang, Dr. Martin, Philip and I left Wittenberg with our illustrious prince, on our way to the diet at Augsburg. Bishop Bugenhagen was left at home to look after the university and take care of the church. The Emperor Charles V has now

¹ April 3.

been crowned by the Pope at Bologna,¹ and will come to Augsburg in person. The common rumor on this subject has been changeable for some time, and even in most of the courts it was not known whether the Emperor was still in Italy. Julius Pflug came back quite recently and said that at Bologna he did not hear any talk, not even a single word about the Emperor's coming to Germany. So well have the Italians known how to do everything deceitfully and under cover! But a messenger has come to the prince from Nuremberg, and says that the Emperor has already entered Trent on his way to Germany, and trustworthy men write that he is now certain to come to Augsburg. The matters that will be discussed there are, as you know, of the greatest importance, and no human wisdom can control or prosper them. If ever it was necessary to pray the Lord of our cause in heaven to captain and pilot our ship in this stormy sea, it is necessary now. Without doubt He will hear the prayers of the pious; therefore commend this matter to the prayers of your church. . . .

Yours sincerely,

JUSTUS JONAS.

¹ On February 24, 1529, Charles was crowned by the Pope at Bologna. The fullest account of the ceremony in English in Julia Cartwright's *Isabella d'Este*, ii, 1903, pp. 314ff.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

UNPUBLISHED TEXTS.

1. Luther to Henry VIII, September 1, 1525, and Henry VIII to Luther, August, 1526. *Supra*, nos. 700, 737.

In the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England, there is a MS., no. 175, containing these two letters. It is a regular, clerical hand, not original. It has been collated for me by Alfred Rogers, Esq. It agrees with Enders, except in reading:

"Accedit" for "accidit," p. 232, line 2, Enders, v.

Omitting the words "Regiae Majestati tuae subjectissimus Martinus Lutherus, manu propria," p. 233, lines 92-94.

One variation not noticed by Enders is the misprint "crufixionem" for "crucifixionem," p. 232, line 61, in the first edition.

Henry's reply has been collated from the first edition, the title of which is given in Enders, v, 229, and differs in the following points:

a7 recto l. 6, after *litteras* *add* Wittenberge.

a8 recto l. 9, for *percepisse* *read* *cepisce*.

b1 recto l. 4, *Tum om.*

b1 verso l. 8, for *huiusmodi* *read* *eiusmodi*.

b2 recto l. 2, for *suffultas* *read* *fulcitas*.

b4 recto l. 9, for *qui tamen sunt viri reuera probi et in primis docti* *read* *uiros tamen reuero probos et in primis doctos*.

b6 verso l. 4, for *peruici* *read* *reuici*.

c2 verso l. 8, for *miser te horum potius* *read* *miser tuorum potius*.

c3 recto l. 6, for *quare* *read* *quia*.

c3 verso l. 14, for *admonet* *read* *admouet*.

c4 verso l. 13, for *tum* *read* *quum*.

c6 verso l. 12, for *tradentis* *read* *laudentis*.

c6 verso l. 14, *omit ipsi*.

c8 recto l. 16, for *nimum* *read* *nimirum*.

c8 verso l. 5, *omit seruiti*.

d1 verso l. 16, for *coniungit* *read* *coniungunt*.

d2 verso l. 15, for *quod esse nullo modo* *read* *quod Fides esse, etc.*

d4 recto l. 16, for *qua te* *read* *qua et [&]*.

d5 verso l. 10, *omit creata*.

d6 verso l. 17, *omit et*.

d7 verso l. 17, for *scelara tam audacia* *read* *sceleratam audaciam*.

d6 verso l. 17 *omit et*.

d8 recto l. 9, for *clarissima* *read* *clarissimas*.

- e2 recto l. 1, for tyrannicum *read* tyrannica.
 e3 verso l. 4, for retulissem *read* rettulisses.
 e4 recto l. 8, for deijcis *read* reijcis.
 e5 recto l. 18, for eximium *read* reuerrendissimum.
 e6 recto l. 14, for infrendentis *read* frendentis.
 e6 recto l. 15, for minus satisfaciat *read* nulla s.
 e6 verso l. 2, for Nesis *read* Noli.
 e7 recto l. 1, for pius *read* peritus.
 f1 verso l. 4, for tum si *read* tum ut.
 f1 verso l. 10, tum ut id perdiscas setiam *after* id *add* sit (?) simul.
 f1 verso l. 11, for mutare *read* nutare.
 f4 recto l. 3, for superbie *read* superbericque.
 f4 recto l. 5, for amicus *read* amicorum.
 f5 verso l. 10, for humiliter *read* ciuilater.
 f6 verso l. 16, for haud *read* non.
 f8 recto l. 3, *omit* per.

2. ERASMUS TO LOUIS BER.

BASLE, January 26, 1527.

This letter, hitherto unpublished, is contained in the collection of autographs of the Reformers and early Protestant theologians, gathered by the late Frederic A. Dreer, of Philadelphia, and now in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in that city. It is closely written on both sides of a single sheet, and both letter and envelope are in an excellent state of preservation. The letter is without address, but the address on the verso reads: "Absolutiss. theologo | Ludovico Bero | oposito, etc." Notes accompany the translation, *supra*, no. 752.

The letter reads as follows:

S. p. Epistola tua non minus erudita quam pia bonam tedii | partem abstersit ab animo meo, quod non perinde concepi | ex molestiis quas vel valetudo corporis adfert vel homi | num quorundem improbitas, atque ex publico orbis malo | quod videam rem christianam eo tendere quo mini | me velim eam pervenire. Sed admirandus in moderandis | subitoque vertendis rebus hominum artifex, dominus, facit ut | non prorsus abjiciam spem letioris exitus, modo nos | agnoscamus quod hec rerum tempestas nos vocat ad phi | losophiam Evangelicam, ne stultiores simus illo, qui | post naufragium gratias agebat fortune quod vel sic | ad sapiente studium invitaret. Ego certe ex tantis ma | lis mihi privatim nonihil commodi decerpsi. Moliuntur | hic quidam ut hec civitas in eodem sit statu quo est | Tigurinus, nec ullo pacto ferunt concionatorem vestrum | virum ut mihi videtur appositum ad docendum, minimeque | seditiosum. Sed habet ingens crimen quod dicit fre | quente auditorio. Quid nuper designavit Danus meus ar | bitror vos non latere. Si hec impune fiunt in civita | te quid opus est legibus? Nec hoc primum designa | vit ut sit quod excusetur. Neque tamen perinde casus | hic of- fendit, ut exemplum graviora minitans. Stom | achus his aliquot mensibus

mediocriter valuit, gratia | Christo, sed nuper natus est dolor in ili dextro, quod | quid sibi velit nescio nisi quod hoc corpusculum semel | obtuli christo. Tandem et testamentum condidi quan | do res huc rediit, ut etiam qui nihil habent condunt | testamentum. Lovanii sacerdos quidam hac forma | testatus est. Nihil habeo, multum debeo, reliquum | do pauperibus. An pestilentia quieverit nescio, rumor | conquievit. Optaverimus te adesse, sed tuo bono. De Ath | (a)nasio nonihil scrupuli movet etiam num animum meum | ne ut nunc res hic habent, ex hac dedicatione nascatur | aliquid invidie, non tam mihi, quod facile contempser | im, quam illi cui cupimus gratificari, quod quidem tua | prudentia secum expendat velim. Adhuc enim integrum | est usque ad dies quatuordecim. Prodit examen librorum | adversus Lutherum et Oecolampadium Ep(iscopi) Roffensis,

Jacobi Latomi et Jacobi Hohestrati preter alios. | Quid par-
turiat Gallia nondum audivimus | at vereor ne isotorum scribarum
tumultus et glori | e totam ecclesie causam subvertant. Vidimus
qua | le specimen dederint Sutor et Beda. Nec multo sa | niora scribit
Clichtoveus. Nunc nemo non scribit, arbi | trorque futurum, ut quod solet
in bellis accidere, dum de preda glorie decertamus, victoriam amittamus
e | manibus. Vetus hoc est, ut privati affectus prodant | perdantque
causam. Nondum statui an velim | respondere Bedis et Clicheveis, etiam
pollicitus sum | libellis proximis. Ubi redierit meus Danus statuatur. |
De Athanasio interim communica tuum consilium. R. D. Coad | jutori
non obstrepo meis literis, nihilo secius tamen mhihi | gratissima fuit
ab illo profecta salutatio, cupioque quam com | mendatissimus esse viro
tot nominibus commendabili. Cetera co | ram, quod utinam liceat quam-
primum, sed tuo bono. Dominus | vos serviet incolumes. Datum Basi-
lee, 1527, postridie pauli. ERAS ROT. TUUS.

3. PETER ALBINIANUS TRETIVS TO LUTHER.

British Museum Additional MS. 19,959, fol. 4b. ff.

A copy of this MS. has been made for me by Miss Ethel Stokes, of 75 Chancery Lane, London. Although, as a professional copyist, she is competent and careful, I cannot be absolutely certain that all her readings are correct, particularly as she admits that she was puzzled by some words. In printing I have expanded the numerous abbreviations, except in the cases, discussed in notes, where there seems to be doubt about the reading. I have also standardized the spelling, use of capitals and punctuation, which seems anarchical in the original. In editing this difficult letter I am deeply indebted to the assistance of Professor W. W. Rockwell, of Union Seminary; Professor Munroe Smith, of Columbia University, and Professor James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, have also helped me a little.—P. SMITH.

Ad fratrem Martinum Luterum Germanum, ordinis sancti Augustini Eremitarum, Petri Albiniani Tretii, utriusque juris Doctoris, pia charitativa saluberrima epistola feliciter incipit.

Si redemptor noster Jesus Christus apostolis suis dixit, "Et vos sine intellectu estis" (Mat. xv) et alibi, "Si ergo cum vos sitis mali, etc." (Luce xxi), et principi apostolorum Petro, "Vade retro, Sathanas" (Mat. xvi), et post resurrectionem suam exprobativam incredulitatem eorum et duritiam cordis (Mar. ultimo), et discipulis suis Lucae Evangelistae et Cleophae euntibus in Emaus dixit, "O stulti et tardi corde ad credendum, etc." (Lucae xxiii), et tamen apostoli repleti erant Spiritu Sancto "Accipite," inquit, "Spiritus sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, etc." (Jo. xx et Mat. xviii), et eis dixit ante ejus passionem, "Vos mundi¹ estis, sed non omnes" (Jo. xii)—Nonne jure meritoque tibi libere et licite dici potest:

Ha, Martine Luther, quae te dementia cepit? Insanire libet? Cum longe et incomparabiliter magis peccaveris quam apostoli et discipuli in praemissis, in eo qua tua ne dicam auctoritate, quae notorie nulla est, sed verius temeritate et arrogantia in contemptu clauium fidei Catholicae et pontificiae potestatis pro rostris in publica et maxima contione sacrum Librum Decretalium conburere non erubueris; quem librum, ni fallor, non minori religione et pietate, fideque servandum arbitror, quam archam Domini in qua tantum erant conditae tabulae scriptae digito Dei "quae erant testes inter Deum et Populum quas accepisset ab eo praecepta"²—ita exponit, vide³ Lyra, Exo. xxv, et in verbo *ponesque in archa testimoniationes, etc.* Cui inclytæ archæ cum Oza Leuita illius vector, curru inclynato, manum apposuisset ne caderet adeo percussus repentina morte expiravit (ij Regum, cap. vj, § *Item de his*, et § *Item legitur*, ij. qu. vij).⁴ Liber enim Decretalium repletus est autoritatibus Veteris et Novi Testamenti et divinorum tractatibus, maxime de summa trinitate et fide Catholica, de postulatione, electione et translatione praelatorum, de offitio archidiaconi, primiceri, decani et aliis ecclesiasticis officiis institutis in libro vitae. De quibus diffusius in capite *Cleros*,⁵ xxi, distinctione, cap. *Subdiaconus cum pluribus aliis*,⁶ cap. *Sequentia*, xxii, dis., cap. *Perlectis*,⁷ xxv, dis., et *De Jure*—

¹ Text "mondi," an Italian form.

² The words in inverted commas are a direct quotation from the gloss of Nicholas de Lyra to Exodus, xxv, 16, as I discovered by referring to the *Biblia Latina cum postillis Nic. de Lyra*, Nuremberg, Koburger, 1487. The division into verses came after this time, and therefore a passage was quoted by chapter and by the words which I have put in italics. Neither italics nor inverted commas are found in the original.

³ Text "uyde."

⁴ Reference to the Canon Law, quoting II Samuel vi, 6f. The citation is of the paragraphs beginning "Item de his" and "Item legit," both in the second book of the Decretum of Gratian, c. 27, C. 2, question 7 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 490).

⁵ The following are all references to the Canon Law; the first is to c. 1, D. 21 (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Aemil. L. Richter et Aemil. Friedberg, Lipsiae, 1879, 2 vols., i, 67).

⁶ c. 15, D. 23 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 83).

⁷ c. 1, D. 25 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 90).

jurando,¹ *De Voto et voti redemptione*,² *De celebratione missarum*,³ *De custodia eucharistiae*,⁴ *De reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum*,⁵ *De sponsalibus et matrimonio*,⁶ *De penitentibus et remissionibus*,⁷ *De sententia excommunicationis*.⁸ Item repletus est sacris canonibus qui instinctu Spiritus Sancti conditi sunt ut inquit textus in cap. *Violatores*,⁹ xxv, q. i, et in cap. *igitur*¹⁰ q. ij, et cap. *Certum est*,¹¹ i, x. di. Haec profecto majora vel saltem aequalia contentis in archa Domini cum magis aedificent et prosint ad salutem animarum quam attestations Domini inter ipsum Dominum et populum. Quia praecepta de quibus in dictis titulis et tractatibus libri decretalium divina sunt et ab eodem autore quo dictae attestations processerint et aedificent. Unde dicitur, "Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt illud" (Luce xj). Et Beatus Augustinus¹² dicit¹³ non minus peccare qui verbum Dei audire negligit quam qui Corpus Christi in terram cadere permisit. (Cap. *Interrogo vos*, i, qu. i.)¹⁴ Quia praedicatio plures convertit et punishmentem peccatorum inducit; corpore autem Christi tantum venialia dimittuntur, ut ibi dicit glossa j.¹⁵ Idem dicendum de dictis attestationsibus christi et forte minus quod de sacro eucharistiae quia sunt clausae in archa, corpus autem Christi a fidelibus summitur (Cap. *omnis utriusque sexus*¹⁶ de peniten. et remissionibus, et cap. *etsi non frequentius*¹⁷ de consecratione di ij). Ut saltem dicti tituli Decretalium sunt aequivalentes cum processerint ab eodem autore quo dictae attestations, cap. *Translato*, de constitutione.¹⁸ Insuper eo libro Decretalium insunt responsiones summorum pontificum ex quibus ut plurimum constat liber Decretalium constitutum est Jus Canonicum, quia summi pontifices presumuntur habere omnia jura in scrinio pectoris sui c. j. de constitutione in vj.¹⁹ Sicut Imperator *lex omnium*.²⁰ Codex de testamentis et hoc fictione juris. Quoniam

¹ De jurejurando, lib. 2, tit. 24 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 359).

² De voto et voti redemptione, lib. 3, tit. 34 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 590).

³ Lib. 3, tit. 41 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 635).

⁴ Lib. 3, tit. 44 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 650).

⁵ Lib. 3, tit. 45 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 650).

⁶ Lib. 4, tit. 1 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 660).

⁷ Lib. 5, tit. 38 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 883).

⁸ Lib. 5, tit. 39, (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 889).

⁹ c. 5, C. 25, qu. 1 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 1008).

¹⁰ c. 5, C. 25, qu. 2 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 1013).

¹¹ c. 3, D. 10 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 20).

¹² Libri I homiliarum, no. 26, as quoted in the Canon Law here cited.

¹³ Text "dicat."

¹⁴ c. 94, C. 1, qu. 1.

¹⁵ I.e., the first gloss, or note, to the passage cited from the Decretum. The glosses are not printed in Richter and Friedberg, and for them one must refer to an older edition, of which there are many, of the *Jus canonicum glossatum*.

¹⁶ Lib. 5, tit. 38, c. 12 (Richter et Friedberg, i, 88).

¹⁷ De consecratione, c. 16, D. 2 (Richter and Friedberg, i, 1319).

¹⁸ De constitutione, lib. 1, 2, 3 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 8).

¹⁹ Lib. 1, tit. 2, Liber Sextus (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 936).

²⁰ Codex Justinianus, 6, 23, cap. 19. Reference to the Civil Law, which I have consulted in the Corpus juris civilis, ed. Mommsen, Krüger et al., 3 vols. Lipsiae, 1904-6.

summi pontifices et imperatores consilii peritorum et prudentum reguntur. Hoc patet ij. Esdrae cap. iij, et § j. Institutionum de codicillis,¹ secus quando sunt in venatione. Quia tunc cessat illa presumptio ut tenet feli² in capite in nostro iiij Commentario³ in fine de Btis Quia immo amplius dixerim potestatem legis condendae tantum esse apud Summum Pontificem et potestatem premissam imperatoris fuisse per ipsum imperatorem usurpatam et abusivam. Quod attestatur Innocentius Papa iiij in capite *licet es suscepto*⁴ circa medium *de foro competenti*. Cui si non credis velis nolis credere teneris divinis auctoritatibus per ipsum allatis. Nam ab euo condito exordiens, "Sic," inquit, "Deus creavit coelum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt, angelicam et humanam naturam, spiritualia et temporalia ipsaque per ipsum rexit sicut factor suam rem gubernat et homini quem fecit precepta dedit, et transgredienti penam imposuit." Gene. ij: "Ex omni ligno, etc.," "ipsis et peccantibus penam imposuit per se ipsum," scilicet Adae et Euae, Gene. iij, "Mulieri quoque dixit, etc." Et ibi, "Adae vero dixit, etc." Qualiter autem Chaim per se ipsum punierit, Lamech et Chain et quosdam alios, eodem libro Gene. iiij et v cap. *legit*. Et sic recto modo per ipsum Deum usque ad nos ex tempore Noe coepit Deus creaturas suas regere per ministros, quorum primus fuit Noe. De quo quam fuerit rector populi ex eo apparet quod sibi Dominus gubernationem Archae per quam ecclesia⁵ significatur comisit, Gene. v et vj cap. Item qua et Dominus Noe et filiis ejus rectoriam et legem sibi dedit, Gene. viij. De Noe licet non legitur sacerdos fuisse, officium tamen exercuit sacerdotis statim post ingressum archae antequam leges populo daret, Gene. viij, "Edificavit autem Noe, etc." Quod officium sacerdotis simul Abel et Chaim primo fecerant. In hac autem vicaria successerunt patriarchae, iudices, reges, sacerdotes et alii qui pro tempore fuerint in regimine populi Judeorum, et sic duravit usque ad Christum qui naturalis⁶ Dominus et Rex noster de quo dicitur in Psalmo, "Deus, iudicium tuum regi da, etc." Et ipse Christus vicarium suum constituit Petrum et successores suos quando ei claves dedit regni coelorum et quando dixit, "Pascue oves meas," Jo. x.⁷ Et licet in multis distincta fuit officia et regimina mundi⁸ tamen quousque necesse et ad papam⁹ recurrendum sive sit necessitas juris, quia alius non sit iudex superior, sive facti—¹⁰ quia *de facto*

¹ Institutes, 2, 25.

² Probably Felinus Sandeus, who died 1444 at Feline, and wrote commentaries on the Decretals.

³ Text "Corclario."

⁴ De foro competenti, lib. 2, 2, 10 (Richter and Friedberg. ii, 250). This canon of Innocent IV is found among the decretals of Gregory IX.

⁵ Text "ecclesiam."

⁶ Or "natalis," an uncertain abbreviation.

⁷ So text, for "Jo. xxi."

⁸ Text "mondi," in Italian form, as above.

⁹ Text "ppe"; a conjectural emendation is necessary.

¹⁰ Illegible abbreviation, looks like "piia"; perhaps "proprii."

minores iudices non possunt suas¹ exequi sententias, vel nolunt ut debent exercere iustitiam, cap. *per venerabilem*,² *Qui filii sint legitimi*. Et optime facit caput *pro humani*, de homicidio, vi.³ Haec sunt aurea verba Innocentii in dicto capite *licet ex suscepto*, et ibid relata per D. Abb.⁴ vij, col. qui dicit illa placere Hosb.⁵ Quae comprobantur per Esaiam cap. xxxij⁶ c. 7 circa finem: "Dominus enim," inquit, "iudex noster, Dominus legifer noster, Dominus rex noster: ipse saluabit nos." Comprobantur etiam per vas electionis, Pauli ad Hebreos vij cap. "Translato," inquit, "sacerdotio, necesse est ut legis translatio fiat." Canonizata in capite *translato de constitutionibus*,⁸ ubi glossa in verbo *translato* exponit in Petrum sive per illa verba, "pasce oves meas," cap. *significasti*, de electione,⁹ vel per multos¹⁰ alios per illa verba, "Ite et docete, etc.," Mat. ultimo cap. de consecratione, di. iiii, cap. proprie.¹¹ Translata ergo est lex et legis observatio; non est apud Judeos sed apud Petrum et successores suos. Et quod translatum fuerit sacerdotium a Christo in Petrum probatur xxi di.¹² in *novo* et glossa¹³ dicto verbo *sacerdotio*. Hoc etiam comprobatur auctoritate Pauli Apostoli, qui ut potestatis plenitudinem esse penes ecclesiam exponeret, seu declararet: "Nescitis," inquit, "quoniam angelos iudicabitis; quanto magis saecularia." j ad Corinthios vj. Et dicto capite *per venerabilem*¹⁴ in fine *qui filii sint legitimi*, et in caput *relatum* xj. qu. i,¹⁵ et Nycholas de Lyra, Judicum in principio et j. Regum in principio, dicit Deum populum Israel rexisse et gubernasse tripliciter, primo per iudices usque ad Samuelem regem, secundo per reges a Saulo usque ad Babilonis transgressionem, tertio per pontifices a reditu captivitatis Babilonis

¹ Text "sua."

² c. 13, X *Qui filii sint legitimi*, 4, 17 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 714).

³ *Liber Sextus, pro humani, de homicidio*, 5, 4, 1.

⁴ "Abbas," as he was called, or "Panormitanus," from his bishopric of Palermo, was a Sicilian named Nicholas de Tudeschis who taught jurisprudence at Siena, Parma and Bologna, beginning with the year 1421. He was made a cardinal in 1449 by Felix V, and died 1453. It is not plain which one of his voluminous writings is here quoted. J. F. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts*, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1877. Vol. ii, p. 312.

⁵ Thus the text for "Hostiensis," who is frequently quoted with commendation by Albinianus in his *Liber de pontificia potestate*. He was Henry de Segusia, called Hostiensis because he was cardinal bishop of Ostia by the nomination of Urban IV in 1261. He taught canon law at Paris for many years. He died 1271. He wrote a good deal. Schulte, ii, 123ff. *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, article "Decretals."

⁶ So text; really, Isaiah xxxiii, 22.

⁷ This "c" is in the text, apparently repeated for "capite" or for "circa."

⁸ Decretals, i, 2, 3.

⁹ De electione, i, 6, 4.

¹⁰ The abbreviation I here read as "per multos," is very doubtful; it looks more like "proiii."

¹¹ c. 13, D. 4, de consecratione.

¹² c. 4, D. 21.

¹³ Text, "gli."

¹⁴ c. 13, X, *Qui filii sint legitimi*, 4, 17 (Richter and Friedberg, ii, 714).

¹⁵ c. 14, C. 11, qu. 1.

usque ad tempus Christi quando Joannes Hircanus qui descendit a Machabeis primus post gubernationem Babilonicam imposuit sibi diadema regni; et in libris Regum et Paralipomenon agitur de Deo gubernante populum per reges, et hi reges ungebantur ut patet j. Regum cap. xv, ubi Samuel unxit Regem Saul, ij. qu. vij, § *Item eum David*,¹ et Archidiaconus² in c. *ante*,³ de consecratione, di. iiij, dicit quod sacerdotes et reges ungebantur, unctio autem est quod spirituale ut in toto numero⁴ de sacramento unctionis. Psalmus autem, *Deus, juditium tuum regi da*,⁵ Gallatus⁶ exponitur per Nicholam de Lyra: "Tu, Deus Pater, da Christo potestatem juditiariam." Quod factum est Jo. v.: "Pater omne juditium dedit filio." "Et justitiam tuam filio regis" potestatis praedictae executionem filio regis in Christo, quia secundum deitatem est filius regis eternus Patris, et secundum humanitatem est filius David regis, Mat. cap. j. "Qui descendit de ipso David secundum carnem"—ad Romanos j—et secundum utranque naturam data est ei omnis potestas juditiaria. Licet non eadem sit potestas patris et filii in divinis, tamen illam habet Filius a Patre sicut et substantiam similem secundum humanitatem data est Christo potestas juditiaria. Quia in extremo juditio apparebit in forma humana in qua fuit iudicatus a Pillato. Apparuit tamen coram eo in forma passibili sed in juditio apparebit in forma gloriosi. Ut inquit Nicholas de Lyra dicto Psalmo, *Deus Juditium tuum regi da, judicare populum tuum*, etc. Hoc continuatur et quod predicatur, *Da justitiam tuam filio regis*. Praeterea Christus exercuit juditiariam jurisdictionem actu cum sedens quod proprie spectat ad judicem, Cap. ult. de re judicata in vj,⁷ cumque ibi allatis absolvit adulteram, Jo. viij cap. et iij qu. vij cap. qui sine peccato.⁸ Et cum facto flagello de fimiculis ejecit de templo vendentes et ementes, Jo. ij et Luce. xvij, et Mat. xxj, cap. *ex multis*,⁹ i. qu. iij, cap. *cum in ecclesia*;¹⁰ in principio, de immunitat ecclesiarum.¹¹ Et per Danielelem judicavit duos senes inveteratos dierum malorum, Daniel xij. Insuper Moyses dedit legem Judeis, Exo. xx, Leui. xx et Deut. et Jo. viij. Dicitur in lege autem Moyses mandavit hujusmodi in adulterio deprehensum lapidare, et Jo. vij. dicitur, "Nonne Moyses dedit vobis legem et nemo ex vobis facit legem?" Et Luce. ij dicitur, "Postquam impleti sunt dies purificationis Mariae secundum legem

¹ c. qu. 7.

² Guido de Baysio, called Archidiaconus from the position he held in the cathedral at Bologna, died 1313, after many years teaching in that university. Schulte, ii, 186f.

³ c. 54, D. 4, de consecratione.

⁴ Text, "no."

⁵ Psalm lxxi.

⁶ See note on translation, *supra*, p. 287. One should read "galeatus," and translate "the apologetic psalm."

⁷ Liber Sextus, de sententia et re judicater, 2, 14, 5.

⁸ c. 3, C. 3, qu. 7.

⁹ c. 9, C. 1, qu. 3.

¹⁰ c. 9, C. 1, qu. 3.

¹¹ c. 1, de immunitate ecclesiarum, 3, 23.

Moysi." Papa autem est successor Moysi ut est glossa in cap. *causam* ij in verbo *ad Regem*, in fine, qui filii sint legitimi,¹ et aliis juribus per me allatis in libello de Pontificia Potestate. Unde si Moysi licuit facere legem multo fortius licet Petro successori Christi et eius successoribus, et per illa verba, "Quaecunque dixerint servate et facite, etc.," Mat. xxiiij. Insuper translato sacerdotio necesse est ut etiam legis translatio fiat. Que verba exponens Augustinus, "Sic," inquit, "quia enim simul et ab eodem et sub eadem sponsione utraque data sunt, quod [de]² uno dicitur necesse est ut de alio intelligatur." Ex quibus verbis apostoli colligunt et inferunt doctores quod potestas legis condende hodie et olim fuit penes sacerdotes ut predictum est, et sic videtur quam ille textus indistincte loquatur. Quae potestas legis condende originalis fuit penes sacerdotes et non penes laicos, et sic laici nunquam habuerunt facultatem seu potestatem legis condende. Et licet imperator ante adventum Christi receperit potestatem a populo ut Lex ii ff.³ de origine juris, et supra, scilicet quod principi placuit, Institutionum de jure naturale gentium et civili,⁴ illa potestas fuit abusiva et de facto usurpata. Et ideo fuit necesse quod confirmaretur ab ecclesia quoad exercitium, ut notatur in cap. *novit de iudice*,⁵ et Innocentius in dicto capite *licet ex suscepto, de foro competente*,⁶ et cap. *relatum*⁷ xj qu. i, ubi patet quod in primitiva ecclesia omnes causae ad ecclesiam deferrebantur. Haec sunt verba autem de But.,⁸ Jo., de Imo.,⁹ dicti Abb.¹⁰ et illustrissimi jurisconsulti preceptoris mei in Canonibus, Alex. ve.¹¹ in dicto cap. *translato*, de constitutione,¹² per quem praefati doctores dicunt ordinem sacerdotalem et alia sacramenta non esse apud Judeos aut alios non baptizatos. Unde si quis Judeus aut alius non baptizatus ad aliquem ordinem ordinaretur non reciperet characterem. Facit cap. ultimum de presbytero non baptizato.¹³ Et si Aron uiveret non posset conferre sacerdotium in illa forma quam conferbat nec per illa verba, quia non habent eam vim quam habebant ante aduentum Christi. Et quia sacerdotium hodie non est apud Judeos sed apud

¹ Qui filii sint legitimi, 4, 17, 7.

² "de" not in the text.

³ "ff" is a conventional abbreviation for Pandectae, or Digestum, cf. Adriano Cappelli: *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine et Italiane*, 1912. The reference here is to the Digest, lib. 1, tit. 2, lex. 2.

⁴ Institutes, lib. 1, tit. 2.

⁵ *Corpus juris civilis*.

⁶ c. 10, X de foro competente, 2.

⁷ c. 14, C. 11, qu. 1.

⁸ Butrigarius, or Jacobus Putrigarius, † 1178 at Bologna, or else Antony de Butrio, also of Bologna, 1338-1408. Schulte, ii, 289, 210, 248.

⁹ John ab Imola, † 1436, taught law at Padua and Bologna, Schulte, ii, 296.

¹⁰ I.e., Nicholas de Tudeschis, quoted above.

¹¹ Alexander de Nevo, a teacher in jurisprudence, born at Vicenza, and professor of law at Padua 1457-83. Schulte, ii, 330. For "Alex. ve." in the text we should probably read "Alex. ne." The abbreviation often used by Tretius in his Tractatus.

¹² De constitutione, 1, 2, 3.

¹³ c. 3, X de presbytero non baptizato, 3, 43.

Christianos, pro quo dicto ego ultra alios allego quod Christus surgens de sinagoga introiuit¹ in domum Simonis, Lucae iiij et Mat. vij, hoc est relicta lege Mosaica seu veteri introiuit² in legem nouam ab ipso Christo institutam, fundatam super Simonem quem ipse Petrum appellauit, Jo. cap. j et Mat. xvj, dicto capite in nouo³ xxi di., cum multis similibus per me allatis in libello de Pontificia Potestate et Thesauro Ecclesiae. Nec legitur exinde⁴ postquam intrauit Christus domum Simonos reversus fuerit ad sinagogam.

Jacto igitur ex premissis inconcusso et immobili fundamento pro vero et juridico, videlicet potestatem legis condende fuisse et esse penes Petrum et successores suos usque ad consummationem seculi duraturam, Mat. ultimo capite, et consequenter legem quantamcumque duram seruandam esse. Lex prospexit, ff.⁵ qui et a quibus c. in memoriam,⁶ xix di.; glossa in cap. proposuisti,⁷ in verbo *scriptum*,⁸ lxxxij di.; in cap. penultimo de olc. Ex eo mi liquido constat te grauiter, immo grauissime deliquisse in detrahendo pontificiae protestati que immensa est, et in comburendo librum decretalium omni preconio dignum ex quo facinore declarasti te ereticum esse et male sentire de fide catholica. Quia Christus non venit soluere legem sed adimplere, Mat. v. Et tu comburendo librum decretalium qui constat ex legibus soluisti et lacerasti leges, ita et dici possis Antichristus et pseudo-Christi, Mat. xxiiij. Et ex huiusmodi combustione magis et grauius peccasti quam Juda Schariotes, Judei et Pilatus occidendo Christum, quoniam mors Christi ipsis tantum occisoribus nocuit, scripta autem tua et combustio predicta tibi et aliis pene innumeris nocuit ad interitum animarum suarum. Quin immo occisores Christi pium et laudabile opus fecerunt, quia morte Christi aperte sunt porte regni celestis que antea erant clausae, unde premium et laudem meruissent occisores si bono animo et intentione hoc fecissent. Nam Deus est remunerator aduerbiorum, non nominum, hoc est quod non remunerat factum sed quo animo et corde fiat, quia Deus cor interrogat, ut est glossa multum non, quest. ij, j, c. j, *de collusione detegenda*,⁹ Sed quia Judas per auaritiam, Judei per inuidiam, Pilatus per timorem et malo animo, ideo non meruerunt sed demeruerunt. Tua autem scripta clausurunt portas regni celestis et portas inferi aperuerunt tuum falsum dogma sectantes. Defleas

¹ Text here uncertain, looks like "puroiuit," but the correct word is supplied from Luke iv, 38.

² Text "innoiuuit," probably for "introiuit," possibly for "innouauit."

³ c. 2, D. 21.

⁴ The abbreviation for the word "exinde" is doubtful; it looks like a pair of scissors.

⁵ Another reference to the Digest, which he has taken from the gloss quoted below.

⁶ c. 3, D. 19.

⁷ c. 2, D. 82.

⁸ The gloss to the word "scriptum," reads as follows: "Sufficit ergo ita scriptum esse, licet sit durum arg[umentum]; 19 dist. in memoriam; ff. qui et a quibus, li. ma. prospexit." *Decretum una cum glossis*. Lugduni, 1606.

⁹ c. 1, X de collusione detegenda, 5, 22.

igitur tua falsa et heretica doctrina fucata eloquentia innumeras pene fidelium animas ad Tartara perduxisse perpetuo et in eternum sine spe permansuras ubi fletus et stridor dentium plorans et ululatus multus, Mat. viij, xiiij, xxij et xxv cap, et cap. Ecclesiae xxxv di.¹ Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio. Quanti autem Deus faciat unam animam declaratur ex hoc quod relictis nonaginta nouem ouibus in deserto unam errantem et vagantem perquisivit. Et. illam inuentam imposuit super humeros suos gaudens conuocat amicos et uicinos dicens illis, Congratulamini mihi, quia inueni ouem que perierat, Luce. xv. Suadeo itaque hortor te, Martine Luter, et rogo cupidus salutis tue, ut cognoscens errorem tuum intime doleas de combustione libri decretalium et retractes predicta tua scripta tanquam aliena a veritate et fide catholica et heretica, imitando Aurelium Augustinum qui scripsit librum retractationum improbens quaedam scripta sua, et imperatorem qui dicit se non rubescere emendare et immutare scripta que minus justa sunt; in *Aut.² de nuptiis* in principio circa per unam columnam, et glossa in cap *qualiter et quando*,³ et in verbo *corrigere*,⁴ de accusationibus, que dicit et ecclesiam aliquam erasse, cap. *fraternatis*,⁵ *defrigidis et maleficiatis*. Magnae enim prudentiae est revocare hominem quod locutus est, cap. magnae⁶ xxij, qu. iiij. Nec dicitur fallax qui ad rei veritatem reuertitur, cap. *apud*⁷ xxxij. qu. i. Alioquin senties mala in hoc seculo et grauiora in alio, quia heresiarcha et scismaticus iudicaberis, immo jam iudicatus es. Haec egre ferre non debes, quia uulnera dum sanas dolor est medicina doloris, inquit sapiens, et meliora sunt uulnera amici quam oscula inimici, cap. non omnis⁸ et cap. non osculatur,⁹ v, qu. v. Vale et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis ne deterius tibi inde contingat et cremeris ut cremasti librum decretalium. Venetiis. Idibus Januariis. M. D. xxiiij.

¹ c. 4, D. 35.

² Authenticae, the old name for the Novellae, divided into Collationes. The Fourth Collatio was De Nuptiis. The modern citation of the passage here referred to is Novellae 22.

³ c. 17, X de accusationibus, 5, 1.

⁴ This gloss reads: "Nota quod iudex potest corrigere errorem suum si male interlocutus sit: ut hic patet, and s. de app[ellationibus] cum cessant, et j. de sententia excommunicationis sacramentorum, ff. de re iudiciaria, quod iussit cum errat mutare sententiam & c. graue & 22 qu. 4 magnas. & testis potest corrigere suum errorem s. de test. cogen. praetera s de usu pal. nisi. Et dicit imperator: Non enim erubescimus, si quid melius horum, quae prius ipsi diximus, adinuenimus, competentem proribus imponere correctionem ne ab aliis corrigi expectemus. In Authen. de nup. circa prin. per unam columnam, colla. 4."

⁵ c. 6, X de frigidis et maleficiatis, 4, 15.

⁶ c. 10, C. 22, qu. 4.

⁷ c. 10, C. 32, qu. 1.

⁸ c. 2, C. 5, qu. 5.

⁹ c. 3, C. 5, qu. 5.

APPENDIX II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EPISTLES CONTEMPORARY WITH LUTHER.

PART I. COLLECTIONS OF EPISTLES

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PART II. PERIODICALS IN WHICH MANY LETTERS CAN BE FOUND SINGLY OR IN GROUPS.

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APPENDIX III.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA TO LUTHER'S CORRESPONDENCE AND TO ENDERS TO MARCH, 1530.

Luther to Braun, April 22, 1507. Luther's Correspondence, i, 22, note 2. For "first to the town of Mansfeld and then to Eisleben" read "first to Eisleben and then to the town of Mansfeld."

Luther to Spalatin (1514?), *ibid.*, 31. Professor Gustav Kawerau writes me that this letter has been found in a MS. of Rörer's, placed immediately after the letter of Luther to Spalatin, *ibid.*, 28f., which would give some confirmation to the date I assigned it.

Receipt of Luther and James (Probst?), August 14, 1515, Th. St. Kr., 1913, p. 519.

Luther to Spalatin, c. October 5, 1516. Facsimile of original in G. Mentz: Handschriften aus der Reformationszeit, no. 4b. Luther's Correspondence, i, 40.

Luther to Spalatin, December 14, 1516, *ibid.* 46, note 2. James Vogt (Voigt) circa 1492, was "advocatus religiosorum custodiae Misnensis ordinis minorum" at Torgau. After 1496 he lived at Oschatz. He was with the Elector Frederic on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 1493, and at Cologne 1520. He can be traced at Wittenberg May 13, 1515, from February 17 to after September 28, 1516; July 15 and October 27, 1517; April, 1518. ARG., vi, 316, note 2.

Luther to Lang, September 4, 1517, p. 61, note 3. For "Neustadt-am-Odor" read "Neustadt an der Orla."

Carlstadt to Eck, June 11, 1518, p. 94, line 10, for "unhappy skulking" read "unhappy age skulking."

Eck to Duke George, December 4, 1518, p. 135. Facsimile of original in Pflugk-Harttung: Im Morgenrot der Reformation, 1912, p. 256.

Luther to Staupitz, December 13, 1518, Enders, i, 318. T. Lockemann: Technische Studien zu Luthers Briefen an Friedrich den Weisen, 1913, pp. 206ff, makes it probable that this should really be dated November 25, as it resembles closely the letter to Langenmantel.

Elector Frederic to Duke George, December 29, 1518, Luther's Correspondence, i, 143. Facsimile of original in Im Morgenrot der Reformation, p. 592.

Luther to Elector Frederic, *ibid.* 153. This letter was dated by me circa January 19, 1519. Kalkoff, ARG., xi, 165, would date it May 30. I think him right.

Luther to Duke George, p. 182, April 28, 1519. Facsimile of original in Im Morgenrot der Reformation, p. 592.

Duke George to the University of Paris, October 4, 1519, p. 222. C. E. Bulaeus: *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1673, vi, 109, says that when the minutes of the Leipsic debate were received at Paris, twenty copies of it were made by John Nicholas, quaestor of the French "nation," which were distributed among the doctors January 20, 1520. It was decreed (p. 116) not to answer George until the four "nations" had consulted.

Luther to Spalatin, dated November 7, 1519, p. 245. The original is in the British Museum. Additional MS. 18,742. The date "fina 2 post Leonardi," should be made November 8.

Cowper to Cowper, March 3, 1520, p. 295. Is it not more probable that this letter was written from London?

Bild to Luther, April 16, 1520, p. 307. The Prior of the Carmelites is said by Vedder, *History of the Reformation*, 1914, p. 71, to be John Trosch.

Luther to John Frederic, October 30, 1520, Enders, ii, 502. The original of this letter is in possession of Mr. J. P. Morgan, of New York.

Luther to Mühlport, circa November 4, 1520, Luther's Correspondence, i, 385, line 2 from bottom. After "reprehensible" insert "motive."

Luther to Spalatin, November 29, 1520, p. 400, note 3. I am informed that Spalatin did not translate the Christian Liberty, but that the Tesseradecas is here meant.

Spalatin to Elector Frederic, dated December 3, 1520, Luther's Correspondence, i, no. 387. Also published in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1908, p. 30, with correct date, December 1, 1520 ("Montags nach sancti Andreae Apostoli").

Erasmus to a Powerful Gentleman, January 28, 1521, Luther's Correspondence, i, p. 448. This letter, so headed in all editions of Erasmus's epistles, is really to Artlebus de Boskowitz of Znaim, Supreme Captain of Moravia, perhaps a kinsman of Martha de Boskowitz, to whom the Bohemian Brethren had appealed in addressing the king. Boskowitz had written Erasmus urging him to join Luther. P. S. Allen: *Age of Erasmus*, 1913, pp. 296ff.

Spalatin to Elector Frederic, Luther's Correspondence, i, no. 387. January, 1521. This is also printed by Berbig in *Th. St. Kr.*, 1908, p. 28, with the date "August, 1520." I see no reason for changing the date I assigned it.

Luther to Haugold von Einsiedel, Luther's Correspondence, i, 450. On the date of this letter, probably February 3, 1521, see *Th. St. Kr.*, 1913, p. 296.

Charles V to Luther and Safe Conduct for Luther, March 6, 1521, Luther's Correspondence, i, pp. 482ff. Facsimiles of the originals of both in *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, pp. 434f.

Luther to Spalatin, March 7, 1521, Luther's Correspondence, i, p. 484, note 4. The name "Dacia" given to Denmark by Luther is found on a map of 1493, published in *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, p. 135.

Spalatin to Lang, March 8, 1521, Luther's Correspondence, i, no. 417. Also published in Th. St. Kr., 1908, p. 38.

Spalatin to Elector Frederic, Luther's Correspondence, no. 440. Also published in Th. St. Kr., 1908, p. 39, with date "April, 5-9."

Aleander to Medici, April 16, 1521, p. 521, note 3. After Calendars of State Papers, add "xii, part ii, nos. 585, 745."

Warbeck to Duke John, p. 523. As a German mile was about four and one-half English miles, the two miles should be translated into nine English miles.

Luther to Albert of Mansfeld, May 3, 1521, p. 555ff. Another form of this letter, with two important additions, is printed by Böhmer in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxv, 1914, 401.

Luther to Spalatin, August 5, 1514, registered *ibid.* p. 568. On this see *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1915, pp. 263ff.

Luther to Spalatin, December, 1520, registered *ibid.* Enders dates this December 21; Knaake in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1900, p. 273, said that it should be dated "Spannenberg, December 29." I defended the date in Enders, but Kawerau has finally shown that Knaake was right. *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1915, col. 468.

Luther to the Elector Frederic, January 25, 1521, registered *ibid.* 569. Lockemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 104ff., shows that this letter was first written in December, was returned and then rewritten and probably handed to Charles V on February 6 with Luther's *Oblatio sive Protestatio*.

Cochlaeus to George N., June 12, 1521, Enders, iii, 173. Reprinted in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, ed. Clemen, iv, 3, 1910, and in German by J. Kühn: *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag* (1915), pp. 92ff.

Glarean to Zwingli, July 4, 1521, Luther's Correspondence, ii, p. 44, n. 6. Christopher has been identified with Josse Clichtove. See J. A. Cleval: *De Judici Clichtovei . . . vita et operibus*. Paris Thesis, 1894, p. 40.

Luther to Albert of Mansfeld, November 19, 1521, Enders, iii, 248. On this see G. Bossert: "Sangerhausen im Briefe von November 19, 1521," *ZKG.*, xvii, 245.

Luther to the Wittenbergers, February, 1522, Enders, iii, 290. According to Walch,² xxi, no. 450, this is not a letter but a summary of the five sermons preached by Luther March 9-13, 1522.

Luther to Schwanhausen, dated March 8, 1523, Enders, v, 8. The correct date, March 7, is given by Walch,² no. 591a.

Luther to Crotus, "between July 26 and 29, 1523." Walch,² xxi, no. 634, dates this "end of July or beginning of August." In my judgment Enders is more nearly correct, iv, 180.

Luther to Spalatin, "29 or 30 July, 1523." Enders, v, 184. O. Clemen: *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, i, 44, would date this c. July 23.

Luther to Charles of Savoy, September 7, 1523, Enders, iv, 222. On this letter see letter of Philibert Alncinger to Erasmus, January 20,

1524, in Enthoven: *Briefe an Erasmus*, 1906, p. 39, and Charles of Savoy to Pope Clement VII, July 22, 1525. Balan: *Monumenta seculi XVI*, p. 349.

Luther to Wolfgang Stein, September 10, 1523. *Th. St. Kr.*, 1913, p. 289.

Luther to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, December, 1523, Enders, iv, 266. Weimar, xii, 299, note 4, dates this more accurately December 12.

Luther to Spalatin, dated 1523, Enders, iv, 267. The original of this is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. A facsimile is published in H. E. Jacobs: *Luther*, 1899, p. 210. Jacobs does not mention the source, and misreads "Pastor Lesturus" for "Pastor Jessenensis." The original is endorsed in another hand: "Pastor Lessenensis de Matrimonio ejus quod approbat M. L. MDXXIII (1524 not 1523). The original has "hic" after "taedeat" in line 2, and "Aulicus" for "aulicus," last line.

Luther to Brück, dated January 27, 1524, Enders, iv, 282. The correct date, "January 13," is given in Weimar and Walch,² no. 698.

Luther to Strauss, Enders, iv, 249; this is a translation of a letter to Strauss, Enders, iv, 327, there dated April 25, 1524. According to O. Albrecht: "Luthers Briefwechsel im Jahr 1524" in *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte Köstlin gewidmet*, 1896, the date October 18 is right.

Luther to Stein, October 11, 1524; on this see *Th. St. Kr.*, 1913, p. 292.

The University of Wittenberg to the town of Schlieben, October 18, 1524. *Th. St. Kr.*, 1913, p. 123.

Luther to Spalatin, 1524, Enders, v, 94. Dated on or about July 4 by O. Albrecht, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte D. Köstlin gewidmet*, 1896.

Luther to Spalatin, 1524, Enders, v, 96. Dated c. January 19, 1536, by O. Clemen in *Beiträge*, iii, 55.

Gerbelt to Luther, dated 10-11 April, 1525, Enders, v, 155. The editors of Walch,² no. 843, show that this should really come earlier. It seems to me not improbable that it came as early as February.

Rübel to Luther, May 21, 1525, Enders, v, 176. A fragment only is printed in Enders. The whole letter is printed by Kawerau in *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, no. 100, pp. 338-40.

Rübel to Luther, May 27, 1525, Enders, v, 180. The whole of this letter printed by Kawerau *op. cit.*, 340-2.

Elector John to Luther, c. September 28, 1525. *Th. St. Kr.*, 1913, p. 520.

Schwenckfeld to Luther, December 2, 1525, Enders, v, 277. See *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, ii, 240ff.

Certificate of equity (*Gerechtigkeit*), given by Brisger in Luther's name, for a certain house to Andrew Krapp, December 2, 1525. *Th. St. Kr.*, 1913, p. 521.

Luther to Valentine Forster, December 31, 1525. Th. St. Kr., 1913, p. 294.

Luther to Zwilling, January 2, 1526, ZKG., xxxiv, 13.

Luther to Link, June 29, 1526, Th. St. Kr., 1913, 295.

Philip of Hesse to Luther and Melanchthon, dated "at latest September, 1526," Enders, v, 395. The date, September 3, is given by F. Küch in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte, Neue Folge*, xxx, 161ff. Line 91, for "den Hessen" read "dem Hessen." Heinrich Hesse, who matriculated at Wittenberg, 1526-7, is referred to. On him see ARG., iv, 1907, 316.

Gerbel to Luther, dated April 2, 1527, Enders, vi, 37. Should be dated not later than July, 1526, Th. St. Kr., 1897, p. 170.

Luther to the Council of Crossen, April 13, 1527. *Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 9-10, 1914, pp. 382f.

Luther to Severinus, October 6, 1527. On the addressee, Severinus Hyspilithus, cf. Clemen: *Beiträge*, i, 56.

Jonas to Luther, dated "January 3 (?), 1528," Enders, vi, 175. Dated "January 2" in Walch,² no. 1172.

Luther to an Unknown, De Wette, iii, 354. Walch,² x, 1736, and registered xxia, no. 1247a. Why this is omitted in Enders I do not know.

Luther to Link, dated August 16, 1528, Enders, vi, 359. The date August 28 is given in Weimar, xxvi, 534.

Luther to Brisger, dated "end of August, 1528," Enders, vi, 362. The date August 26 is given in Weimar, xxvi, 534.

Luther to Bernard von Mylen, September 2, 1528, ZKG., 1901, pp. 646f.

Luther to Melancthon, dated November 30, 1528, Enders, vii, 28. Dated "November 26," Walch,² no. 1335.

Luther to Thüring, dated November, 1528, Enders, vii, 30. This is really a postscript to the letter to Thüring of March 7, 1528, Enders, vii, 64. ZKG., xxxii, 287.

Luther to Amsdorf, March 21, 1529, Enders, vii, 74, last line, for "Hessen" read "Gessen," i.e., Jessen, a town in Saxony. ARG., viii, 33, note 6.

Melanchthon to Jonas and Bugenhagen, March 23, 1529. The original owned by Mr. J. P. Morgan, of New York. This is published in *Corpus Ref.*, i, col. 1042. There it is said that the original was in the Nuremberg Library.

Title to a garden bought by Luther from Balthasar Hayn, March 7, 1527, Th. St. Kr., 1913, p. 522.

Under the title "Unbeachtete Briefstücke Luthers," E. Körner publishes two fragments from Luther's letters, which he thinks hitherto unnoticed. ARG., viii, 1911, 395f. They are quoted in Erasmus Alber's *Widder die verfluchte lere der Carlstader*, 1553. Körner believes the first fragment to come from a lost letter of Luther to Alber, October 3, 1526, and the other fragment from a later letter

also lost. In reality the first fragment is quoted direct from Luther's letter to Stiefel, Enders, vi, 47, and the second from Luther's letter to Stiefel, Enders, vi, 103.

Luther to Jonas, April 19, 1529, Enders, vii, 86. Original in possession of Mr. J. P. Morgan, of New York.

Luther to Andrew Kaugisdorf, *cf.* Enders, vii, 89. A letter to him without place or date, beginning "Poteras mihi parcere," mentioned in Weimar, xxxvii, p. x.

Luther to Margaret Göritz, dated May 5, 1529. This is really to Anna Göritz, and should be dated December 17, 1534. Weimar Tischreden, iii, 384.

Luther to Jonas, dated "6 (?) May, 1529," Enders, vii, 97, by Walch,² no. 1410, dated "between June 5 and 15."

Luther to Elector John, dated end of May, 1529, Enders, vii, 110. This was really written by Luther and Melanchthon together, and as it has allusions to a letter of Philip of Hesse written July 18, it must have been composed after, probably not long after, that date. ZKG., xxix, 375.

Luther to John Frederic, "Dornstag nach Magdalene, 1529," *i.e.*, July 29, Weimar, xl, p. viii.

Elector John to Luther, September 28, 1529, Enders, vii, 162. Better readings given in ZKG., xxix, 345. Line 8, for "uf" read "fügen." Line 11, for "reisen" read "weisen."

Luther to Amsdorf, dated "18(?) October, 1529," Enders, vii, 173. Dated by Walch,² no. 1462, "October 19."

Luther's Opinion on the Death Sentence for Heretics, Enders, vii, 211. This is simply a translation of a portion of a letter to Link, Enders, vi, p. 299. N. Paulus: *Die deutschen Dominikaner in Kämpfe gegen Luther*, p. 201, n. 3.

Luther's Opinion on the Articles in Controversy for the Diet of Augsburg, Enders, vii, 254ff., dated "between 14 and 20 March, 1530." This is really a first concept of Luther's Warning to the Clergy, and should be dated "between April 23 and 29." Walch,² no. 1537. Weimar, xxx, part ii, p. 218.

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